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IN THIS ISSUE

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the age of twenty-five, the future founding father and second president of the United States, John Adams, wrote in his diary in 1760, "I must judge for myself, but how can I judge? How can any man judge unless his mind has been opened and enlarged by reading?" Reading continued to be a life-long passion for Adams and his insights about government and the solid leadership he rendered owed much to the history, literature, and essays he read. Contributors to the *Utah Historical Quarterly* have a well-deserved reputation of providing readers with the substance for enlightenment, appreciation, entertainment, and enrichment. The writers whose articles appear in this issue of the Quarterly are no exception.

Our first article considers the life of Willem DeBry and his role in the publication of the Dutch-language newspaper *De Utah Nederlander* from 1914 to 1935. Like thousands of other immigrants to Utah and the United States during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, DeBry embraced America but did not forget his homeland. DeBry sought to keep the ties to the Netherlands strong by preserving the Dutch language among immigrants and their children in Utah and, in a time of still limited communication between Europe and the New World, faithfully reported news from the Netherlands. DeBry and *De Utah Nederlander* remind us just how important journals and newspapers are in keeping a community or a people connected and just how rich the social and cultural life was among Utah immigrants.

Our second article considers the question of economic cooperation and

individual enterprise in nineteenth-century Cache Valley. The idealism of the Mormon cooperative community, articulated so eloquently by Brigham Young and others and pushed so fervently during the United Order movement of the late 1860s and the 1870s, sounded throughout Utah's valleys against a distinct counterpoint of individualism, private economic opportunity, and need. In the turmoil created by the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the emerging mining industry in Utah and surrounding states, the anti-polygamy crusade, and the just-out-of-reach goal of statehood, it is not surprising that the economic alternative offered through the cooperative movement did not receive unchallenged acceptance.

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Another challenge to cooperation came a century later as Utah and Idaho encountered the question of the most judicious use of the waters from the Bear River. This most unusual river springs from the north slope of Utah's Uinta Mountains, flows north into Wyoming and around the northern shore of Bear Lake before turning south to reenter Utah and discharge its waters into the Great Salt Lake. The course of the river runs over five hundred miles, yet its point of origin is only ninety miles east of the Great Salt Lake. As our third article demonstrates, the designation as "the Hardest Worked River in the World," is one that is well-deserved given the vital role the Bear River has served in the agricultural and economic life of southern Idaho and northern Utah.

Frances Burke, the subject of our last article, served as a Presbyterian missionary in the predominantly Mormon community of Toquerville for more than four decades from 1881 until 1925 when poor physical health ended her ministry. A fearless woman of commitment, idealism, and persistence, Miss Burke entered a hostile environment that a person of less fortitude could not have endured. Yet she ended her days honored and remembered by the community for her selfless service and devotion.

***OPPOSITE:* View of Bear River Canyon (Gorge), Box Elder and Cache County line, 1913.**
***ABOVE:* Bear River Duck Club, Box Elder County, 1906. Later the Duck Club became part of Bear River Migratory Bird Refuge.**
***ON THE COVER:* The United Order Manufacturing and Building Company (right) of the 1870s competed directly with privately owned mercantile outfits, similar to the Logan "co-op" of the late-1860s. Credit: Utah State University Special Collections**

Willem Jacobus DeBry and *De Utah Nederlander*, 1914–1935

By WILLIAM MULDER

DE UTAH NEDERLANDER

THE ONLY DUTCH NEWSPAPER IN THE INTERMOUNTAIN STATES.

1ste Jaargang — Donderdag, 2 April, 1914. — Nummer 1

NEDERLAND. EUROPA. AMERIKA. FEUILLETON.

Abonneer U op dit Blad $1.50 per Jaar

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS ARCHIVES

More than fifty years ago it was my good fortune to meet Willem Jacobus (James) DeBry shortly before his death at eighty-one, who told me his story of the founding of *De Utah Nederlander*, a Dutch weekly published in Salt Lake City which he edited for a daunting twenty-one years, from 1914 to 1935. A complete run of the newspaper itself is accessible on microfilm, an eloquent record of Dutch immigrant culture in Utah, but DeBry's personal account, rich in human interest, would have been lost to history.[1]

Born in Rotterdam in 1869, converted to Mormonism in 1890, the year he and his wife Elizabeth Hendrika Stokvisch emigrated to America, the courtly DeBry was a literalist, schooled in his youth in the exegesis of a Calvinist creed when he had thought to become a *dominee* or minister.[2] He did not like the designation "Dutch." He felt it to be, among Americans, a term of derision. Dutch cleanser, Dutch rusk, Dutch Boy White Lead, even Dutch cheese and Dutch tulips were questionable varieties of fame. He also objected to the term "Hollander" as

Page one of the first issue of De Utah Nederlander, April 2, 1914. De Utah Nederlander was published in Salt Lake City from April 1914 to October 1935.

Dr. Mulder is Professor Emeritus of English, University of Utah and a Utah State Historical Society Fellow.

[1] The microfilm copy of *De Utah Nederlander* is at the History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 50 East North Temple in Salt Lake City.

[2] Attorney Robert J. DeBry, a grandson, has been helpful with the genealogy and a selection of photographs. A possible ancestor is the Theodore DeBry who made twenty-three engravings after John White for his book on Virginia in 1590, *First Pictures of the New World*.

inaccurate, for Holland was but one province of the Netherlands. His country was *Nederland*, the Lowland, and when in 1914 a name for a newspaper among his countrymen in Utah was debated, he held out for *Nederlander* as the only one which good taste and historical sense could approve. Quipped a member of the committee forming plans for the new paper: "DeBry zegt er is geen Holland!" ("DeBry says there is no Holland!")[3]

Before the *Nederlander*, however, two other publications in the mother tongue made their appearance among the Dutch in Utah, and DeBry himself, already thirty-five, fathered the first one in Ogden late in 1905, giving it the comfortably domestic name of *De Huisvriend* (The Home Friend).[4]

Taking note of events in the Utah colony, *De Ster* (The Star), the Mormon mission periodical in Rotterdam, applauded the event, saying that Ogden had once more taken a step in the interest of Hollanders and their language. *De Ster* linked both the first number, which it described as a leaflet, and an extra number for Christmas, with the proud observation that the publisher was W. J. DeBrij (the "ij" is pronounced "y"), who, during his first mission back to the Netherlands, had edited *De Ster* in 1897 and 1898.[5]

Never intended as a regular paper, *De Huisvriend* appeared at intervals for several years, principally during the Christmas holidays. It circulated free of charge, in some two or three hundred copies, depending on advertising to meet expenses. No copies have survived. Even DeBry lost his, together with the sea trunk they were in on one of his trips to the Old Country. *De Huisvriend* remains only a memory.

While DeBry was back in Holland on a second mission, the "gebroeders Dee," brothers Peter and Claus Dee, who were in the printing business in Salt Lake City, issued Utah's second Dutch-language publication as a commercial undertaking. Without DeBry's scruples, they called it *De Hollander*. Handset, nine by fourteen inches, printed on smooth paper, with its four pages artfully made up, its first number appeared on September 14,

[3] From the interview, source of all the anecdotal information unless cited otherwise. See my master's thesis on "Utah's Nordic-Language Press: Aspect and Instrument of Immigrant Culture" (University of Utah, 1947). I am no purist and use all the terms: Dutch, Holland, Netherlands.

[4] Why Ogden in 1905? Immigrants from the Netherlands, like their English, Scandinavian, and German counterparts, were mostly Mormon converts, beginning in the 1860s and peaking in the 1950s after World War II. (Professor Janet Sheeres, a Dutch scholar in Grand Rapids, Michigan, who is researching Nineteenth-Century Dutch Mormonism, believes that some Dutch converted along the Mormon trail in Iowa and went west as early as 1853.) Early and late the converts settled primarily in Ogden and Salt Lake City. In 1900, out of a total of 523 Utah residents who had been born in the Netherlands, Weber County numbered 383 to Salt Lake County's 78. By 1910 Salt Lake City's Dutch-born residents had increased to 443 and Utah residents born in Holland numbered 1,392. See my entry "Hollander Immigrants to Utah" in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 259-60. Their concentration in the two neighboring cities made social and cultural events in the mother tongue possible. Willem DeBry, already thirty-five years of age, appears in Polk's Ogden Directory for 1905 as a clerk working for I.L. Clark & Sons and living with his wife and two sons at 3254 Stephens Avenue. In the Directory for 1906 the family was living at 2671 Monroe Ave., hardly more than a block, unknown to each other, from where Florian DeVoto took up residence at 2561, with his son Bernard DeVoto entered as "student."

[5] *De Ster* (Rotterdam) 11 (January 15, 1906): 30, on microfilm at The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints History Library.

1907, and made a strong bid for support from the Americans who had been to Holland on Mormon missions, as well as from the Dutch themselves. The editor was Frank I. Kooyman, a young bookkeeper and talented writer, who had been assistant editor of *De Ster* before he left Holland for Utah in 1904, and who gave the paper what literary tone it had. In fact, the first number featured his translation of Chapter One of Nephi Anderson's *Added Upon* (*Toegevoegd*) on its front page, a *feuilleton* or literary work, to be serialized in future issues. The editor thanked Anderson for permission to publish his translation of this popular narrative of three stages of human existence and informed his readers that they could buy the fourth edition in English at the *Deseret News* bookstore.[6]

By its second week, *De Hollander* had taken a step which turned out to be its undoing: the printer brothers had consolidated with The Human Culture Company, high-sounding front for the multiple enterprises of a Dr. J.T. Miller, a resourceful German who published *The Character Builder* and half a dozen other magazines in Salt Lake City. Miller was to handle business matters, diverting some advertising in *De Hollander*'s direction, and Peter and Claus Dee would in turn do his printing. But the editor of *The Character Builder*, who offered his magazine in combination with *The Phrenological Journal*, *Physical Culture*, *The Philistine*, *The Home and School Visitor*, *Der Salt Lake City Beobachter* (the German-language paper in Utah), *The Utah Farmer*, and a host of others, needed a good deal of uplift himself: he did not turn over the receipts from advertising in *De Hollander* to his partners. Subscriptions, furthermore, were disappointingly few, and with the seventh issue, on October 26, 1907, *De Hollander* expired, along with its Old-World atmosphere of *krentenbrood* (raisin bread), *beschuit* (rusk), *Goudsche sprits* (Gouda butter cookies), and *Haarlemsche meisjes* (Haarlem lassies, a confection). It could not survive the triple blow of indifference, the hardships of a depression year, and the double-dealing of partner Miller.[7]

Meanwhile, notable Scandinavian- and German-language newspapers had been on the scene for years: *Bikuben* (Beehive), a hardy Danish-Norwegian weekly established in 1876, which had featured the indigenous verse of C.C.A. Christensen and letters full of local color from the settlements; *Utah Posten*, the third paper by that name, a Swedish weekly begun in 1900 which would outlast earlier attempts in Swedish (*Svenska Härolden*, 1885-1892, and *Utah Korrespondenten*, 1890-1915); the *Salt Lake City Beobachter*, the German weekly begun in 1890, successor to the Salt Lake City *Intelligenz-Blatt*, which existed for only four months in 1890 but

[6] Frank I. Kooyman, who had presided over the Netherlands LDS Mission in the early 1930s, was employed as a translator in the Church Historian's Office at 47 East South Temple when I met him there in the mid 1940s. I learned about *De Hollander* from him. Hearty, energetic, and anecdotal, he was also helpful when I had questions as I read around in the bound originals of *De Utah Nederlander* kept there long before they were microfilmed. The original bound volumes are now kept in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint vaults in Little Cottonwood Canyon.

[7] These events are recounted in Mulder, "Utah's Nordic-Language Press."

which during its short but animated life had advocated a German suburb and a summer resort "German Style." All these were at the outset independent, secular undertakings which by 1914 were receiving some LDS church subsidy.[8]

COURTESY Y OF ROBERT J. DEBRY, ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Willem J. DeBry as a young man, possibly taken before one of his three LDS missions to the Netherlands.

Early in 1914, in a gesture to give the Dutch Saints the same opportunity their Scandinavian and German fellow convert-immigrants were enjoying, the First Presidency of the LDS church proposed to support a Dutch newspaper to the extent of giving its editor office space and a guaranteed paid subscription of two hundred copies to be sent to Holland for proselyting purposes. For the rest—for salaries, typesetting and printing, circulation, and supplies—it was sink or swim. That was the proposal taken to Willem DeBry. By then he was living in Salt Lake City at 367 Center Street and working as an agent for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The venture, the Brethren told him, depended on him, for, if he refused to accept the responsibility on these terms, there would be no Dutch paper.[9]

DeBry had frank misgivings, for he knew how demanding of time and energy a one-man paper could be. But on returning from a third mission to Holland in 1911 he had gone to work at the office of the Presiding Bishop of the LDS church as an assistant in immigrant welfare, helping the newly arrived converts find jobs and get settled. Now it occurred to him that his newspaper work could be an extension of that service, instrumental in enabling the newcomers to adjust. He remembered his own meager furnishings of packing cases and candles and trudging the city's streets when he could not spare so much as ten cents for carfare; he remembered

[8] Ibid.

[9] DeBry had reason to be hesitant. There was hardly a "critical mass" of potential readers to support the venture: as already noted, Utah residents born in Holland numbered only 1,392 in 1910; Dutch stock (by birth and parentage) numbered 2,253, but the second generation were seldom familiar with the mother tongue. The *Nederlander* would live through a census for 1920 and one for 1930. By 1920 Dutch stock in Utah numbered 3,913 and 5,201 by 1930, more encouraging for a publication depending on readers knowing the mother tongue.

how his wife had gone from house to house inquiring, "Do you need a maid?" and how, when she had found work and said her simple grace over the meal prepared for her in the kitchen, her employer mocked, "God can't understand your Dutch." DeBry accepted, a committee of leading Hollanders conferred, and, emptying their own pockets to get it started, published the first issue of *De Utah Nederlander* on Thursday, April 2, 1914, the same year the guns of August would be heard in Europe.[10]

For twenty-one years the *Nederlander* met its Thursday deadline, except for three or four occasions: once when someone dropped a made-up form and pied the type, twice to give the printers some vacation, and once when the *groote pers* (the big printing press) was overhauled. DeBry's struggles in translating, editing, and managing the paper are an epitome of the professional worries of the immigrant journalist in Utah. The work recognized no hours. Filling four large news sheets of fine print weekly was no small undertaking. By day he performed his welfare services at the office of the Presiding Bishop, wrote, translated, and chased advertising; at night he read proofs, made up forms, attended to the mailing list in his office in the Sharon Building at 57 West South Temple, then briefly in the Vermont Building at 45 West South Temple, and finally at 39 Temple Avenue, which ran east from Main Street behind the Hotel Utah and the old Deseret Gymnasium and which accommodated the editors of all the subsidized foreign-language papers on the first floor with the printing press above them on the second floor. For the early issues type was set at a commercial linotype shop three blocks away, a long, long three blocks, DeBry remembered, when he walked with a literal load of lead under his arms. At night he received assistance from fellow countryman Bastiaan Grundmann in making up the forms and handsetting the ads.[11]

Toward the end of the first year, the *Nederlander*, together with the German-language *Beobachter*, secured the use of a linotype machine between them, and Grundmann set the Dutch copy. But when in 1923 *Utah Nederlander*, *Beobachter*, the Swedish *Utah Posten*, and the Danish-Norwegian *Bikuben* were placed under a single management as the Associated Newspapers under LDS church direction, Grundmann was laid off in an economizing move and Dutch copy had to be set by the German and Swedish typesetters remaining in the organization. Proofreading under these circumstances was a torture. Help from a few willing countrymen like Frank Kooyman kept DeBry sane.

[10] A brief note on a contemporary foreign-language paper in Utah: 1914 was also the year Uneo Teresawa began publication of *The Utah Nippo*, a Japanese-language paper, in Salt Lake City. At his death in 1939 his widow continued publication until her death in 1991, a most remarkable run of seventy-seven years. See Haruko T. Moriyasu, "Kuniko Muramatsu Teresawa: Typesetter, Journalist, Publisher," in *Worth Their Salt: Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996).

[11] For many years Grundmann operated the job press in the basement of the Thomas Library at the University of Utah.

The *Nederlander*'s first issue declared itself, in English, to be "The Only Dutch Newspaper in the Inter-Mountain States," a claim never relinquished. Duly entered as second-class matter at the U.S. Post Office, the weekly, according to its editorial masthead, was sponsored by De Utah Nederlander Publishing Co., whose principals were never named, but which gave it an air of independence. An annual subscription cost just $1.50 ($2.00 foreign), rates unchanged for the life of the paper. DeBry, named *Redacteur* (editor), appointed the Dee-Neuteboom Printing Co. at 2362 Washington Avenue as his agent in Ogden, confirmation that Salt Lake City and Ogden were the poles of Dutch population and activity.[12]

DeBry crammed his first number full of interesting matter: a front page devoted to news columns headed *Nederland*, *Europa*, and *Amerika*, the sea of small type no deterrent to countrymen eager to read the news from original sources, making them world citizens, better informed in foreign affairs than their American contemporaries. Across the page at the bottom appeared the traditional newspaper *feuilleton*, in this instance Nephi Anderson's *History* [*Geschiedenis*] *of Chester Lawrence*, a serialized tale of star-crossed lovers who lose their lives at sea in this world only to be reunited in the next.

The *Nederlander*'s inside pages featured a greeting from Governor William Spry along with his portrait, and a photograph of the architect's rendering of the state capitol, then under construction; a verse in four stanzas wishing the paper a long life (very likely the work of Frank Kooyman); editorials; church news (LDS general conference, the Netherlands Mission and returned missionaries); notice of the *Hollandsche Vergadering*, the Dutch meetings which convened every Friday evening in Salt Lake City and Tuesdays in Ogden; notice of the latest immigrant arrivals; another column of news (*Telegrammen Berichten*); and advertisements, some of which proclaimed "Dutch spoken here," which gave Dutch readers a wide window on the economy and the society they were part of.[13]

In his very first editorial DeBry rationalized, with some passion, the need and utility of his paper, which he personified as the "new-born":

[12] Evert Neuteboom served as the Netherlands Vice Consul for Utah until his death in 1930 at the age of sixty-two.

[13] A backward look sees much that is quaint and startling in the advertisements (the low prices, for example, but the dollar had a much higher value). In DeBry's first issue: "For sale: a horse and carriage $40," $22.50 per month to rent "a modern house." An ad *Gebruikte Automobielen* (Used Autos), all in Dutch, in 1927 listed a 1923 Dodge Sedan for $240, a 1921 Buick Touring for $180, a 1924 Buick Sedan for $680. Names familiar in Mormondom appeared early and with regularity: Zion's Savings Bank and Trust Co., Heber J. Grant Insurance, and ZCMI, which advertised sales during LDS general conference. Dutch specialty ads, to be sure, appeared in most issues: herring, baked goods, cheese, *klompen* (woodenshoes). Ads for coal delivery were eventually replaced by ads for natural gas. Early on, even electricity had to be promoted. The Ford Motor Co., which, incidentally, built factories in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, urged owners to "protect" their investment in the Model T, even after the birth of the Model A. Piano lessons, book and stationery stores, movies and theater ads suggest that there was an interest in these recreations.

> It speaks the mother tongue, the tongue in which we first stammered the lovely word *Moeder*. In this language God's servants preached the Restoration to us. In this language we made courtship and married. In this tongue our dying dear ones bade their last farewell. Words spoken in the *Nederlander* in our mother tongue will evoke many memories. Should we forget that language? No! Although we live in the land of freedom and have chosen these Western states for our children's habitation, we shall not forget our mother tongue and the land of our birth. As far as possible we shall also teach our children a knowledge of this language, even ten minutes a day at home.[14]

In the same issue DeBry addressed *Onze Lezers* (Our Readers) and vowed that the paper would remain neutral in politics but would not be reluctant to speak out on moral matters. Throughout its career, the *Nederlander* maintained a dual perspective—the Old Country heritage and an American reality. His editorials reflected that outlook: they were clear, vigorous, intelligent, directed at assisting his people to find their way in the new environment without losing the refining influence of the homeland. A conscious stylist, he would walk the floor nights searching for the right word. He took pains to explain American history and the background of the new culture's icons and observances. Over the years he wrote more than once about Columbus, "the many-sided" Franklin ("no stranger to us because we heard of him in school"), Washington (the "Farewell Address"), Lincoln (the inaugurals), Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt—all major figures in a providential history, and about world figures such as Madame Curie and Mahatma Gandhi. DeBry did not wear his erudition on his sleeve but addressed topics of the day with a steadying common sense, always with relevance to the needs and interests of his countrymen.

During World War I he kept his eye on developments in Europe. He introduced a double column *Oorlogs Berichten* (War News), with a day-to-day calendar of events, often with photographs of the armed forces and heads of state on both sides. It was front-page news in the *Nederlander* when the young Queen Wilhelmina called up all militias and the army to defend the country's borders. DeBry's editorial on her birthday (she was born in 1880) explained that the death of King Willem III ended male descent in the House of Orange. Wilhelmina, then just ten years old, was the nation's "apple of the eye." Now, at thirty-four, "she is truly a queen and much is expected of her." The *Nederlander* reproduced her portrait and Frank Kooyman wrote a poem in her honor.[15]

Even a cursory sampling of DeBry's editorial topics through the years illustrates the reach of his intellect and his earnest desire not merely to inform but to educate: the approach of World War I ("All eyes are focused

[14] Despite his arguments on behalf of the mother tongue, DeBry in a second editorial in his first issue advised his people not to give awkward names to their children (Geertje, Jannika, Angenietje, for example). Keep your surnames, he wrote, but adapt the first.

[15] *Utah Nederlander*, August 20, 1914. The family album shows my father, at twenty-four, in uniform at the border. My mother, with her first-born Angenietje (Annie/Anne), spoke often of her anxiety at the time.

on Europe"), disarmament, peace conferences, immigration laws, the Great Depression, unemployment, the National Recovery Act, Memorial Day, women's suffrage, labor strikes, Zionism and immigration to Palestine, the Arab movement, Russian socialism, the rising persecution of the Jews under Hitler, the Scopes trial in Tennessee ("Evolution is an hypothesis"), Prohibition (he did not want to repeal it).

COURTESY OF ROBERT J. DEBRY, ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

An early studio photograph of Willem Jacobus DeBry and his bride Elizabeth Hendrika Stokvisch in Holland.

He wrote frequently about immigration, urging caution in the early issues, followed by frank discouragement as the Depression deepened: It's hard to find work here. Loans from friends are fine, but hard to pay back. The situation in the United States is not rosy. There is much unemployment in Utah. And the inevitable moral rider: Zion is not perfect. It has weaknesses. You must stand on your own feet in church and society. In 1930, when elderly immigrant residents inquired about possible government pensions, DeBry, with the regulations in a booklet lying on his desk, sought to answer them: they must be sixty-five or older and unable to work; they must have lived a minimum of fifteen years in the country and five as United States citizens, and they must have lived in Utah for fifteen years. If they earned three hundred dollars a year or if relatives could help they were not eligible for any pension. At most, the payment would be twenty-five dollars per month. "The law is recent." (These rules were precursors of National Social Security, enacted only on August 13, 1935.)

For a church-subsidized paper, the *Nederlander* leaned surprisingly toward the ecumenical and secular: DeBry wrote editorials on Palm Sunday and Good Friday, events in the Christian calendar not formally celebrated in Mormondom. He devoted one editorial to the Jewish Feast of Purim, another to "Rome's Faithful Following." George Dern's inauguration as Governor of Utah in 1929 gave DeBry an excuse to write about "The

Functions of Government." In *Belangrijke Documenten* (Important Documents) he discussed the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the U.S. Constitution. The black pall over the Salt Lake Valley produced by thousands of coal-burning stoves and coal-burning locomotives that huffed their way into the city's railroad stations provoked DeBry to urge, "Let's develop electricity." Such issues, to be sure, were addressed in the American dailies; the *Nederlander* was unique in educating the Dutch about them in their own tongue. And there were special opportunities such as DeBry's promotion of a Dutch entry in the Pioneer Day parade, and when the city fathers set aside several acres of arable land in a contest to grow vegetables, DeBry, sure of winning, thought that was an ideal undertaking for *Onze Jongens* (Our Boys).[16]

DeBry's moral tone was unmistakable in things that mattered to him: "Smoking Is Harmful," *De Suikerduurte* (The High Cost of Sugar), blamed on "Wall Street's corner on sugar," important to the local beet sugar industry (the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. was a big advertiser and DeBry consistently urged his readers to support local business). In *De Waarde der Dingen* (The Worth of Things), DeBry praised the intangibles—health, dear ones, love, freedom of thought and of worship—and reviewed what the forefathers fought for. One of his editorials took a comic turn when, in disgust, he satirized the crude behavior of young people at the movies. But in "The Old Year" and "Thoughts on the Beginning of the New Year" he was meditative: *De klokken luiden*....(The bells are ringing….). In "The Old Year" he developed a beautiful metaphor: "Like a drop of water hanging on a branch, ready to fall, the old year is ready to descend into the depths of the past. So with our lives…."[17]

The tie with the Old Country for the resident Dutch in Utah was never stronger than in crisis. News of floods from storms and dikes breaking raised anxieties for relatives and for the land itself, so largely retrieved from the sea. Hearts were saddened at the news that *Het Stadhuis* (the Town Hall) in Leiden, built in 1392, was destroyed by fire, together with its art treasures.[18] For Dutch readers the *Nederlander* was a collective remembrancer. They took pride in the historical article on the 125th anniversary marking *eenheidstaat*, the Dutch union on March 1, 1796, and pride in such a modern engineering feat as the new locks in Ijmuiden, the biggest in the world, which would aid in the development of the harbor in Amsterdam. There were mixed emotions about the progress in closing off the Zuider Zee from the North Sea to create land: would it destroy the fisheries and, worse, cut off the herring? The news that seven water windmills and one grain windmill in the surroundings of Sappenmeer were closed down evoked nostalgia and quickened hope that efforts were being made to save

[16] *Utah Nederlander*, April 16, 1914, January 17, 1920, January 9, 1930, July 10, 1930, and *passim*.
[17] Ibid., December 29, 1921, January 3, 1929, and *passim*.
[18] Ibid., March 21, 1929, and *passim*.

them for their scenic beauty. When the Netherlands government issued a series of Rembrandt stamps which displayed a likeness of the painter by a fellow artist Jan Sluyten against a background of Rembrandt's *De Staalmeesters* (The Steelmasters), DeBry printed a reproduction.[19]

A wide reader, DeBry was in fact fond of historical articles which, if he did not write them himself, he took from published sources: in a single year, for example, an article on the Dutch East Indies copied from *Industrie Italiane Illustrate*, an article on the Celts taken from the *Haagsch*e *Post*, an article on Luther standing before the Council at Worms on April 18, 1521.[20] The history of the LDS mission in the Netherlands was rehearsed at length in *De Morgenster der Nederlandsche Zending* (The Morning Star of the Netherlands Mission), marking the sixtieth anniversary of the mission. Both the *Nederlander* and *De Ster* published historical sketches, and the Dutch general conference in Ogden, attended by the Ogden and Salt Lake City Dutch congregations, celebrated the jubilee in June 1921.[21]

The announcements of silver and golden wedding anniversaries, with photographs, and the extended obituaries of old timers among the convert-immigrants amounted to biographies in brief, filling in the history of the Hollanders in Utah. They always noted place and date of birth, year of marriage, year and place of conversion, the year of emigration, and the progeny, living and dead. The geography, full of place names, conjured up nostalgia for a province, a village, a city or town. They were ordinary lives distinguished by the facts of conversion and emigration.

A notable contribution to that history was the *Nederlander*'s publication in full of Johanna Carolina Lammers' "Journey to Utah in the Year 1867." With her aged mother (who was seventy-five) together with eight other early converts, they sailed in May from Rotterdam to New York on the steamship *Minnesota* and traveled by train to Council Bluffs, "where we made preparations for the journey through the wilderness." The account of their trek (a Dutch word, by the way) in a "caravan of 460 wagons" is a typical pious pioneer story but rare as a Dutch source and unusually vivid in Johanna's recollection in 1907 of the events of that journey: a disruption of the camp one night by drunken soldiers, the death of "forty-two victims, great and small" from an outbreak of yellow fever, the taste of a stale crust of bread "sweet as cake" picked up out of a wagon rut, shoes so worn the toes stuck out, the frozen toes still painful every winter, and the dreadful episode when "one of our sisters from Sweden had wandered a little from the caravan and was snatched up by the Indians, bound to a horse, and was soon carried out of sight." Seven months after setting out, Johanna and her mother (who lived to be eighty-seven), reached the Salt Lake Valley

[19] Ibid., April 21, 1921, March 20, 1930.

[20] Ibid., May 26, 1921, June 23, 1921.

[21] *Ons Jubelfeest*, June 2, 1921, July 14, 1921. A young Gerrit de Jong played the organ at a Jubilee meeting in the Assembly Hall on Temple Square. De Jong went on to teach at Brigham Young University, became Dean of the Fine Arts College, and is memorialized in a concert hall on campus named after him.

and settled in "Ogden City." Johanna had to conclude on a sad note: "Of the Hollanders who journeyed with me, six have apostatized."[22]

The *Nederlander* served as bulletin for notices of coming events (social and cultural as often as religious) in the Dutch communities in Salt Lake City and Ogden and, after the events, for reports, minutes, or reviews by the secretaries of the organizations. DeBry more than once had to plead with them to get their submission to his office in time for the weekly deadline. A person like Bieman Tiemersma was a joy to read for his elegant and comprehensive narratives, making him well known by the time, in 1930, he was appointed Utah's Vice Consul for the Netherlands with an office in the Beason Building in Salt Lake City. He kept hours in Ogden as well following the death of Evert Neuteboom. His regular notice in the *Nederlander* reminded his countrymen of the various services he could offer *kosteloos* (without cost) or at a discount, such as passage to the fatherland on the Holland-America Line, which regularly advertised in the paper.[23]

DeBry created a column with a boxed heading *Om Ons Heen* (Round About Us) to accommodate news of particular interest to both communities. The *Hollandsche Vergadering*, or Dutch Meeting, which had enjoyed a long continuity in both cities (and it would outlive the *Nederlander*) was the heart of activity in the mother tongue. It drew the largest attendance every Friday night in Salt Lake City and Tuesday in Ogden and provided support for music and drama. It was the scene of missionary farewells and homecomings, gospel talks by old members and newcomers alike, spirited congregational singing of familiar hymns, vocal and instrumental solos, and on occasion a rendition by Excelsior, the greatly admired choir of seventy to eighty voices, or by The Happy Eight, a popular double male quartet. Both groups gave concerts at a variety of venues. Willem DeBry sent two sons on missions to Holland who were duly accorded farewells and homecomings. DeBry himself translated a talk by Bishop Elias S. Woodruff of the Forest Dale Ward at one *Vergadering* when a double quartet from the choir sang an *Engelsch loflied* (a hymn in English). One Friday meeting in Salt Lake City was devoted to honoring mothers, who were presented pink carnations. The *Nederlander* reported a capacity audience (attention so rapt one could hear a pin drop) and supplied some interesting statistics. Present were sixty mothers: one great grandmother, twenty granddaughters, four mothers with families of more than ten children, eleven mothers with five children, and twenty-four mothers with fewer than five. On November 13, 1930, the Netherlands Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Dr. J.H. van Roydem, addressed the Holland Meeting in Salt Lake City and gave an overview of the history of Hollanders in America. At an organ recital for the ambassador in the Tabernacle Professor Edward P. Kimball

[22] *Utah Nederlander*, July 23, 1914. My translation is included in the appendix of "Utah's Nordic Language Press."

[23] *Utah Nederlander*, 1930-1935 *passim*.

ended with a nationalistic Dutch song *Wien Neerlandsch Bloed* (Our Netherlands Blood).[24]

The weekly gatherings in the mother tongue, which were social as well as religious occasions, met in hospitable LDS ward and stake meetinghouses: in Ogden the Tabernacle, the Eleventh Ward, and Lorin Farr Park for frequent open-air gatherings were venues; in Salt Lake Granite and Pioneer stakes, Farmers Ward, Forest Dale Ward, Cottonwood Ward, and the Seventeenth Ward in Salt Lake City were usual hosts. An unusual venue was Capitol Hill, where 120 Hollanders held two open-air meetings one summer. "Autos," reported the *Nederlander*, "stopped to listen." At LDS general conference time the Dutch met on Sunday afternoon in Barratt Hall on the LDS High School/College campus on Main Street across from Temple Square, filling it to capacity. DeBry in his notices made a point of the location as central and easily reached by trolley. At a Dutch general conference in Ogden on July 12, 1931, sponsored by both Salt Lake and Ogden organizations, attendance totaled 952 for two sessions. LeGrand Richards, a former president of the Netherlands Mission, and Nicholas Smith, a former president of both the Netherlands and South Africa missions (where Afrikaans, a modified Dutch, was spoken), were among American familiars who addressed the conferences in Barratt Hall. Smith declared he had "many Hollanders in his ward." Returned missionaries, who formed an organization of their own, gathered for reunions usually on Saturday evenings at a designated ward meetinghouse at general conference time.[25]

The Dutch meetings were weekly reunions, capped by the annual reunion of the Ogden and Salt Lake communities together in the summer at Lagoon when religious discourse gave way to picnics and recreation such as sack- and three-legged races, with prizes for the winners. The *Nederlander* took pains to print the program of events and the departure schedules of the Bamberger train to the resort. In one notice, "Naar Lagoon," (to Lagoon) DeBry warned that only tea and coffee were sold at the resort: "You must supply your own drinks if you observe the Word of Wisdom." Finally, he reminded his people that the Hollander outing had the best reputation. "Make it the best day of the year."[26]

An audience of six hundred heard the choir Excelsior, directed by A. van Roosendaal, mark its twelve-and-a-half-year anniversary on April 17, 1931, with a program in the Lincoln Ward, followed by a celebration with an orchestra, prizes, and dancing on the 18th in the new Granite Stake Hall. "Bring your Dutch and American friends." The choir had a good reputation for its willingness to sing at benefits and the Christmas programs which the *Vergadering* sponsored, and the *Nederlander* itself brought out an annual Christmas edition with a supplement filled with story and verse suitable to the season.[27]

[24] Ibid., *passim*.
[25] Ibid.
[26] "*Naar* (to) Lagoon," Ibid., August 4, 1921, July 31, 1930.
[27] "*Het Hollandsch Zangkoor Excelsior*," Ibid., April 16, April 23, December 17, December 31, 1931.

COURTESY Y OF ROBERT J. DEBRY, ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Willem, Francis, Elizabeth and James DeBry, Rotterdam, 1910, during DeBry's third mission in Holland.

On occasion the *Vergadering*'s weekly program featured a "dramatic reading," but beyond that there was a pronounced interest in theatre in the mother tongue. The 1920s and early 1930s saw a great deal of activity on the part of spirited amateurs calling themselves, in succession, the Holland Dramatic Club, the Netherlands Dramatic Society, and the Holland Players, who managed three or four plays per season. Some actors provided continuity by surviving all the transmutations. The *Nederlander* published notices of coming performances followed by, in the main, indulgent reviews. One reviewer adopted the penname *Toon Eelvriend* (Friend of the Theater), a play on *toneel* for stage or theater.[28]

In 1921 the Holland Dramatic Club marked its first anniversary with a three-act play *Het Duistere Punt* (A Mysterious Matter) about a black doctor and a white baron performed before an appreciative audience in the "amusement hall" of the Eleventh Ward. The *Nederlander* gave it a four-column favorable review. In November a column headed "Ogden and Environs" reported that the Club gave a benefit performance in Ogden for missionaries going to Holland. Admission was twenty-five cents for adults, fifteen cents for children.[29]

In October 1923 the *Nederlander* published a two-column ad for the

[28] Ibid., November 19, 1931 and *passim* for the1920s and early 1930s. My father used to recite a comic monologue *Achter den Tram* ([Running] after the Tram).

[29] Ibid., April 21, December 22, 1921.

club's three-act play "The Unbelieving Thomas in Hypnotic Sleep," to be performed in the Farmers Ward amusement hall on South State Street. Again, admission was twenty-five cents or a donation of one dollar for the year. On December 23, 1923, the Netherlands Dramatic Society (the new name) provided a program for the Christmas party held in the Fourteenth Ward and sponsored by the Dutch Meeting. It presented *Kerstavond* (Christmas Eve), a dramatic sketch in two acts.[30]

In its eighth year, on April 9, 1927, the society presented Herman Heyermans' *Op Hoop van Zegen* (In Hope of Blessing), a national favorite, with a cast of seventeen in the amusement hall of the Seventeenth Ward in Salt Lake City. DeBry published a reminder, *Vergeet Het Niet* (Do Not Forget It), on April 7 with his usual encouragement for all to come.[31]

It required a cast of forty to perform the Dramatic Club's *De Jantjes* (The Sailors) performed in the Twenty-First Ward in Salt Lake City in October 1927. "Come all. Take trolleys 3 and 4." [32]

In November 1930 The Holland Players succeeded The Netherlands Dramatic Society with a first offering of a three-act farce *Willy's Trouwdag* (Willy's Wedding Day), performed on the 27th in the Twentieth Ward amusement hall. DeBry, in anticipation, commented that it would be good to have some humor in these difficult times.[33]

In the following January the Players presented a benefit for the Holland Meeting, *Het Licht in de Nacht* (The Light in the Night), with a World War I setting. A good choice, thought the reviewer, who had considered the cast of the previous play "full of promise." The third and final performance of the season by the Players was a comedy in three acts, *Haar Laatste Wil* (Her Last Will), performed on March 7, 1931, in the Twentieth Ward amusement hall. They began the new season in November with an attendance of four hundred to see *Armoede en Eerzucht* (Poverty and Ambition), performed in the "beautiful amusement and concert hall" of the Ninth Ward in Salt Lake City. Admission was the usual twenty-five cents, but the unemployed could attend free. The winter season was hailed as a new beginning after the lamented departure for California of Herman Woltman, long the director of the Club/Society/Players, who was given a long poetic farewell in the *Nederlander* by "One of the Many."[34]

The second performance of the new season presented a three-act play *Een Groote Nul* (A Big Zero) on February 22, 1932, in Whitney Hall of the Eighteenth Ward. "We expect that not a single Hollander will stay home."[35]

The *Nederlander* paid scant attention to sports, but it did note under the

[30] Ibid., October 18, 1923, December 22, 1921.

[31] Ibid., April 7, 1927.

[32] Ibid., October 27, 1927.

[33] Ibid., November 6, 1930. Under a heading "Counting the Unemployed" DeBry reported that there would be a meeting of stake presidents, whose efforts would be to help heads of households first. *De Nederlander,* December 4, 1930.

[34] Ibid., January 8, February 26, June 18, and November 19, 1931.

[35] Ibid., February 18, 1932, when DeBry's announcement of it as a coming event appeared.

heading *De Voetball Club* that on June 1, 1921, the Hollanders won 2-1 in their soccer game with the Salt Lake Eleven. Soccer apparently flourished long after the *Nederlander*'s demise, especially after World War II, when the Dutch helped to form the Utah Soccer Association, which by the mid-1950s fielded fifteen teams in three Utah cities, the Hollandia Club among them.[36]

For their wholesome recreation and moral uplift the church connection encouraged rather than stifled the reunions and conferences in the mother tongue and the music and theatre and provided hospitable venues for them. It was a nurturing attitude perfectly suited to DeBry's sensibilities. It reflected the caring tone of the letter of February 1, 1931, from Rulon S. Wells, vice-chairman of the Church Committee on LDS Meetings and Newspapers in Foreign Languages, addressed to the stake presidents of Granite, Grant, Pioneer, Liberty, Salt Lake, and Ensign stakes that emphasized "It is our wish that you support the Latter-Day Saints speaking a foreign language." Wells reviewed the guidelines for supervising the six foreign-language organizations which assigned the Dutch Meeting to the Salt Lake Stake. He directed that during the quarterly conferences in foreign languages, when officers of the stake were presented and upheld, so should the officers of the foreign-language organizations. It was a firm but sympathetic directive.[37]

Despite these benign concerns, within four years the bell tolled for the *Nederlander* and the other subsidized foreign-language newspapers, although the Dutch Meeting and its counterparts in German and the Scandinavian languages carried on for some years.

To review the *Nederlander*'s chronology: as early as 1918, after four years of struggle to meet expenses, DeBry realized he needed a larger subsidy. He had to drop the fiction of a Nederlander Publishing Company. With the issue for March 28 his editorial masthead indicated that the paper was now "Maintained and published by and in the interest of" the LDS church. DeBry, still the editor, explained in his *Bekentmaking* (Notice) that the costs of production made increased support necessary.[38]

Five years later the *Nederlander* became part of a major reorganization. This time in a boxed heading *Belangrijke Kennisgeving* (Important Information) in the issue for June 14, 1923, DeBry told his readers that on March 28 the LDS First Presidency had appointed John A. Widtsoe of the Council of the Twelve Apostles and John Wells, counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, to review the situation of the foreign-language press and recommend how to reduce costs without compromising the content and unique character of each paper.

[36] "*De Voetball Club*" Ibid., June 9, 1921. For activities after World War II see Davis Bitton and Gordon Irving, "The Continental Inheritance" in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. by Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976).

[37] *Utah Nederlander*, May 21, 1931.

[38] Ibid., August 28, 1918.

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS ARCHIVES

Frank I. Kooyman, pictured here in 1938, LDS poet and frequent contributor to De Utah Nederlander.

Their solution was to give the papers an umbrella as The Associated Newspapers which would simultaneously publish the same articles of interest to church members and their friends such as sermons, translations and explications of scriptures, and church news, but remain free to select local and foreign news and features of interest to and in keeping with the nature of the nationalities they served. They appointed a committee representing the four papers: DeBry for the *Utah Nederlander*, C.A. Krantz for *Utah Posten*, P.S. Christiansen for *Bikuben*, and Willie Wahler for *Der Beobachter*. Adam L. Petersen was hired as General Manager who would attend to subscriptions, advertising, and all fiscal matters. The well-known Swedish scholar Jan M. Sjödahl was named Managing Editor and Willem DeBry, who remained *Redacteur* of his own paper, as Associate Editor. The papers published portraits taking up three columns of the worthies who had deliberated on what to do: John A. Widtsoe, chair; Rulon Wells, vice-chair; Sjödahl, secretary; the historian Andrew Jenson, and DeBry, who is seen sitting erect looking straight ahead, a stoic presence.[39]

DeBry had mixed feelings about these changes, though honored to have his portrait in the three-column panel of portraits alongside the Brethren, but with added responsibilities as Associate Editor for the combined papers. With Petersen as general manager there would be no more trumping up advertisements and exhausting himself handling subscriptions. Translating most of the church matter that the *Nederlander* now was obliged to carry was arduous enough. He was free, as before, to select his news from the Netherlands, from Europe at large, and America at large. The first page ever after devoted the three center columns to the *Toespraak*, or address, of LDS authorities, flanked by the double columns *Nederlandsche Berichten* on the left and the news from the rest of Europe in double columns on the right. He could still write those editorials equating the principles of the gospel with the principles of democracy and informing his countrymen about people, events, and issues he considered important. There was still the *feuilleton* across the page at the bottom, giving way when necessary to translations of the LDS Relief Society's lessons on literature translated for the benefit of its counterpart in the mission field. *Romeo and Juliet* and Melville's *Moby-Dick*, with a lengthy biography of the author, were among the selections.

Frank Kooyman still kept the paper supplied with interesting features,

[39] Ibid., June 14, 1923.

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Willem and Elizabeth DeBry continued to live in Salt Lake City after Willem retired as the editor of Nederlander in 1935 at the age of 66. Willem passed away on January 2, 1951, and Elizabeth on November 30, 1960.

even writing from Holland while presiding over the mission there in the early 1930s. His contributions included a series of humorous verses under his revived penname of Jacob Cats, Jr., an echo of Jacob Cats, seventeenth-century Dutch satirist and household poet, whose work made several appearances in the *Nederlander*; a column of local events called *Tempelstadskrabbels* (Temple City Scribbles); small talk in a section titled *Korte Klappe*r (Brief Chatter); and an occasional short story, reminiscence, or biography. A busy translator, he wrote about the difficulties of the art. His "Utah Engelsch," mixing Dutch and English, is still a delight.[40] The modest initial "K" with which he signed all his contributions became the *Nederlander's* most familiar logo.

To continue the chronology: in 1924, the First Presidency itself made a sympathetic overture. In a letter to stake presidents and bishops regarding the foreign-language papers and meetings they said they understood the reason for these activities. They valued the converts and understood their struggles to learn English. They now announced the

[40] Ibid., January 23, 1914. "Utah Engelsch" is 36 lines of alternating rhymes long. A sample:

Wij lijke Dutch op Zions hill	(Wij=We)
And show it!	
Wij speaken moeders taal nog still—	(taal=language)
And know it!	(nog still=yet)
Wij houden it hier in de West	(houden=hold)
In waarde;	(In waarde=of value)
Want Hollands language is de beste	(Want=because)
Op aarde!	(Op aarde=on earth)

formation of a supervisory committee which urged promotion of the newspapers among convert-members and the missionaries who served in those foreign lands. They argued that support in the stakes would reduce their financial burden. An enclosed letter from Widtsoe urged the appointment of an authorized agent in each ward to represent the "Associated Papers." The agent in turn, if desired, could appoint Scandinavian, German-Swiss, and Hollander representatives for their respective papers. "Make use of the foreign-born in your ward," wrote Widtsoe, "and urge the business people of the worth of advertising." Utah-Idaho Sugar must have thought it worthwhile: it was almost an article of faith to use beet sugar rather than imported cane sugar. Even President Heber J. Grant sermonized about it in DeBry's editorial "Beet Sugar and the Church."[41]

With their pooled resources the Associated Newspapers produced enlarged LDS general conference numbers, such as the twelve-page supplement issued on Thursday, September 18, 1924. DeBry took advantage, in translating the supplement, which generated a good deal of advertising, to add matter of special interest to his countrymen. The April 1930 supplement marking the centenary of the founding of the LDS church on April 6, 1830, was filled with historical articles, including an account of the Netherlands Mission.

The demise of the Associated Newspapers is fully recorded: the last numbers in Dutch, German, Swedish, and Danish-Norwegian were a collection of elegiac farewells. J.M. Sjödahl reported the decision by the church committee on August 20, 1935, to discontinue the papers for a number of reasons: 1) their diminishing sphere of influence, 2) the missions were now well supplied with manuals for the priesthood and auxiliaries, 3) the older generation in Zion needing materials in their own tongue was dying out, and 4) the Church is now better understood in the world and is not in need of the papers' defense.

John A. Widtsoe's farewell pointed out that reduced immigration was a factor as was cost, but noted that meetings in the mother tongue would continue as long as needed. Andrew Jenson in his farewell reviewed his long association with the foreign-language papers, going back to *Bikuben* in 1876, and said he was proud to own complete sets of every paper.[42]

DeBry, ever reluctant to speak of his own role and sacrifices, wrote a touching farewell and, referring to those who had already given their reasons for terminating the Associated Newspapers, resorted to a Dutch proverb: "*De beste stuurlui aan waal staan*"(The best helmsmen stand on the shore). He must have hoped the irony was not lost on his readers. His work was now in the past: "When the first number saw light of day, I never imagined I would also see the last number through the press." He thanked

[41] Ibid., December 4, 1924.

[42] Ibid., October 3, 1935. The microfilm copy of the *Utah Nederlander* was made from Jenson's collection, the papers addressed to his home at 154 North Second West, SLC.

all who "through word and deed" had supported the *Nederlander*, especially "my thanks to my colleague 'K'."

The *Nederlander*'s circulation never exceeded six hundred copies. It led an unspectacular but useful existence. There is no doubt it would not have survived without church assistance. Without the paper there would have been little record of Dutch social, cultural, and intellectual activity in Utah, and, very likely, there would have been less activity. The paper's last number on October 3, 1935, marked twenty-one and a half years of DeBry's devoted service. He was sixty-six, ready for retirement and living at 16 Harmony Court, a name happily symbolic of his own nature. He died in Salt Lake City on January 2, 1951, at the age of eighty-one.

The paper's end was noted in the *Missionary Monthly Reformed Review*, joint organ of the Reformed Church and Christian Reformed Church, published in Holland, Michigan, in both Dutch and English. The notice was printed "as part of the cultural history of our people in America."[43] DeBry, if he ever saw it, must have pondered his long sojourn among the Latter-day Saints since leaving the faith of his fathers. He may have thought of the saying *Wij zijn klein maar groot* (We are small but great), fit legacy for his *Utah Nederlander*.

[43] "*De Utah Nederlander Geeft den Strijd Op*" [...Gives up the Fight] *Missionary Monthly Reformed Review* (November 1935): 351. I am grateful to Professor Janet Sheeres of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, for this information.

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

"To The Devil By Any Road They Please": Cache Valley's Entrepreneurial Challenge to Cooperation

By ROBERT C. SIDFORD

"Division must be thrown away and all must become one," Peter Maughan, vice president of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution (LCMI), entreated the people of Cache Valley's largest town in April 1869.[1] The recently established Logan "co-op," one of a territory-wide chain of similar stores, represented just one manifestation of LDS church president Brigham Young's initiative to foster cooperation throughout Utah. Intended to encourage Mormons to shun trade with the world outside of Utah and develop a self-sufficient economy, the cooperative movement became a priority for church leaders throughout the territory. Many residents of northern Utah's Cache Valley, however, had

Logan, Utah, circa 1880. ZCMI, right, and the Logan LDS Tabernacle, left, are pictured.

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[1] Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, typescript prepared by Keith H. Anderson from the original, April 20, 1869, Utah State University Special Collections and Archives, (Hereinafter cited as USU Archives).

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

William B. Preston served as bishop of Logan in the 1860s and was also a director of the LCMI. Sketch from a photo circa 1870.

different priorities. These economically savvy individuals often responded with restraint to the church hierarchy's calls for cooperation, preferring to negotiate locally expedient responses to their expanding economic needs. Maughan assured these Loganites that "Monopoly was not what was wanted" through the creation of the LCMI; "the object was to destroy monopoly and disseminate means through the community[.]"[2] But, already, many had devised their own "means." To many of the inhabitants of this stunning verdant valley, the church-mandated scheme represented just another obstacle to the individual economic success for which many strived.

In 1859, after the Utah War, Brigham Young opened the way to the permanent settlement of Cache Valley when he permitted the reoccupation of Maughan's Fort, now Wellsville. Declaring it "the best country in the world for raising Saints," Young foresaw the agricultural promise of the comparatively well-watered lands less than one hundred miles north of Salt Lake City.[3] So did many others. By 1860 Cache Valley's 2,605 residents lived in the midst of flourishing crops of wheat and other cereals.[4]

But, soon, Cache Valley farmers found themselves socially and economically subordinate to Cache Valley's group of religious office-holders whose wealth enabled them to become merchants and leaders of industry. In response, many farmers began a lively trade with the outside world by freighting produce to the mines of Montana and Idaho in 1862. In this way, only three years after pioneering Utah's northernmost agricultural region, Cache residents' raising of cash crops became a popular response to the dearth of money, and a way to improve their positions in society.[5] Consequently, they negotiated what, to them, were reasonable responses to the need to subsist and raise their families in an unfamiliar land. Their methods, however, appeared to clash with the priorities of the Cache elite, especially the top echelons of the church hierarchy.

A small religious and economic elite, fostered at least in part by Brigham Young, had existed in Utah since the earliest days of Mormon settlement. Some of these, perhaps seeing new opportunities to advance economically

[2] Ibid.

[3] Brigham Young's remarks at Wellsville, Utah, June 7, 1860, *Deseret News*, August 1, 1860.

[4] U. S. Census of the United States, 1870, microfilm, USU Archives.

[5] Robert C. Sidford, "To the Devil By Any Road They Please": Entrepreneurship and Class in Cache Valley, Utah, 1859-1874" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 2002).

and otherwise, transplanted themselves to Cache Valley. Some were appointed to positions of religious authority; others became leaders of industry. Most were both. Cache stake president Ezra Taft Benson, for instance, was heavily involved in industrial and mercantile interests in Cache Valley and elsewhere in Utah. Similar business concerns were owned, in whole or in part, by bishops William B. Preston of Logan, William Maughan of Wellsville, William Hyde of Hyde Park, and Samuel Roskelley of Smithfield, along with several other bishops and church leaders.[6]

In response to local needs and to the elite economic influence, many in Cache Valley began to trade outside of Utah. But Cache Valley residents were not the first Utahns to do this. In 1857 Brigham Young declared his misgivings about Mormons' trade with gentiles. "[I]f I were going to attempt to destroy this people [the Mormons]," Young declared at the height of the Utah War, "[I should carry] in Gentiles and merchandise and keep this up yearly until I had filled the country with Gentiles."[7] Utah's dependence on the American market for its supplies, should that occur, would threaten Mormon isolation, Young feared. Worse, if Mormons sought out the market, their insularity was doomed.

Nevertheless, outside trade continued. Indeed, it intensified throughout the 1860s, as did Young's exhortations to the saints to desist. Henry Ballard of Logan recorded an example of this from the church president's visit to Cache Valley in 1863. Ballard wrote that Young advised those in Cache Valley to develop as many branches of industry as necessary to make them "Self sustaining as a people." He encouraged the people to "take care of every thing that we raised and not try to raise so much wheat and not take care of half of it."[8] Young's exhortation simply may have meant that Cache residents should avoid waste, but with their trade with miners to the north in its second season, it seems likely that his words had a stronger implication—that they should cease raising wheat as a cash crop and selling it for a profit. But many residents of Cache Valley paid their spiritual leader little heed, and the trade continued, apparently unabated.

Young also tried more formal measures to stem Utahns' trade with non-Mormons. In late 1862, alarmed at the increasing Mormon presence at the nearby United States army camp of Fort Douglas, the church president called on each church ward to centralize all trade under its bishop's direction. The measure apparently failed, as within a year, Young changed his approach.

In 1863 Brigham Young tried to rein in Utah's wheat market, calling for the first of several rates or "price conventions," designed to standardize the

[6] Ibid.

[7] Brigham Young's remarks, October 24, 1857, in *History of Brigham Young*, photocopy of original from Bancroft Library, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USU Archives.

[8] Henry Ballard Journal, 1852-1885, October 22, 1863, typescript Ms, Joel E. Ricks collection of transcriptions, USU Archives.

prices of various commodities and limit the Mormon trade with gentiles.[9] Young intended that these conventions would prevent the Saints from competing with each other, assuring all farmers a fair price for their grain. But it seems likely that the church president had in mind a grander purpose. By establishing prices higher than the local norm and closer to those that could be earned by freighting goods to Montana, Young apparently intended to reduce the threat posed to Utah's isolation by continued profitable contact with Americans. Driving a wagon full of wheat hundreds of miles to sell would be less profitable for Mormons than it had formerly been, and gentile freighters would be less willing to come to Cache Valley to purchase wheat at a higher cost than that to which they had become accustomed.

Young's plan encountered several barriers. Without sufficient officials to police the Mormon settlements, let alone the great distances involved in the northern trade, Brigham Young had no means to enforce the agreed-upon prices. The lack of popular enthusiasm probably also influenced the decline of the conventions; removed from the immediacy of Brigham Young's argument in support of convention prices, or perhaps even uninformed about their importance, some, at least, failed to abide by them. Moreover, because Young only extended invitations to take part in drafting the conventions to the leaders of farming and industry, the majority of Cache residents had every reason to feel disadvantaged by imposed sale prices.

Thus, the trade continued. Thomas McNeal noted in an 1864 address to the Cache Valley high priests' quorum that "our grain [is] going out of our midst for much less than the Convention price."[10] Even Burnell Smith, another member of the quorum, admitted in 1864 that he sold a bushel of wheat below the convention price. Smith "did not feel well" about his decision, although he felt justified in the sale as he was "compelled to do it from necessity."[11] Other Cache Valley residents also must have found it necessary to disregard the convention, at least occasionally.

Young made trading wheat with the miners to the north a test of fellowship in the church. "We all have rights," he broadcast in a characteristic appeal to an 1864 gathering, "and I would not abridge the rights of anybody." But the people's "foolishness" often leads them "to do wrong. [T]hey have the right to go to the gold mines, or to the devil by any road they please," Young continued, "and we have a right to cut them off from all fellowship with the Church."[12] The church president's tone left little doubt

[9] The price conventions also enabled the church to standardize credit given to individuals for goods received as tithes. "Minutes of Council of the First Presidency, Twelve Apostles, and Bishops of G. S. L. City, October 26 and 27, 1862," typescript photocopy, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USU Archives.

[10] Remarks of Thomas McNeal, Cache Valley high priests' quorum minute book, December 30, 1864, Samuel Roskelley Papers, USU Archives.

[11] Remarks of Burnell Smith, ibid.

[12] Brigham Young's remarks during a visit to Davis, Weber, Box Elder, and Cache counties, June 22-29, 1864, *Deseret News*, July 27, 1864.

about the importance he ascribed to this matter, but many in the valley, whose livelihoods depended upon the trade, continued as they had before.

By February 1864 Young devised another plan to keep the saints isolated and promote Utah's self-sufficiency. Logan's Henry Ballard described Young's initiative in his journal noting that all of Cache Valley's surplus wheat should be sold to Brigham Young for two dollars per bushel. Ballard recorded that the "Bretheren [*sic*] turned out very liberally with their Breadstuff." Although the going rate when selling to gentiles was three dollars per bushel—one dollar more than the amount Young offered—Ballard presumed that the "Saints felt well in Obeying Council [*sic*]."[13] It seems unlikely, though, that many "felt well" in obeying any counsel that caused their income to drop by one third. The conclusion that they did not readily comply is supported by the intensification of Young's pleas to Cache Valley farmers throughout the remainder of the 1860s to cease trading with gentiles.[14]

The "grain question," as it came to be known in Cache Valley, shortly became fodder for discussion in the senior church quorums, such as the Cache Valley high priests' quorum. Because many of those in authority in the church relied primarily on merchandising, milling, or other industries for their livelihood, the men in these quorums had every reason to cooperate with Young's counsel. In fact, they typically joined with the church president in attempting to direct the affairs of their wheat-farming brethren.

As early as 1862, for example, Cache stake president Ezra Taft Benson, noting the discovery of gold to the north at Salmon River, counseled those in Cache Valley "to hold on to their Grain and not let the Gentiles have it."[15] By 1864 the Cache Valley high priests' quorum announced similar ideas to the people. On December 30, Thomas Davidson spoke to those in attendance, noting the urgency with which the church hierarchy regarded the grain question. "[S]omething of importance was about to take place," Davidson predicted, "as the servants of God were very urgent in the matter [of] the Keeping of our wheat[.]"[16] Whether the "servants of God" were those in authority in the church or not, Davidson and others in the quorum began to preach abstinence from freighting or trading with gentiles. During the same meeting, for instance, Thomas McNeal asserted that the "[p]eople were to blaim [*sic*] for not acting deferantly [*sic*] in the Grain question[.]"[17]

For several years those in the quorum continued to counsel each other to control their brethren's trade with the outside world. In 1866 the quorum's president, David Crockett, counseled his fellow high priests to "withhold their patronage [from] the Gentile Traders in our midst ... it

[13] Henry Ballard Journal, February 21, 1864.

[14] See, for example, Brigham Young's discourses reproduced in the *Deseret News*, September 18, 1867, August 26, 1868, and July 7, 1869.

[15] Henry Ballard Journal, March 30, 1864.

[16] Cache Valley high priests' quorum minute book, December 30, 1864.

[17] Ibid.

being plain that their chief object was the overthrow of the People." Stake president Benson's advice, Crockett reported, was for the quorum to be duly acquainted with the people's transactions with traders.[18] The Cache fathers continued to watch over the dealings of their charges.

By 1864 Brigham Young, too, realized that relying on the people's piety was insufficient insurance to keep the Great Basin kingdom isolated. That year the town of Brigham City initiated what became a highly visible experiment in cooperative living. LDS apostle Lorenzo Snow designed the Brigham City Cooperative Association as a beacon of self-sufficiency to which other Utah towns could aspire. This first "co-op" attracted investments of goods, cash, and labor from most of the small town's residents, and most individuals profited from the co-op's various ventures because virtually all owned shares in, and worked for, the organization.[19] Although by no means the "ideal cooperative commonwealth" one historian considered it to be, Brigham City quite possibly achieved the 85 percent self-sufficiency that the co-op's management claimed.[20]

Brigham Young was suitably impressed with his namesake city. He was so enamored with the idea, in fact, that in 1868 the church president proposed the kingdom-wide adoption of Brigham City's model. Amid Utah's continuing trade with the gentile world, and with the transcontinental railroad rapidly approaching from both east and west, Young saw the cooperative movement as another way to prompt Mormons toward self-sufficiency. The farm conventions had failed to curtail trade, as had the short-lived Utah Produce Company, a privately funded business that Brigham Young inaugurated in 1866 in an attempt to bring higher prices for Utah's harvest.

Two years later, Young, in concert with a small group of co-investors, founded Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, a merchandising and wholesaling firm designed as a parent establishment to numerous proposed retail subsidiaries throughout Utah. At the LDS church's October general conference, which took place as the ZCMI's constitution was being written, Young argued for the institution's acceptance. "Money is coming into the Territory and [being] widely circulated thru [*sic*] it. Now is the time to cooperate, sell shares so low that all who earnestly desire can become share holders and let the entire people be merchants on the cooperative principle."[21] Young's words echoed throughout the territory, and many local retailing firms, the cooperative mercantile institutions, sprang into existence. Less than one month after Young's October proclamation, the *Deseret News* reported that in Logan, "Co-operation has been presented before the people in the various wards, and has been

[18] Ibid., December 28, 1866.

[19] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 325.

[20] Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 153; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 325.

[21] *Deseret News*, October 7, 1868.

received in a spirited manner."[22] The following March, under the headline, "CO-OPERATION AT LOGAN," the *News* announced the election of officers at a stockholders' meeting of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution.[23]

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Moses Thatcher, Sr., a prominent Logan businessman and LDS church Apostle, served as a director and business manager of the LCMI.

The implementation of formalized cooperation under the cooperative movement brought latent social tensions to the surface in Cache Valley. Different groups of Cache residents, within the context of their alternate paths to economic success, appeared to respond in different ways to the particular variety of cooperation demanded by the church. It seems probable that this newly imposed set of conditions necessitated the Cache elite's reassertion of its power through attempts to control the people's economic behavior. But this new state of affairs also provided the majority of Cache Valley's inhabitants with the opportunity to assert their individualism in their increasingly laissez-faire surroundings.

Brigham Young's imposition of the cooperative mercantile institutions on Cache's populace was intended to consolidate all mercantile activity in the valley. In this manner, the church could standardize prices and attain self-sufficiency. Understandably, the extraordinary level of centralization required to make the cooperative movement a success necessitated the concentration of decision-making power in the hands of a board of directors and business managers. These men, Young hoped, would ensure that the goals of the cooperative movement would be reached in each community. Of course, the hierarchical nature of the church leadership provided an ideal, pre-existing structure for running the cooperative mercantile institutions. Cache Valley's spiritual leaders thus became the obvious choice to become the "elected" officials of these organizations.

Cache Valley's leaders elected their presiding stake president Ezra Taft Benson as president of the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution. Peter Maughan, bishop of the Wellsville ward, was elected vice president, and prominent businessmen and church leaders William H. Shearman and Moses Thatcher were voted in as directors, along with William B. Preston, bishop of Logan.[24] All were elected unanimously. Directors Shearman and Thatcher were also appointed business managers, each at an annual salary of

[22] Ibid., November 11, 1868.
[23] Ibid., March 24, 1869.
[24] Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book.

$1,500, a princely sum in 1860s Utah.[25] The institution adopted a constitution virtually identical to its parent ZCMI, and resolved to offer shares to members of the public who were of "good moral character" and current in their tithing to the church.[26]

The LCMI, run by the Cache elite, also began its existence almost exclusively owned by the valley's leaders. On May 1, 1869, the LCMI initiated operations with a total capital of $29,500.[27] Although the institution's ledgers have not survived, it seems reasonable to conclude that a large percentage of this initial figure came from the mercantile businesses of directors Shearman and Thatcher, which the LCMI had subsumed in April in exchange for shares in the institution. In addition, until April 21, 1869, despite the organization's five months of existence, "only about 190 Shares had been taken at $10.00 each" by the people of Logan. With their investments representing a mere 6.4 percent of the total stockholdings the people apparently had not received cooperation in as spirited a manner as some hoped.[28]

Called the "co-op," like its sister institutions in other Mormon communities, the LCMI never proved as cooperative as its name suggested. The institution operated much as a privately run mercantile business. There exist two reasons why Cache Valley co-ops failed to fulfill their role as community owned, run, and patronized businesses.

First was Brigham Young's failure to anticipate that local elites would use to their own advantage their power as co-op administrators to the extent they did. At its April 20, 1869, meeting the LCMI president Ezra Taft Benson exhorted the people of Logan to pledge their financial support to the company, declaring he "wished all to enter into this Institution both rich and poor. The merchants had taken no shares yet[;] they had been holding back to give the people a chance. Now was the time for the people to cooperate."[29]

Speaking as company director and bishop, (the minutes made no distinction between his two roles) William B. Preston assured the people of the valley that "the Organization was the best that could be got up," and urged them to purchase shares, even if they "never expect[ed] to see a dollar of it again." Preston reinforced his case by appealing to Logan residents' spiritual convictions: "There ought not to be two voices in this matter but one voice and one spirit."[30] LCMI vice president Peter Maughan attempted to allay the fears of many that their produce would earn lower prices due to

[25] By comparison, the two clerks the LCMI later employed received monthly wages of $50 and $60, less than half that paid to the business managers. It is not known whether Shearman and Thatcher ever received their salaries, although it seems likely. See Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, May 22, 1869.

[26] See section 20 of the organization's constitution, Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, March 15, 1869.

[27] Report of Charles W. Penrose to Brigham Young, Logan, ibid., June 22, 1869.

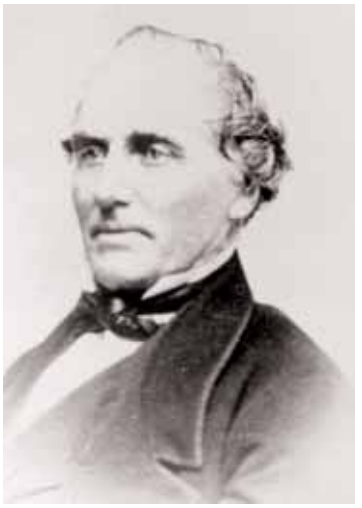
[28] Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, April 21, 1869.

[29] Ibid., April 20, 1869.

[30] Ibid.

the removal of mercantile competition. Maughan testified that "he had never had but one feeling on this matter and that was [that] it was bound to prosper."[31] But how would Cache residents make it prosper?

The following day, April 21, 1869, the Logan co-op took its first steps toward consolidating the town's mercantile operations. A resolution, recorded in the LCMI minute book, explained this phase of cooperation: "Resolved that the business committee take immediate steps to consolidate the mercantile interests of Logan by receiving goods as Stock in the Institution from those merchants who are willing to accept ... terms."[32] The business committee did just that.



UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Peter Maughan, "father" of Cache Valley, served as Cache LDS stake president, 1869-1871. Photo taken in 1860s.

At least five mercantile establishments existed in Logan at the time. LCMI directors William Shearman and Moses Thatcher owned two: Shearman & Penrose, and Thatcher & Sons. Salt Lake City merchant William Jennings and locals C. B. Robbins and D. Nelson owned the other three. On April 23, 1869, Shearman and Thatcher, both LCMI directors, reported their willingness to turn over their goods in return for stock in the co-op. This they did and, in accordance with the expressed wishes of Brigham Young, the LCMI leaders began plans to acquire a third business, that of William Jennings.[33]

But what of the stores of Robbins and Nelson? Although neither man left a record of his thoughts on the matter, each must have been intensely frustrated by his limited options. The principle of cooperation required them to sell out to the LCMI or turn in their merchandise in return for stock in the company. As the LCMI could not afford to buy them out, Robbins and Nelson could either comply, by turning over their merchandise and finding some other use for their costly, empty buildings, or continue to run their businesses in contravention to the counsel of the church. The LCMI secretary recorded Robbins' decision in the co-op's minute book. "Robbins & Co wished to continue business at present," he wrote, "as the Institution could not make immediate use of their premises[.]"[34] Nelson apparently made the same decision, as his business was still in operation that August.[35]

In Smithfield, located a few miles north of Logan, the experience of

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., April 21, 1869.
[33] Ibid., April 20, 23, 1869.
[34] Ibid., April 23, 1869.
[35] Ibid., August 6, 1869.

storeowners Thomas Richardson and William Douglass accentuated the dynamics of power among the Cache elite. By February 1869, Richardson and Douglass had established a successful wholesaling and retailing operation with merchandise shipped to them from Chicago. When they failed to close after the Smithfield co-op, run by bishop Samuel Roskelley, commenced business in June, the two merchants were "called" on a church mission. Returning two years later, Richardson and Douglass attempted to recommence their business, but the bishop apparently thwarted their efforts. The Smithfield church leader also "requested" that the store's clerk, James Sherlock Cantwell, write to the local presidents of three church quorums "telling them to prohibit their members from purchasing any merchandize [*sic*] from Richardson and Douglass."[36] Cantwell complied, and Richardson and Douglass went out of business, leaving the co-op without competition in Smithfield.

The LCMI's treatment of its treasurer William Goodwin provided another example of the Cache power structure. A partner in the firm of Robbins & Company, Goodwin found himself the object of the ire of the LCMI board of directors when Robbins failed to cease operating. On May 22, 1869, during the first LCMI meeting after the co-op had opened for business, director William B. Preston suggested that because Goodwin "was a partner in the firm of Robbins & Co that he could not spend his time for the Institution." Goodwin defended himself by reasoning with the directors: "The only reason why he and C. B. Robbins were continuing their business was because their goods, premises and services could not at present be used by this Institution."[37] But Goodwin's rationalization of his position proved to be in vain.

The men in charge of cooperation in Cache Valley remained at the forefront of mercantile operations in Logan while bringing others' businesses under their direct control. Should cooperation have worked as Brigham Young intended, Shearman, Thatcher, and the others would be free to invest Logan residents' money in ventures of the directors' choosing. Moreover, Loganites would be obliged to purchase all their supplies from this centralized mercantile store. Peter Maughan had argued that "Monopoly was not what was wanted," but as Robbins and Goodwin discovered, and as many Cache residents feared, monopoly was often the result.[38]

The second obstacle to the establishment of cooperative mercantile stores in Cache Valley was the apathy of the general public toward the cooperative movement. This disinterest arose from Jacksonian America's individualistic, entrepreneurial ideals, compounded by the people's refusal,

[36] Blair R. Holmes, ed., "The Journal of James Sherlock Cantwell," entries dated February 2, June 1-30, 1869, and November 27, 1871, bound typescript, MS; and "Biographical sketch of William Mochire Douglass, Cynthia Merrill Douglass, and Annie Copeland Douglass," typescript MS, Smithfield Diaries collection, USU Archives.

[37] Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, May 22,1869.

[38] Ibid., April 20, 1869.

in the economic realm at least, to contribute to the perpetuation of the Cache Valley class structure. An 1871 letter to the *Deseret News* written by J. Nicholson of Hyrum suggested one reason for the people's lack of interest. "The Co-operative store is a success;" so much so, that when the board "discovered that the dividends were too large," it took steps to reduce prices such that non-stockholders may be benefited by co-operation as well as those holding shares.[39] Apparently, to that point, the non-stockholders in Hyrum had not profited from cooperation. Those in Logan certainly had not. By the middle of 1871, by which time the co-op had been in existence for over two years, there still existed only about seventy stockholders out of a Logan population that had reached 1,757 the previous year.[40]

But the people of Cache Valley had exhibited their disinterest in formal cooperation long before 1871. Just a few months after the co-ops began operation in 1869, LCMI director William B. Preston addressed a meeting of the board. "Cooperation in Logan, at present," he said "was almost a farce." Not only did privately owned stores continue to compete with the LCMI, "doubl[ing], and perhaps trebl[ing], their business," but also the townspeople failed to support the co-op. "They did not purchase of the Institution nor sustain it," Preston lamented, "but it was Co-operation and opposition; and of the two he thought opposition had the best of it."[41]

As Preston noted, the stores of Robbins and Nelson continued operating. This would not have been possible without the population of Logan's continued patronage. Even Brigham Young, eighty-five miles south of Logan, noticed that the people of the town somewhat less than half-heartedly supported cooperation. "It is my wish and counsel," he telegraphed Peter Maughan on September 30, 1868, "that the Saints under your charge cease trading entirely, and at once with all outsiders, and those who patronize them. [L]et them severely alone."[42] The saints should trade only with those in fellowship in the church. But Loganites clearly saw some advantage in trading outside the cooperative system, even in direct contravention to the well-circulated counsel of their leader.

The visibly increasing prosperity of those whose position allowed them to take charge of the co-ops provided another reason for popular indifference toward the cooperative movement. Nicholson advised the *Deseret News* in November 1871 that the construction of several businesses and dwellings had begun that summer. "[T]he large dwellings of Brothers Hezekiah and Moses Thatcher," Nicholson observed, were "among the

[39] Letter from J. Nicholson of Hyrum, dated November 24,1871, in *Deseret News*, December 6,1871.

[40] Report to the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution by Moses Thatcher, Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, June 6, 1871; and U. S. Census of the United States, 1870, microfilm, USU Archives.

[41] Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution minute book, August 6,1869.

[42] Brigham Young to Peter Maughan (telegraph), September 30,1868, Brigham Young Copy Book, 1844-1853, typescript photocopy, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USU Archives.

most prominent."[43] Thus, while Moses Thatcher enjoyed the comforts of a "Swiss Gothic-style" house, many in Logan still lived in log cabins. Moreover, Thatcher's livelihood was assured even if cooperation failed; his privately owned saw mill, constructed in 1871, profited greatly because "the demand for lumber...has been in excess of supply."[44]

The overzealous demands of certain Cache religious leaders further antagonized some in the valley. As early as March 1860, for example, Henry Ballard recorded in his diary that Brigham Young advised Cache Valley church leaders only "to rebuke and reprove...in wisdom and learn to understand the feelings of the people." In this way, "they might know when they had reproved enough." Young further counseled his church subordinates in Cache Valley "Not to Destroy any person by trying to bring them to do as ourselves in anything."[45]

One of those Young addressed was almost certainly Peter Maughan, the bishop of Wellsville, who had become the object of some contempt in Cache Valley. In 1861 Maughan apparently scolded Cache resident Thomas Hall, who took his case to Brigham Young. Shortly thereafter, Young sent the bishop a letter containing a few words of advice, appropriately underscored. Young asked Maughan to "endeavor to learn to deal with men as they are, and not to try to measure them all in your half bushel, for some might not fill it, and others might be too large to go in." Young continued, admonishing Maughan that he would "find his own course much easier" if he "pour[ed] a goodly share of the oil of brotherly kindness upon the track of what you may deem the strict line of duty."[46] In 1860 Henry Ballard recorded that William Hyde found it necessary to preach to the leaders of Logan "upon the Necisity [*sic*] of us watching ourselves that we do not Begin to find fault with our Bretheren [*sic*]."[47] Clearly, differences of opinion existed in Cache Valley as to the proper treatment of many aspects of daily life.

Many people had further reasons to be dissatisfied with the co-ops. They expressed this displeasure in various ways. In 1871, for instance, several residents of Weston, on the valley's west side, who that year raised only a poor crop of oats, took their yield to Corinne, a railroad stop on the Bear River in Box Elder County, where farmers received better remuneration for their year's work, and were able to purchase various necessities at lower rates than those charged at the Weston co-op.

Lars Fredrickson, whose father was one of the men who traveled to Corinne, related the story many years later. Fredrickson's father sold forty dollars worth of oats and bought a stove and a pair of shoes for his wife.

[43] *Deseret News*, November 21, 1871.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Henry Ballard Journal, March 10, 1860.
[46] Brigham Young to Peter Maughan, July 12, 1861, in Brigham Young Letter Books, typescript, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USU Archives.
[47] "Henry Ballard Journal," December 8, 1860.

Other men made similar purchases, and the farmers "all came home as happy as a lot of children who had been to a Christmas-tree," Fredrickson wrote, "for their wives did not have to sit on their knees in the ashes to cook any longer." Soon, bishop Peter Maughan discovered the men's transgressions and threatened to cut the Westonites off from the church for not purchasing their stoves at the co-op.[48] Seemingly, it did not bother the bishop that the stoves they purchased for $37.50 in Corinne cost $50 at the co-op, and that "most of [the men] did not have that much money."[49]

The following Sunday Maughan "had them all up to ask forgiveness. They should say that they felt sorry," Maughan insisted, "but that was hard to say for the most of them, for they felt pretty good." Having purchased the stoves knowing that the church granted forgiveness far more freely than it gave permission, the men found creative ways to extricate themselves from their predicament. John Evans, who purchased a Corinne stove, was the first to defend himself. Evans told Maughan he "felt so sorry that if the Bishop would tell him to throw the stove away he would do it." Maughan had little choice but to forgive the Welshman and allow him to keep the stove. The bishop informed Mrs. McCulloch, whose father had bought her some items in Corinne, that she would have to be punished. "All right, I am ready," was her response, but as Fredrickson related, "[t]he Bishop knew better than to call her up for she was a good preacher; she could wind him up in about five minutes so he could not say anything."[50]

Others approached the problem in a less diplomatic fashion. Peter Bendixon, for example, challenged Maughan to produce evidence from "the church books" that he had "done wrong." Maughan "forgave Brother Bendixon, for the Bishop knew better than to refer to the church books." When Maughan called on Christen Christensen, the Westonite retorted, "I can't say that I feel sorry, because I feel pretty good; my wife don't [*sic*] have to sit on her knees and cook.... I hope the Bishop will forgive me for telling the truth." The bishop did. Finally, William Gill left no doubt in Maughan's mind why Corinne had attracted the Weston farmers' business. He said: "When you take a drink of water at the head of a spring it tastes good; it is pure because you get it at the head, but after it runs many miles through sagebrush exposed to the heat, and dry dust and all kinds of filth and gets as far as Weston, it gets so you can hardly use it." The Westonites laughed, "even the Bishop had to smile," and all were forgiven.[51]

Those at the meeting recognized that subverting the system of enforced cooperation was necessary for many to survive in Cache Valley. Even Peter

[48] Fredrickson here refers to Peter Maughan as "bishop," however, Maughan had been called as Cache stake president upon the death of Ezra Taft Benson in 1869. This explains Maughan's authority over Weston residents in 1871.

[49] Lars Fredrickson, *History of Weston, Idaho*, ed. A. J. Simmonds (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), 20.

[50] Ibid., 20-21.

[51] Ibid.

Maughan, who seemingly stood to benefit financially from upholding Brigham Young's guidelines for the saints, realized that the actions of those at the Weston meeting did not mean they were less faithful to their religion. Although authority in Mormon society derived from God, this power apparently declined as those who wielded it proved less able, or less willing, to respond to the saints' material needs.[52] The Cache elite exercised power only as far as the populace allowed.

For some, objections to the cooperative movement were ideological; for others they were economic or merely pragmatic. Whatever the reason, cooperation was not accepted by the people nearly as readily as church leaders desired. Some among the Cache elite and the church leaders in Salt Lake City responded to the challenges to their authority by raising the intensity of their rhetoric. Demanding that the saints cooperate, George Q. Cannon of the church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles addressed a conference in Logan in July 1869: "Wealth rules in the world," Cannon stated, according to a *Deseret News* report. "We have the elements of wealth in our possession and we must concentrate our means and our influence to resist the encroachments of our enemies." Cooperation would unite and exalt the people, Cannon professed. Any who "opposed or sought to weaken the influence of this institution had not the spirit of the gospel, and was opposing the Kingdom of God."[53]

Henry Hughes and James G. Willie, president and secretary of the Mendon co-op, also lamented the frosty reception many gave the cooperative principle. "There has been but little diversity existing among us, on 'Spiritualities,'" Hughes wrote, "but no sooner were the Saints advised to consolidate their mutual interests ... than quite a commotion was visible in the 'temporal element.'" This "temporal element" fell victim to its "natural predispositions," Hughes continued, "whether actuated by sordid and corrupt inclinations, or the more noble desire of assisting to accomplish the unity of the Saints."[54] But Cache residents' "natural predispositions," which they held in common with others on the American frontier, were simply to survive and prosper. Through their actions, many showed that building up the kingdom was important. But it seemed that if strict attention to spiritual advice meant that women had to kneel down to cook, the people of Cache Valley regarded religious counsel as outside the sphere of temporal life.

In some of the smaller Cache towns, where the local co-op had no competition, cooperation enjoyed greater success. A writer from Mendon informed the *Deseret News* in August 1870, that "Our Co-operative store ... is doing a flourishing business, and gives general satisfaction." In preparing to add a threshing machine to their enterprise, the shareholders intended

[52] Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 5.

[53] Speech by George Q. Cannon at The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints conference, Logan, Utah, June 23-24, 1869, in *Deseret News*, July 7, 1869.

[54] *Deseret News*, December 21, 1870.

"to work it for 'what will pay' and not 'what can be made.'"[55] H. P., probably Hans Petersen of Hyrum, wrote that his town's co-op was similarly well situated, operating from a new rock building erected at a cost of two thousand dollars. However, the very next paragraph H. P. penned suggested that a successful co-op did not necessarily translate into popular support for cooperation. He wrote that a few proposed lectures on cooperation "will enable the people not only to understand, but to put into practical operation this great principle, and thereby secure to themselves and their posterity a vast amount of wealth."[56] Even when cooperation proved successful—at least in terms of a profitable cooperative store—the people still had to be "sold" on the idea.

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

The Logan ZCMI building was built after the Salt Lake City-directed ZCMI bought out the LCMI.

But, by 1871 the co-op in Logan was in dire financial condition. The people had not made purchases from the institution, nor had they sustained it in other ways. Furthermore, other stores continued to operate in direct competition with the co-op. While people continued to patronize privately owned stores instead of the co-op, the elite held the line with cognitively dissonant statements like "Who can say that co-operation is not a blessing to the people?"[57] By 1872 Brigham Young realized that the only way to maintain cooperation in Logan was for the LCMI's parent company in Salt Lake City, which was almost exclusively owned by Young and five other men, to buy it out. The community-owned, operated, and supported mercantile institution Young envisioned in 1868, became, within four years, a store run by strangers in Salt Lake City.

It had not taken this long for some in Cache Valley to become entirely frustrated by the monopolization the co-ops brought to the valley. W. H. Shearman, whose business was subsumed by the LCMI, evidently became so frustrated by the church's policies—which converted his profitable business into an undisputed flop—that he reached the point of apostasy by 1869.[58] That same year, bishop Samuel Roskelley of Smithfield asked

[55] Ibid., August 24, 1870.
[56] Ibid, July 27, 1870.
[57] Ibid., December 21, 1870.
[58] Brigham Young to Peter Maughan, November 9, 1869, in Brigham Young Letter Books, typescript photocopy, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USU Archives; A. J. Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley:*

Brigham Young for special permission to purchase items for his co-op directly from the East, rather than deal through ZCMI in Salt Lake City. Young advised Roskelley to continue doing business with ZCMI.[59] The Cache Valley elite's publicly visible endeavors to retain control of their profitable businesses, the attempts by some to use cooperation to stifle competition, and the widespread popular opposition to the co-ops' monopolization of local merchandising doomed Brigham Young's attempt to foster self-sufficiency in northern Utah.

But Young, though frustrated, was not yet defeated. In 1874, with the territory growing economically ever closer to the United States, Young announced the implementation of an even more radical program—the United Order of Enoch.

Various types of United Order organizations came into existence, ranging in intensity of application.[60] In some cases, such as in the smaller, more remote settlements of southern Utah, like St. George, and especially Orderville, there existed widespread participation in the United Order system. But in places where Mormons had enjoyed greater access to the United States market and where residents had more significant capabilities to profit from individual enterprise—such as Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Logan—Brigham Young's latest initiative was significantly restricted. In these places, the United Order was constrained to voluntary measures in which members of each church ward were encouraged to finance, with their surpluses, a particular enterprise.[61] While many of these localized operations enjoyed significant success, Brigham Young soon appeared to have given up on making the United Order in these more "worldly" settlements part of Utah's self-sufficient economy.

By coming to the Great Basin in 1847, the Mormon pioneers escaped contact with the Americans who had castigated and persecuted them. But this very motivation for their flight suggested that they sought refuge not from economic conditions, but from personal and political harassment. Mormons from the Midwest brought with them their desire for familial success and the understanding that economic opportunity could ensure this; many of those who were new to America in the 1850s and 1860s, those who had not experienced the trials of the pre-Utah church, seemingly held this view in an unadulterated state.

Brigham Young and other influential church leaders possessed what they probably considered to be a broader outlook. These men intended to maintain the saints' isolation from the external influences threatening the

A Study of the Logan Apostasies of 1874 and the Establishment of Non-Mormon Churches in Cache Valley, 1873-1913 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), 25; Ronald W. Walker, "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 222, 224.

[59] Brigham Young to Samuel Roskelley, February 1, 1869, Brigham Young Letter Books, typescript photocopy, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, USU Archives.

[60] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 330-37.

[61] Ibid., 332.

development of a religious kingdom of God. As leader of the church, Young took charge of these attempts, but was chronically frustrated by his people's unwillingness to cooperate. Young found that when church doctrine ran counter to Cache residents' means of achieving economic success—when it did not meet the needs of their daily lives—they found alternatives. Cooperation, for example, translated poorly into Cache Valley's prosperous surroundings. The prosperity of church members coupled with their asserted individual "agency" eventually led to the initiative's collapse. As the church president lamented in 1873, "[I] never knew a man yet who had a dollar of surplus property."[62]

Throughout Brigham Young's presidency the church continued to assert the paternalistic control over settlers that many Mormons sought during their flight to Utah. It treated the saints as a large family. At least some, however, insisted on retaining their individual and familial economic freedoms. The people of Cache Valley accepted the church's social and spiritual role in their lives, but when it came to economic reality, they often asserted their own priorities.

In Cache Valley social conditions forced the pioneers to deal with an intricate power structure. If economic circumstances did not allow for cooperative principles to readily apply to the settlers' lives, the collaboration called for by Brigham Young also became confounded by the Cache hierarchy. Clinging to economic, political, and social control of the valley, the Cache elite attempted to secure its authority through the cooperative system. But many in Cache had little reason to join the movement. It did not help them to subsist. Utah was far too diverse, even in the 1860s, for such a restrictive, all-encompassing program to succeed.

[62] Leonard J. Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship," *Western Humanities Review* (Autumn 1953): 357.

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"The Hardest Worked River In The World": The 1962 Bear River Project, Utah and Idaho

By ROBERT PARSON

A rising on the north slope of the Uinta Mountains in northeastern Utah, Bear River travels five hundred miles through three states and ten counties in Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho. The river's route traverses from mountain slopes, through several valleys, deep canyons and gorges before terminating at the Great Salt Lake, only ninety miles from where it begins. This unique geological and geographical mix, as well as interstate politics have complicated efforts to fully harness its waters.

Most early development occurred on the river's tributaries. Pioneer settlers began damming and diverting these for irrigation and manufacture in Wyoming, Utah, and

Oregon Short Line Railroad traveling through Bear River Canyon, circa 1913.

Robert Parson is the university archivist for Utah State University. He wishes to thank John Walters for his insightful suggestions.

Idaho as early as the 1860s. Electricity producers began harnessing the Bear River for hydro-electric power as early as 1902. While water users have appropriated every drop of natural flow in Bear River, its silt-laden current, charged by the spring run-off from the Bear River Basin's 4.8 million acres, still carries into the Great Salt Lake a yearly estimate of nearly five hundred thousand acre-feet of unconsumed water. Utilizing this unconsumed water through the construction of large water storage facilities has challenged state, federal, and private water managers, developers, and engineers to the present day.

Between 1902 and 1904, the United States Reclamation Service, predecessor to the United States Bureau of Reclamation (USBR), explored the possibility of diverting Bear River out of the basin at Soda Springs, Caribou County, Idaho, into the Portneuf River, then re-diverting the water six miles down stream near McCammon, Idaho, into a canal running back south across the divide of the Great Basin and the Snake River drainage system near Red Rock Pass, and extending south as far as Preston, Franklin County, Idaho. After engineer George L. Swendsen surveyed this lengthy and circuitous route, he concluded that the project was "unpracticable." [*sic*][1]

At the request of Utah's Cache County Water Users Association in 1923, USBR surveyed a site for the Hyrum Dam and Reservoir on the Little Bear River in southern Cache Valley, and twelve years later constructed the facility.[2] Hyrum Dam and Reservoir, along with the enlarged Newton Dam and Reservoir (1946) in Cache County, and the Preston Bench Project (1949) on Mink and Worm creeks in Franklin County, are the only USBR projects ever completed on the Bear River or its tributaries.

In July 1962 the USBR released its feasibility report for the Bear River Project (BRP), an ambitious plan which proposed dams on the Bear River near Honeyville in Box Elder County to supply municipal and industrial water to Utah's urban centers, and on the Blacksmith Fork River to irrigate lands in southern Cache County. The report also proposed enlarging Glendale Reservoir on Worm Creek northeast of Preston to supply irrigation water for lands along the valley's east bench from Preston thirty miles south to Smithfield.

The largest and most controversial part of BRP, however, was the High Oneida Dam, located directly on Bear River ten miles northeast of Preston. This portion of the project included a 105 mile long canal carrying water along the valley's northern and western boundaries, stretching as far as Malad, Oneida County, Idaho. From its far western point, the canal turned south into Box Elder County. Completion of the High Oneida Dam and canal system, according to project engineer Dean Bischoff, would make Bear River "the hardest worked river in the world."[3]

[1] William M. Green, *Report on the Cache Valley Project of the Salt Lake Basin Investigations, Utah* (Salt Lake City: United States Bureau of Reclamation,1924), 18-19.

[2] Ibid., 20.

[3] *Preston Citizen* (Preston, Idaho), November 17, 1962.

With a cost/benefit ratio of nearly one to three, the Bear River Project held great promise. The feasibility report claimed annual benefits would amount to more than eight million dollars, and compare very favorably with less than three million dollars in operating costs.[4] The report failed, however, to acknowledge the inequality of benefits. The Bear River drainage is divided into three divisions, and two basins, the upper basin, above Bear Lake, and the lower basin that includes six counties, four in Idaho and two in Utah below the lake. While the entire area is part of a single river basin, the Bureau chose to disregard the geographic pecularities and calculated costs and benefits as if no differences existed. The math was simple, the reality much more complicated. Each state, even each county within the project area, had different expectations for river development. One large project could not meet the needs of each area. Utah stood to gain the most, with nearly 70 percent of project water destined for its farms, factories, and municipalities. Thirty percent remained to provide supplemental water in Franklin County and to irrigate new lands in Oneida County.

Bear Lake and Caribou counties would share in the project's cost but receive only token benefit through a complicated series of water exchanges with downstream irrigators. Furthermore, the reservoir behind High Oneida Dam would inundate twelve thousand acres of Caribou County farmland, canceling the twelve thousand acres of new land slated for Oneida County, making the dam's benefits negligible for Idaho.

A delicate balance had long existed between Idaho and Utah water users below Bear Lake. Beginning in the 1870s and extending through the 1890s, settlers moved onto the high, arid plains below Soda Springs in Gem and Gentile valleys. Initially, settlers attempted dry-farming; however, planning commenced almost immediately to bring Bear River water to the land.[5] After several failures, John Trappett and a handful of other men formed the Last Chance Canal Company in 1897. The name paid honor to past efforts, and also implied that this would be the settlers' "last chance" to acquire a right on Bear River.[6] This was particularly true considering other developments taking place in Box Elder County and at Bear Lake.

In 1889 the Bear Lake and River Water Works and Irrigation Company (Bear River Canal Company) proposed constructing two canals on either side of Bear River Canyon, between Cache and Box Elder counties. The company filed for nearly two thousand second feet (cfs) of Bear River water.[7] Project promoter John R. Bothwell also hoped to tap Bear Lake as a

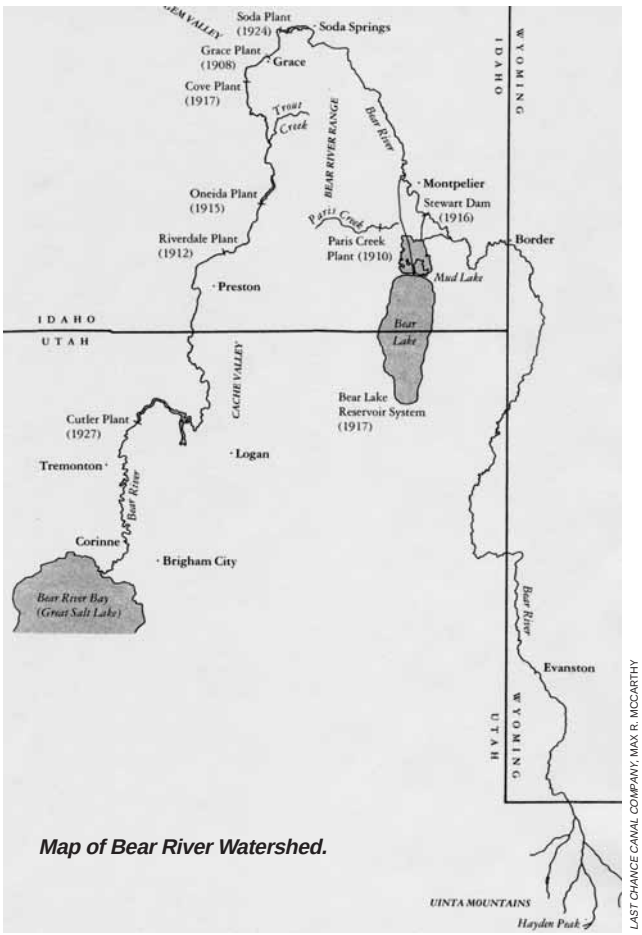
[4] *Bear River Project, Part I, Feasibility Report, Oneida Division, Idaho and Utah; Part II, Reconnaissance Report, Blacksmith Fork Division, Utah* (Salt Lake City: United States Bureau of Reclamation, 1962), 86. Hereafter cited as BRP.

[5] Max R. McCarthy, *The Last Chance Canal Company* (Provo: Brigham Young University, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1987), 23.

[6] Ibid., 27.

[7] A cubic foot per second (cfs) is the common means used to measure the flow of water. The United States Geological Survey defines cubic foot per second(cfs) as "the flow rate or discharge equal to one cubic foot of water per second or about 7.5 gallons per second."

storage reservoir, and dispatched engineer Joseph U. Crawford to the lake's north shore to study the possibilities in 1889. Crawford reported favorably on the possibility of converting Bear Lake into a storage reservoir, but the financial panic of the 1890s impeded the company's ability to fulfill that goal.[8]



Map of Bear River Watershed.

LAST CHANCE CANAL COMPANY, MAX R. MCCARTHY

In 1888 USGS began a survey of irrigated and potentially irrigable lands in the western United States. Foremost in the mind of Colorado River explorer and now Director of the USGS John Wesley Powell was the identification of potential reservoir sites and their subsequent withdrawal from homestead entry. Bear Lake was one of the first sites identified. However, the federal government restricted private development around Bear Lake by temporarily reserving lands around it.[9] Ignoring this prohibition, Telluride Power Company began its own survey of Bear Lake in 1902. Bear River did not naturally flow into Bear Lake, although during periods of flood the two co-mingled through Mud Lake to the north. Telluride's plan, much like that of the Bear River Canal Company, included the construction of an inlet canal to convey water from Bear River into the lake, and an outlet canal to return stored water back into the river channel via Mud Lake. The river fell more than four hundred feet through the deep canyons of Gem Valley, making it optimal for hydroelectric power production. If Telluride could harness Bear Lake to store the estimated 1.5 million acre feet of water, the company, with an almost inexhaustible water supply,

[8] Jarvis -Conklin Mortgage Trust Co., "A Description of the Location, Works and Business of the Bear Lake and River Water Works and Irrigation Co." (Kansas City, Mo., 1889), 26-31. Copy found in Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.

[9] *Report of the Special Committee of the United States Senate on the Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, Report of Committee and Views of the Minority,* 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1890), 2:45.

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Camp Lifton on Bear Lake's north shore. Pictured here is a drag-line used to clear channel for operating Utah Power and Light's pumping station

would be poised to become one of the largest hydro-electric companies in the West.

The federal reserve around Bear Lake prevented Telluride Power from exploiting Bear Lake until 1907 when the Department of Interior finally granted it a right of way for the two supply canals. Similarly, financial constraints prevented the Bear River Canal Company (purchased by Utah and Idaho Sugar Company in 1902) from realizing its full two thousand cfs appropriation. Both events worked to the advantage of the Last Chance Company, which completed work on its main canal in 1902.

In 1912 Utah Power and Light Company (UP&L) absorbed Telluride Power, constructed additional downstream power plants, and purchased the Wheelon Power Plant in Box Elder County from U and I Sugar Company. The agreement between the two companies compelled U P & L to supply irrigation water to the sugar company's canals in exchange for its agreeing to abandon interest in Bear Lake and in electric power generation. In 1917, UP&L began operating its Lifton Pump Station on Bear Lake's north shore, giving the power company greater access to the lake's storage, allowing them to more accurately control Bear River, and to successively generate power at five downstream plants by 1927.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the level of Bear Lake fell more than twenty feet as a result of withdrawals for power generation, irrigation, and drought, reaching its historic low of 5,902 feet above sea level in 1934. Although residents of Bear Lake County complained bitterly to the power company, UP&L had secured its right to deplete Bear Lake in two court cases decided in the 1920s.

In the first case initiated in 1914, the power company named the Last Chance Canal Company and other defendants in a lawsuit over water rights on Bear River below Bear Lake in Idaho. Idaho state law required irrigators to file their intent to appropriate water prior to building a canal. Most, however, could only estimate their canal's capacity, the number of acres it would irrigate, or even the exact route it would take until construction was nearly complete. For instance, during the trial Last Chance produced documentation for filings ranging from 450 cfs to over 6,600 cfs. One early filing even

specified the company's intended use of the water as including irrigation, culinary, and any "such other purposes as we may desire."[10] In comparison, UP&L provided the court with precise documentation from expert witnesses who challenged the rough estimates of irrigators.

In his 1920 decision, Frank S. Dietrich, federal judge for the Idaho Eastern District, disregarded much of UP&L's argument, but still awarded the power company a generous non-consumptive right to the Bear River, allowing them to divert and store 5,500 cfs in Bear Lake. While protecting irrigators who had appropriated water before UP&L, the Dietrich Decree only awarded the Last Chance Canal Company the 450 cfs capacity of its main canal. Additionally, the Dietrich Decree gave the power company control of Bear River from Bear Lake to the Utah-Idaho border. The decree forced canal companies experiencing water shortages, or requiring additional water, to rent storage water out of Bear Lake from UP&L. A second court decree, the 1924 Kimball Decree in Utah, extended UP&L's control below the Idaho-Utah border.[11]

In 1897 USGS Engineer Samuel Fortier predicted a time "not far distant when conflicts over water rights must arise...[because] three States obtain water..." from Bear River.[12] The 1930s drought heightened these interstate conflicts. Not only did UP&L deplete Bear Lake to its lowest historic level but downstream irrigators became irritated and demanded the power company fulfill its contract obligations and find some way to squeeze even more water from the lake. A group of angry Caribou County farmers even discussed dynamiting the power company's artificial dyke, separating Bear Lake from Mud Lake. If the dyke was breached, Bear Lake water would spill from the lake into Mud Lake and eventually into Bear River. However, Bear Lake was so low in 1934 that it is doubtful if the farmers would have realized much water out of it. Only a hasty meeting between the irrigators, the power company, and political and religious leaders in southeastern Idaho, averted an all out water war.[13]

These problems demanded that an interstate agreement or compact among the three states and their respective water users be established to manage the flow of water of the Bear River. All three state legislatures initiated discussions beginning in the late 1930s and eventually passed enabling legislation to cooperate on an interstate agreement: Idaho in 1943, Wyoming in 1945, and Utah in 1953. All three states ratified the compact in 1955, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Bear River Compact into law in 1958.[14]

[10] McCarthy, *The Last Chance Canal Company*, 28.

[11] See, *Utah Power and Light Company v Richmond Irrigation Company, et al, final decree* copy in Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University; and *Utah Power and Light Company v Last Chance Canal Company, et al., final decree* In Equity No 203, U.S. District Court of Idaho, Eastern Division, July 14, 1920.

[12] Samuel Fortier, *Seepage Water of Northern Utah*, USGS Water Supply Paper no. 7 (Washington, D.C. : GPO, 1897), 12.

[13] Ellen Carney, *Ellis Kackley: Best Damn Doctor in the West* (Bend, Oregon: Maverick Publications, 1990), 236-38.

[14] *First Annual Report of the Bear River Commission*, (Logan, Utah: The Commission, 1959), 9.

The compact defined uses and stipulated minimum levels in Bear Lake, including establishing an irrigation reserve. It divided the unappropriated water in Bear River above Bear Lake between the three states, while limiting the amount of water the three states could store above the lake. It also established the Bear River Commission, an administrative agency comprised of members from each state.[15] As the compact sought to ameliorate conflict on Bear River, it failed to divide water in the lower basin between Utah and Idaho. In 1962, after the Bureau of Reclamation released its feasibility report for the Bear River Project, old controversies once again resurfaced.

In the early 1960s local promoters organized the Bear River Central Coordinating Committee to work with the Bureau in publicizing the BRP. Members of the committee included L. B. Caine, President of the Cache County Water Users Association and a reclamation advocate who had been working with USBR since construction of the Hyrum Project in the 1930s; R. G. Cranney, Preston businessman; Lamont Tueller, Cache County Extension Agent, who also acted as secretary for the organization; local irrigation company officials; and representatives from five of the six affected Utah and Idaho counties. The committee's initial support came from Cache County, Utah, and Franklin County, Idaho. The feasibility report also generated considerable support in Box Elder and Oneida counties, where it promised water for more than thirty thousand new acres of irrigable farmland.

While Caribou County representatives elected not to affiliate with the central committee, they still favored "any economical plan which [would] put to further beneficial use the waters of the Bear River…." The problem with BRP, cautioned Last Chance Canal Company secretary Fred M. Cooper, was its lack of economic benefits for Caribou and Bear Lake counties. Urging fellow citizens and water users to evaluate the project for both its positive and negative aspects, Cooper cited five major drawbacks to BRP: (1) it would threaten the sanctity of the Bear River Compact; (2) it would threaten the irrigation reserve stored in Bear Lake by using it to fill the High Oneida Dam; (3) it would inundate UP&L's power plant at Oneida and curtail operation of the company's plant at the Cutler Dam farther downstream resulting in decreased tax revenues for counties; (4) it would inundate more than twelve thousand acres of farm land upstream from the proposed Oneida Dam in Caribou County; and (5) it would lower the level of Bear Lake, thereby destroying the recreational industry around it.[16]

Although Cooper was an acknowledged expert on Bear River and had represented Idaho in negotiations leading to the Bear River Compact, the central committee largely ignored his suggestions. They continued promoting the project during fall 1962 by conducting tours of the project area for

[15] Ibid., 9-10.
[16] *Caribou County Sun* (Soda Springs, Idaho), January 5, 1961.

Franklin, Cache and Box Elder counties, and for the Utah Water and Power Board. Confident that supporters far outnumbered detractors, the central committee organized tours only where support existed. Tours were not organized for Bear Lake and Caribou counties.

SALT LAKE TRIBUNE COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Utah Governor George Clyde, left; Utah Senator Frank Moss, standing; Idaho Senator Frank Church, center; and Utah Senator Wallace Bennett, right were involved with the development of the Bear River.

Opponents to the project appealed to Idaho Governor Robert E. Smylie who convened public hearings at Preston, Grace, and Montpelier in December 1962.[17] An overwhelming majority of water users at Grace and Montpelier opposed the project, but most disturbing to project advocates was the substantial opposition in Franklin County.[18] The Board of County Commissioners in Franklin County asserted, "no one asked for our opinion." The commissioners embraced any water development project "with Federal funds, or otherwise, which is of benefit to Franklin County," but concluded that "the proposed project is a great thing for our neighbors in Utah, but the benefits of such a project in Franklin County are negligible."[19]

Despite complaints, Utah interests continued pressing for BRP's approval. In January 1963 Utah Senator Frank Moss introduced a federal bill to authorize the project.[20] In response, Governor Smylie addressed a letter to Dean Bischoff stating that "submission [of the report] in its present form to the Congress would be premature...." Smylie requested that Bischoff conduct further "study on the ground," hold hearings in the affected areas, then submit the revised report to the states "for complete review."[21]

The central committee discussed Smylie's letter at a meeting in March 1963. Bear Lake County representatives also pleaded their case, asking that "the central committee [preserve Bear Lake] as near as possible to...historic level[s]." The committee discussed impacts to the lake and other project problems, but failed to pass any motions addressing Bear Lake County's

[17] *Preston Citizen*, December 10, 1962.
[18] *News-Examiner* (Montpelier, Idaho), January 10, 1963, *Preston Citizen*, January 10, 1963.
[19] Ibid., November 1, 1962.
[20] *Herald Journal* (Logan, Utah), January 17, 1963.
[21] *News-Examiner*, March 14, 1963.

concerns or the governor's letter.[22] In fact, at its next meeting held with Utah Senator Frank Moss, the senator intimated that Idaho congressional leaders would "go along with the Bear River Project," regardless of constituent opposition. Idaho's delegation, according to Moss, did "not want to delay or make additional studies as Governor Smylie requested."[23]

On March 21 the central committee issued a response to Governor Smylie's assertion that citizens in southeastern Idaho were "remarkably uninformed" about the project. The committee claimed to have held more than twenty meetings, conducted tours, and informed the public through radio programs and newspapers. Furthermore, the committee contended that the twelve thousand acres of land in Caribou County required for the reservoir would be compensated by twelve thousand acres of new lands in Oneida County, and that the eighty-six million dollar project would serve as a potent economic stimulus for Franklin County. The central committee also claimed deleterious impacts to Bear Lake would be negligible, and that the project would fully conform to Bear River Compact provisions.[24]

The feasibility report, however, included a recommended, or adopted plan, plus two alternatives. While the adopted plan would operate "practically independent of Bear Lake," the alternative plans would need "a substantial part of the storage water in Bear Lake" to irrigate an additional 9,300 acres in Oneida County. Alternative plan II also included a hydroelectric power plant at the dam site. Both alternatives required changes in water uses below Bear Lake that appeared to undermine the Bear River Compact by interfering with the irrigation reserve held in Bear Lake. From a cost/benefit perspective, alternate plan I was superior. Alternate plan II, with its hydroelectric component, was superior in terms of the project's repayment. Opponents in Bear Lake County suspected that economics might dictate a preference for one of the alternative plans, which would further deplete Bear Lake.[25]

In July 1963 USBR filed with the Idaho Office of Reclamation to appropriate storage water from Bear River.[26] It also asked to increase the reservoir's active storage capacity from 225,000 to 325,000 acre feet, and the canal's capacity from 1,380 to 1,500 cfs.[27] Detractors had trumpeted the likelihood of this development since November 1962 when Dr. Evan Kackley, a retired physician and rancher from Soda Springs, submitted a lengthy rebuttal to the Bear River Project. He warned irrigators that one "episode of drought would create irresistible demands that the Bear River

[22] Minutes of the Bear River Central Coordinating Committee, March 16, 1963. Contained in Papers of Wade H. Andrews, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. Hereafter BRCC minutes.

[23] Ibid., April 4, 1963.

[24] *Preston Citizen*, March 21, 1963.

[25] BRP, 96-100.

[26] *Preston Citizen*, June 20, 1963.

[27] *Caribou County Sun*, July 11, 1963.

Compact be opened and Bear Lake again drained down...."[28] Kackley's warning that such a development would lead to "total regulation of the river by the Reclamation Service," including Bear Lake, and "eliminate all future water rights on Bear River," played to the fears of Idaho water users.[29] Already apprehensive over the Bureau's motives, Kackley's constituents needed little evidence to support their suspicions.

The Bureau's proposal to create a bi-state water conservancy district to contract with USBR and to finance the project further inflamed opponents' suspicions. The "Utida" district would include Cache, Box Elder, Rich, Franklin, Caribou, Oneida, and Bear Lake counties. The Water Conservancy Act of 1941 provided the means for establishing such a district in Utah.[30] However, no such mechanism existed in Idaho. "The history of any power to tax is that the entering size is but the wedge...there is no terminating end to the Utida District, but one of self-propagation in time and magnitude," wrote Kackley. "Idaho...has...pursued a course for over a half century to guard the integrity of their princess, water, that has made their deserts bloom, against compromise or adultery. This is opening the door to her abode."[31]

Supporters of BRP found it easy to dismiss Kackley's largely undocumented critique as an "emotional appeal based on erroneous information or deliberate misuse of facts."[32] Furthermore, Utah Governor George D. Clyde dismissed Governor Smylie's suggestion for more study and implored the Bureau to complete its report "immediately" and submit it to Congress.[33] The central committee continued to promote the project aggressively by distributing a brochure entitled "Bear River Project: Know the Facts." The committee distributed the brochure according to "where it was most needed and where it [would] accomplish the most good," circulating it most abundantly in Franklin, Cache, Box Elder and Oneida counties. Only five hundred copies of the brochure were sent to Bear Lake County, and the committee voted not to disseminate it to Caribou County where water users were opposed to the project.[34]

The brochure's release caused a firestorm of protest in Bear Lake County when the names of the county's representatives appeared as project supporters. Lloyd Dunn, president of the Georgetown Irrigation Company and one of the county's representatives, attempted to distance himself from the central committee by explaining that the brochure represented the opinion of a majority of the committee, but not the Bear Lake County

[28] Evan Kackley, "A Critique of the Bear River Project, Major Report," November 20, 1962, p. 34. Contained in Papers of Wade H. Andrews, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

[29] Ibid., 31.

[30] *Utah Code Annotated* 12 vols. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Miche Co., 1997), 7C: 211.

[31] Kackley, "A Critique of the Bear River Project, Major Report," 54-55.

[32] *News-Examiner*, March 12, 1964.

[33] *Herald Journal*, May 3, 1963.

[34] BRCC minutes, June 11, 1963.

contingent. "Our purpose in attending the meetings of the coordinating committee was to present some alternate views at the planning level," Dunn stated. He concluded, however, that it "has become evident that the Regional Engineer's office will not incorporate the changes that would remove our basic objections." Dunn proposed organizing opponents into a committee composed of "various service clubs, city governments, irrigation companies, and industries." In conclusion, he warned that those embarking "upon an endeavor of this kind should expect to be criticized and castigated as a reward."[35]

Opponents to western water development often were accused of being barriers to progress. Opponents of the Central Utah Project, for instance, after waging a successful battle to prevent construction of Echo Park Dam on the Green River below Dinosaur National Monument along the Colorado-Utah border, drew criticism from nearly every congressional delegation and state water agency in the West. By appealing to a broad, national constituency concerned with the preservation of national parks, national monuments, and natural landscapes the Sierra Club, Wilderness Association, and other groups succeeded in scuttling Echo Park Dam, preserving the Dinosaur National Monument and the spectacular scenery in the canyons surrounding it. Although later the dam on the Green River at Flaming Gorge (1962) and the dam at Glen Canyon (1964) on the Colorado River eventually spoiled river canyons of equal majesty, preservationists pointed to the triumph at Echo Park as a turning point in the history of western water development.[36]

Opponents of BRP, however, could scarcely be characterized as preservationists. Like BRP's boosters, opponents favored development, and except for concerns over the level of Bear Lake, which were primarily economic, opponents raised few environmental issues. Rather, the debate focused on the unequal distribution of project water.

Increasingly, opponents viewed the project as a "Utah water grab," and objected to the Bureau's attempt to "ram it down our throats."[37] Following Lloyd Dunn's suggestion, opponents organized the Bear River Protective Association in July 1963. In addition to Dunn, other members of the association included Reed Budge, state senator and rancher from Soda Springs; Dr. Evan Kackley, a retired physician from Boise and Soda Springs; county attorneys from Bear Lake and Caribou counties, irrigation company officials, and others appointed by the county commissioners of Franklin, Bear Lake, and Caribou counties. Members of the association campaigned vigorously using newspapers and public meetings to agitate against the Bear River Project.

[35] *News-Examiner*, April 4, 1963.

[36] Mark Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2000), xv-xx.

[37] *Preston Citizen*, November 25, 1963. See also, Interview with Reed Budge and Evan Kackley, June 16, 1965, contained in Papers of Wade H. Andrews.

Project proponents, like Central Committee Chairman L. B. Caine, feared that the opponents' determination might "discredit the project and prevent or delay its eventual construction." Caine drafted a letter to USBR Commissioner Floyd E. Dominy expressing his group's continued support for the project, while taking exception to the "misrepresentation of facts...made by the Kackley opposition group...."[38]

Both groups expressed their views to Idaho Reclamation Director Carl Tappan during hearings held in Boise to discuss the Bureau's water filing. The Bureau's engineers defended the feasibility report's figures, claiming that enough flood water accrued each year to more than fill the reservoir without impacting Bear Lake or the rights of irrigators. According to USBR, only the water rights of UP&L would suffer.

Robert Porter, power company attorney, however, testified that "no arrangements [had] been made by the government for obtaining this water." Opponents capitalized on his remarks by emphasizing that without the power company's acquiescence, the project would be impossible.[39] They further accused the Bureau of blatantly disregarding Governor Smylie's request to conduct additional studies and of trying to monopolize water development on the river by protesting a rival application to appropriate storage water made by the Caribou Water Development Company.[40]

The Caribou Water Development Company anticipated the Bureau's water filing by three months, when in April 1963 it applied to appropriate forty-thousand acre feet of water for a dam and reservoir on Bear River, south of Soda Springs.[41] The reservoir would supply water to the Last Chance Canal, obviating the canal company's need to purchase Bear Lake water from UP&L. Bureau engineers doubted whether the Caribou Company could afford to build the $1.6 million project, and protested that the company's "nuisance filing" was designed primarily to impede BRP by removing forty-thousand acre feet of project water.[42]

Financial constraints did hamper such small Idaho projects. In addition to opposing BRP, another of the Bear River Protective Association's goals was to secure legislation authorizing no-interest state loans for small reclamation projects in Idaho. Since 1949, Utah irrigation companies had benefited from no interest loans through the state's revolving construction fund. The loans enabled irrigators to construct the Woodruff Narrows Dam on the Bear River east of Woodruff near the Utah/Wyoming border, and the Porcupine Dam on the Little Bear River southeast of Paradise in Cache County. The association often pointed to the no interest Utah model and advocated using it in Idaho to construct several smaller projects on Bear River rather than one large federal project. Advocates claimed that smaller

[38] BRCC minutes, July 18, 1963.
[39] *Idaho Daily Statesman* (Boise), August 28, 1963.
[40] Ibid.
[41] *Caribou County Sun*, May 2, 1963.
[42] BRCC minutes, July 31, 1963.

projects, such as that proposed by the Caribou Company, would more equitably divide the water among counties and could be constructed more economically without requiring a water conservancy district.[43]

Many perceived the Bureau's protest of the Caribou Company's application as heavy-handed. Even L. B. Caine thought it only "furnished the opposition group [with] some good ammunition," and urged USBR to withdraw its petition.[44] The Bureau complied with Caine's request but delayed announcing the removal of its protest until testimony on BRP concluded. R. G. Cranney applauded the timing and enthusiastically reported later that opponents responded to the Bureau's concession with "shock and disbelief."[45]

Cranney hoped the Bureau's concession might induce some upstream opponents to break rank and join with the central committee. Not only did the anticipated mutiny fail to materialize, but opponents persisted in their attack. Hinting that Idaho congressional leaders might order a complete investigation of the Bureau's Region 4, opponents resumed publicizing their major objections to the project, emphasizing that the forty thousand acre-foot appropriation granted to the Caribou Water Development Company now made the BRP even less feasible.[46]

The conflict reached Washington, D.C. as early as July, when Idaho Senator Len Jordan asked USBR Commissioner Floyd E. Dominy to re-evaluate BRP, stressing that "Full support of the people in this area is needed if [the project] is to get favorable congressional action...."[47] In October 1963, Dominy met with the project's supporters and detractors. Even while proclaiming the project as feasible, Dominy cautioned that in its present stage, "it could take years before it is ready for presentation to Congress." Urging conciliation from both groups, Dominy exhorted them to remember that water was the "single limiting ingredient for development," and that only through working "together [could we] develop all our water [and] keep our trained youth at home."[48]

Dominy's words were favorably received, as both groups fully ascribed to the rhetoric of water development, except that some Idahoans opposed paying to develop water that they could not use. During the ensuing weeks, USBR began revising its feasibility report to more equitably divide the river between the two states. While Bureau engineers could divide project waters evenly between Idaho and Utah, geography prevented equitable division between upstream and downstream counties. In December 1963, the Bureau delivered a revised report to Governor Smylie. The governor

[43] *News-Examiner*, May 2, 1963. Idaho eventually passed legislation creating a small project fund in 1969. See, *Idaho Daily Statesman*, March 16, 1969.

[44] BRCC minutes, July 31, 1963.

[45] Ibid., September 25, 1963.

[46] *News-Examiner*, September 10, 1963.

[47] *Caribou County Sun*, July 18, 1963.

[48] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 23, 1963.

characterized the fifty-fifty division of water between Utah and Idaho as "a step in the right direction," but recommended additional study to determine "whether the... residents of the area specifically affected [would] support the project."[49]

R.G. Cranney again expressed optimism over the governor's comments and reported to the central committee that, in his opinion, "Smylie wants [the] project, now.... We are definitely on our way with the BRP."[50] Opponents, however, responded negatively to the governor's statement and condemned the revised report as "a serious and immediate threat," which contained "no substantial improvements."[51] In January 1964, officials from Caribou and Bear Lake counties appealed to Idaho Attorney General Allan G. Shepard to "help scuttle" BRP, and "protect...[Idaho's] inviolate right...to the waters of Bear River."[52]

Project proponents had difficulty reconciling their inability to find a compromise with fellow irrigators in Caribou and Bear Lake counties. Some proponents suspected UP&L to be "back of the Idaho opposition," knocking off counties "one by one, first Caribou, then Bear Lake and who knows which county will be next?"[53] Publicly, the power company remained curiously silent, particularly considering the potential loss of its Oneida power plant, plus curtailment of its hydroelectric operations at Soda, Grace, Cove, and especially Cutler. Privately, however, UP&L criticized the project as having "a number of very bad features," and took the position "that these bad features should be fully disclosed...before the Bureau's salesmen go out in the field en-masse to sell this project to the people...."[54]

E. A. Hunter, assistant to company President E. M. Naughton, enumerated these "bad features" to Utah Senator Wallace F. Bennett as early as April 1961. Hunter's criticisms included the deleterious impact to Bear Lake, the inundation of the company's Oneida Power Plant, the subsequent loss of county tax revenue, and the contravention of the Bear River Compact.[55]

The dissemination of a critique of the project prepared by geologist Dr. Robert C. Bright in January 1964 redoubled proponents' suspicions regarding UP&L. Although Bright proclaimed his impartiality, Cranney and other supporters questioned how he found the funding and resources to conduct his investigation.[56] Bright contended that the Oneida Dam would increase

[49] Ibid., December 19 and 20, 1963.

[50] BRCC minutes, December 19, 1963.

[51] *Herald Journal*, January 24, 1964, *Salt Lake Tribune,* January 23, 1964.

[52] Ibid.

[53] BRCC minutes, July 31, 1963.

[54] E. A. Hunter to Wallace F. Bennett, April 10, 1961, contained in the Papers of Frederick P. Champ, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

[55] Ibid.

[56] *News-Examiner*, March 12, 1964. Lloyd Dunn later acknowledged that Bright had used sources provided him by UP&L, which had investigated the proposed site in 1923. The potential hazard convinced the power company to move construction of its Oneida power plant farther upstream. See discussion with Lloyd Dunn, Georgetown, Idaho, contained in Wade H. Andrews Papers.

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Construction of UP&L's original Oneida Dam, Caribou County, Idaho, 1917. Proposed High Oneida Dam located downstream would have inundated original dam.

the river's silt load, complicate drainage problems, and lower the level of Great Salt Lake, thereby impacting industry and causing climatic changes in the Salt Lake Valley. Most alarming to project proponents was Bright's contention that the dam site straddled a fault line and that the shale along the canyon walls would, over time, absorb water, swell, and possibly cause the dam to fail.[57]

Though Bright's study devoted little space to a potential geologic hazard, it still cast doubt on the wisdom of building the High Oneida Dam. Unlike past challenges, project supporters could not dismiss Bright's scientific evaluation as a simple "emotional appeal based on erroneous information or deliberate misuse of facts."[58] The Utah Water and Power Board recruited Bright's former professor, Dr. R. E. Marsell of the University of Utah, to refute Bright's findings. Nevertheless, Marsell limited his comments to the possible impacts to the Great Salt Lake, changes in climate, salt storms arising from exposed shoreline, and effects on the salt and recreational industries around the lake's shores.[59] Others assailed Bright's assertion of downstream erosion, silt, and drainage problems. His geologic analysis, however, remained unchallenged, and the specter of a devastating flood hounded USBR and local supporters for the next six years.[60]

The Bureau officially released its revised report dividing project waters evenly between Idaho and Utah in November 1966. The revised report still included dams on Blacksmith Fork River and at Honeyville, and the enlargement at Glendale. As an alternative to the High Oneida Dam, engineers proposed building a smaller dam and reservoir that would not flood upstream agricultural lands. To compensate for the reservoir's smaller capacity, the Bureau proposed constructing another smaller dam near Smithfield, while assuming responsibility for constructing the Caribou Company's project near Soda Springs.[61]

[57] Robert C. Bright, "Partial Review of the Feasibility Report of the Bear River Project," contained in Wade H. Andrews Papers.

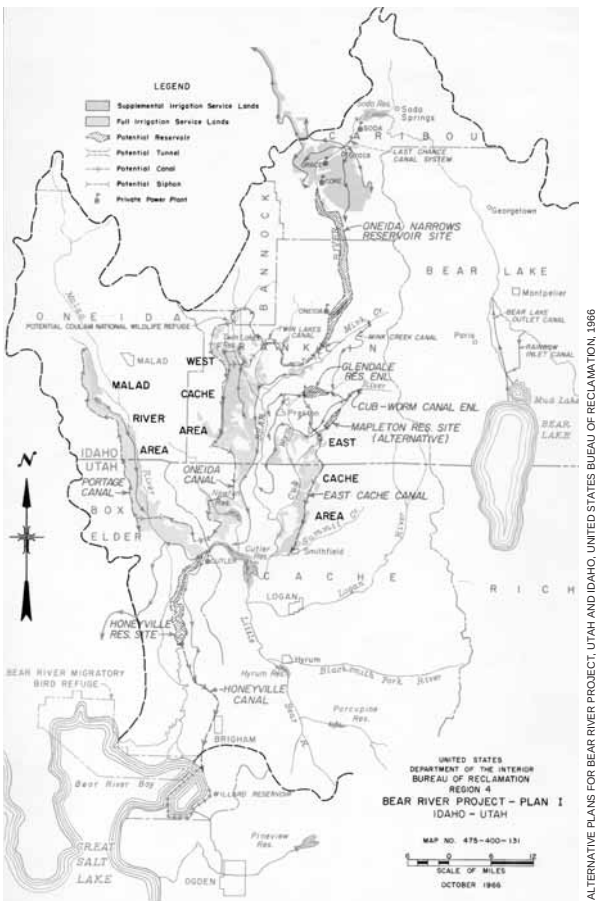
[58] *News-Examiner*, March 12, 1964.

[59] R.E. Marsell to Jay R. Bingham, February 11, 1964, contained in Wade H. Andrews Papers.

[60] Robert C. Bright to Jay R. Bingham, July 25, 1964, contained in Wade H. Andrews Papers.

[61] *Alternative Plans for Bear River Project, Idaho and Utah* (Salt Lake City: The Bureau), 1-7.

Caribou County water officials and users denounced the Bureau's attempt to "federalize" a private water right, while opposition to the Smithfield site, which would immerse more than five thousand acres of river bottoms, surfaced for the first time in Cache County.[62] The Bureau also lost support for BRP in Oneida and Box Elder counties. The smaller Oneida dam preserved twelve thousand Caribou County acres, but diminished by nearly twenty-five thousand the irrigated acreage in Oneida and Box Elder counties. Furthermore, the Honeyville Dam, which would inundate nearly four thousand acres of crop land, twenty homes, and the state monument at Hampton's Ford, had no appreciable benefit for Box Elder County. Its main purpose was to supply water to the Bear River Migratory Bird Refuge, and to municipal and industrial water users in the vicinity of Ogden, Utah. As cost/benefit ratios for BRP plummeted by one-third, supporters from Box Elder and Oneida counties expressed "grave concern regarding the modified plans."[63]



ALTERNATIVE PLANS FOR BEAR RIVER PROJECT, UTAH AND IDAHO, UNITED STATES BUEAU OF RECLAMATION, 1966

Proposed water management and canals of Bear River downstream from High Oneida Dam.

With support shrinking, newly appointed Director of the Bureau's Region 4, David L. Crandall, appealed to the Bear River Commission "to arrive at some kind of understanding on the division of Bear River [below Bear Lake]...so a new, mutually acceptable feasibility report [can] be completed.... It is fruitless," Crandall concluded, "to continue with plans until enough support can be mustered to develop the project...."[64]

[62] *Board of Water Resources Tour of the Bear River Basin, August 3-5, 1988* (Salt Lake City: The Board, 1988), 68.

[63] BRCC minutes, January 15, 1964.

[64] *Preston Citizen*, April 20, 1967.

In June 1970, USBR issued its final appraisal of the Bear River Project. Summarizing its "extensive studies in the Bear River Basin...over many years," USBR conceded its inability to develop a feasible interstate plan where so many competing interests existed. The report stated:

> The favorable physical opportunities for further Bear River development are accompanied by complexities resulting from the many different interests in the river basin. Each of the three States...has a separate interest in development plans. Residents of each of the five valleys...also have separate interests as do property owners near Bear Lake.... The Utah Power and Light Company is involved because of its five hydroelectric power plants.... Fish and wildlife interests range from stream and reservoir fisheries to large Federal and State refuges.... The Bear River Compact, although useful in defining water rights, has not led to a consensus on development plans.[65]

Spurred by the withdrawal of USBR, a tri-state negotiating committee began meeting in 1970 to suggest revisions to the Bear River Compact that would divide the waters of the lower basin. In December 1978, after extensive debate and public input, the Bear River Commission approved amendments to the compact and submitted it to Congress. President Jimmy Carter signed the amended compact in February 1980. In addition to increasing the allowable storage above Bear Lake for Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho, the amended compact also divided the river below between Idaho and Utah. It awarded Idaho the right to develop the first 125,000 acre-feet of unconsumed water, Utah the next 275,000 acre-feet, with the next 150,000 acre-feet divided evenly between the two. If any water remained for further development, the compact divided it 70/30 in Utah's favor.[66]

For the balance of the twentieth century, Utah took the lead in developing its rights under the amended compact, implementing a state water plan emphasizing Bear River in 1984 and creating the Bear River Development Task Force in 1989. Following the task force's suggestion, the legislature passed the Bear River Development Act in 1991 and directed the Utah Division of Water Resources (UDWR) "to plan, construct, own, and operate reservoirs and associated facilities...and to market developed waters."[67]

Utah clung to the slim possibility that they could still persuade Idaho to cooperatively build the High Oneida Dam.[68] Then, in 1992, the Birch Power Company filed a proposal with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to build a hydroelectric power plant at the Oneida site. The proposal rallied local sportsmen and river enthusiasts who requested that the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) inventory Bear River for federal wild and scenic river designation. BLM complied, and completed its report in May 1995. BLM designated the Oneida Narrows as one of the sites on Bear River in Idaho "eligible" for wild and scenic status based on its

[65] *Bear River Investigations Status Report* (Salt Lake City: The Bureau, 1970), 1-2.

[66] *Amended Bear River Compact Summary* (Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Water Resources, 1988), 7.

[67] *Utah State Water Plan: Bear River Basin* (Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Water Resources, 1992), Section 9, 2.

[68] Ibid., 9, 23.

"outstandingly remarkable" recreational and wildlife aspects. Wild and scenic river designation involved two separate surveys, one to determine eligibility, and the other to determine suitability. Although a suitability survey has never been completed at the Oneida Narrows, its "eligibility" still demanded that BLM manage the area as wild and scenic until such time as the suitability assessment was completed. This designation made it more difficult to undertake any large water developments in the area, and induced the Birch Power Company to withdraw its proposal. It simultaneously dashed Utah's hopes of a joint project with Idaho.[69]

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

West-side canal of the Bear River Canal Company, Box Elder County. Background is the Coffer Dam used by the canal company circa 1920. Coffer Dam later submerged when UP&L constructed Cutler Dam in 1920s.

Unlike the period of thirty years earlier, when BRP promoters had to contend mostly with dissatisfied farmers and ranchers, the Utah Division of Water Resources now had to contend with recreationists and environmental advocates. Furthermore, the division's consulting firm issued a study of the Blacksmith Fork site that dealt an additional blow to the state's water plan. It reported that the "proposed reservoir would inundate wet-meadow bottomlands…[destroy] approximately 2 miles of class 1 or 2 trout stream...[which] could not be mitigated... impact elk migration... displace... flora and fauna," and impact at least one threatened or endangered species.[70]

Environmental concerns at Oneida and Blacksmith Fork forced the Division of Water Resources to concentrate on the Honeyville site. Even there, however, the intermittent reluctance of residents during the 1960s gave way to sustained resistance during the 1990s as they complained about poor water quality in the reservoir, submersion of five community drinking water systems, the loss of four thousand acres of prime farm land and wildlife habitat, inundation of two public parks, and destruction of the nationally registered, historic Hampton Ford Station.[71]

[69] *Final Resource Assessment: Bear River Wild and Scenic Eligibility, Bear River, Idaho* (Pocatello, Idaho: BLM, 1995), 11.

[70] *Board of Water Resources Tour of the Bear River Basin*, 11.

[71] Ibid., 32-33.

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Flume of the Last Chance Canal Company, near Grace, Idaho, circa 1900.

Although the state moved aggressively to fill the space created by the Bureau's departure during the 1970s, Utah was equally ineffective in its efforts to develop any large Bear River projects. Curtailing its plans considerably during the last several years, the Division of Water Resources now proposes building only a pipeline connecting the river below Cutler Dam with Willard Bay in southern Box Elder County, and another conveying the water from Willard Bay to water the Wasatch Front. Weber Basin Water Conservancy District, which owns and operates Willard Bay, has resisted this plan claiming the introduction of Bear River would compromise water quality in the bay. Public resistance to the Honeyville Dam and the Barrens Dam, an off-stream reservoir proposed in Cache County, has further led UDWR to consider dam construction only when residents of Box Elder and Cache counties "need the water."[72]

Idaho has been less active in attempting to utilize its portion of Bear River. Southeastern Idaho still contains thousands of potentially irrigable acres, but small grains and forages dominate agriculture in its high, cold climate, making it economically impractical to reclaim land where production will not compensate for development. Some small irrigation reservoirs, such as Daniels on the Little Malad River in Oneida County, and Montpelier Creek in Bear Lake County, have been cooperatively constructed by irrigation companies, but Idaho has yet to build any large, main stem, Bear River reservoirs.[73]

Irrigators in Caribou County had studied the prospect of a main stem dam since the Caribou Water Development Company acquired its forty thousand acre-foot right in 1963. In 1980 stockholders in the Last Chance

[72] *Bear River Development* (Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Water Resources, 2000), 2. The Utah Legislature passed a bill in 2002 which effectively removed the Barrens and Honeyville dam sites from the State's water plan. See, *Herald Journal*, February 15, 2002.

[73] The Twin Lakes Canal Company, which takes water out of Mink Creek northeast of Preston and conveys it through a complex system of canals and siphons to irrigate land in the vicinity of Dayton, Idaho, has recently sought permission to construct a dam on the Bear River. See *Herald Journal*, February 6, 2004.

COURTESY DON CALL AND ROBERT E. JENSEN, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Constructing an irrigation canal through Bear River Canyon (Gorge). Looking south.

Canal decided against building the Caribou Dam and voted instead to raise and operate their own hydroelectric plant on Bear River. The power plant, stockholders reasoned, would not only provide the company with cheap electricity, but would also produce revenue by allowing it to sell excess energy to UP&L. In 1983, after UP&L incurred a debt of nearly $2.5 million, the company's Last Chance turbines went on line. Less than a year later, UP&L approached the irrigation company with an offer to buy the power plant. In return, the power company offered to assume all of the irrigation company's debt, discount its electric charges, and provide supplemental storage water from Bear Lake at no charge. In December 1983 stockholders voted unanimously to accept UP&L's offer and acquired, for the first time since the 1920 Detrich Decree, an inexpensive, dependable water supply.[74]

Bear River continues to send its torrent of spring flood waters downstream, impeded only by the same small hydro-electric dams that have existed for more than seventy years. Utah continues to envision these waters longingly as a means of quenching the thirst of a growing Wasatch Front. In contrast with the dynamic population growth of the Wasatch Front, the population in Idaho's Bear River Basin has remained fairly static for the last forty years, which limits the state's need to develop additional municipal and industrial water supplies. Need will govern future Bear River developments, and it is unlikely that either state will successfully circumvent the social, environmental, and financial complexities until the needs of its citizens eclipse the disadvantages of development.

[74] McCarthy, *The Last Chance Canal Company*, 94-100.

Frances R. Burke: Toquerville Presbyterian Missionary

By SANDRA DAWN BRIMHALL and DAVID A. HALES

The story is told that when one of the women in the first group of Mormon settlers arrived at what was to become Toquerville, Utah, in 1858 she asked: "Is this the place we are to live?" When the answer was affirmative, the woman replied, "Well, surely neither God, men, nor the devil will find us here."[1]

The woman's observation proved true for a time but within a few years, Silver Reef miners, U. S. marshals searching for polygamists, Protestant missionaries sent to bring Christianity to Mormons, and other outsiders discovered the little village. When the silver mines played out and the 1890 Manifesto resolved the polygamy question, most of the miners, lawmen and interlopers left, but one Presbyterian missionary, Francis Rosilla Burke who came to Toquerville in 1881, remained for more than forty-four years.[2]

Frances Burke pictured here as a young Presbyterian missionary.

Frances was born on June 2, 1844.

Sandra Dawn Brimhall is a writer living in West Jordan, Utah. David A. Hales is Director of the Giovale Library, Westminster College of Salt Lake City.

[1] Rev. W. M. Paden, D. D., "The Postmistress of Toquerville," *The Presbyterian*, November 3, 1927, 18. Toquerville is located about three hundred miles south of Salt Lake City.

[2] Clark Olds interview by Sandra Dawn Brimhall, July 23, 2002, Toquerville, Utah.

Orphaned at an early age, Frances was adopted by Esther Young and her husband of Cincinnati, Ohio.[3] During her teens and twenties, Frances cared largely for herself. She eventually found a generous helper and friend, Mary Kennedy, who became almost a foster mother to young Frances.[4]

In 1874 Frances enrolled at the National Normal University in Lebanon, Ohio, where she studied for five years to become a teacher. While residing in Lebanon, she became acquainted with Dr. Duncan J. McMillan who had established a Presbyterian mission and school at Mt Pleasant in Utah's Sanpete Valley in 1875.[5]

Frances attended a church meeting where a speaker, probably Dr. McMillan, delivered a stinging denunciation against the polygamous Mormons in Utah. He told of the bills then pending in Congress to make plural marriage a crime in the territories, and predicted that the Mormons, in unholy alliance with the Indians, would make war on the United States. The speaker then told his audience, "It isn't the sword, but the Word that is needed to lead Brigham Young's deluded followers back to the true fold."[6]

As a direct result of this sermon, Frances volunteered to serve as a missionary teacher in Utah and the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church accepted her application.[7]

The first Presbyterian missionary efforts in Utah began in 1869, shortly after the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The Presbyterians viewed the Mormons as non-Christian cult members who had been led astray. They regarded Brigham Young as an unscrupulous leader who manipulated his people in all aspects of their lives.[8]

[3] Affidavit of Leonard A. Shepard, Ella A. Shepard and Elizabeth A. Shaw, dated October 11, 1900, Hamilton County, Ohio. Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College. Frances was also known by some as just "Fannie." According to Paden, her middle name was Rosilla but the name inscribed on her headstone is "Frances Rosalie Burke."

[4] Rev. John Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," Dixie Pioneers and Story Tellers, Oral History Collection, 8-11, Dixie State College, St. George, Utah.

[5] Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 18, and Mahon, Presbyterian Schools in Utah, 9. Information on the National Normal University and Burke's enrollment there was obtained from the Warren County Historical Society, Lebanon, Ohio. The University, which opened in November 1855, was originally named the Southwestern Normal School. The school was organized and remained under the leadership of Alfred Holbrook during most years of its existence. The teacher's course trained teachers in English grammar, arithmetic, geography, map drawing, physiology, United States history, penmanship, objective drawing, elocution, and the art of teaching and school management. It is estimated that over eighty thousand students attended the university and the credits from that institution were readily accepted by universities in other parts of the country. The university was closed in 1917.

[6] Mark Pendleton and Jacob Trapp, Mission Bell Retired, unpublished manuscript in possession of the authors. Mark Pendleton spent his youth in Silver Reef and he and his family were well acquainted with Frances Burke. In later life, Frances credited McMillan as the man who set her on the path of her life work at Toquerville.

[7] Ibid., Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 6.

[8] Lee A. Butler, "The Benjamin Presbyterian Church: 1886-1916," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (Summer, 1983): 259. For an overview of Presbyterian missionary work in Utah and the west, see Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interactions in the Southwest, 1850-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), and Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah* (Salt Lake City, Western Epics, 1971).

From the non-Mormon missionary perspective, the field was white and ready to harvest in Utah in the 1870s. During these years, some became disillusioned with Mormonism for a variety of reasons including polygamy, the United Order initiative, and the authoritarian leadership of the church.[9]

Presbyterian missionaries soon recognized the difficulty of converting Mormons through conventional proselyting methods so they established mission schools, hoping to teach and convert young Mormon children.[10] Dudley Haskell outlined the Protestant plan of action in an address he gave before the American Home Missionary Society in 1881. "Plant the school beside the church and place the teacher by the side of the missionary," he advised. "This is a battle to be won with the Bible and the schoolbook."[11]

By 1887 there were thirty-three Presbyterian schools scattered in Utah's cities and towns with sixty-seven teachers who instructed more than 2,100 pupils.[12] Presbyterians spent $26,000 a year to support this educational work.[13] They experienced little success in the smaller towns but were more effective in the larger communities where there was a greater number of non-Mormons.[14]

The mission schools helped fill an educational gap that existed in the territory. After arriving in Utah in 1847, the Mormons had established ward schools that were often seasonal and church controlled.[15] The ward schools, or community schools, were usually organized by the cooperative efforts of local citizens. Parents educated their children by hiring private teachers or by participating in tax-supported common schools. Some parents could not afford to pay the necessary fees and their children went without adequate instruction.[16] Religious leaders outside the state believed it was their duty to step in and provide schools in Utah because "there were no public schools in the American sense among the Mormons."[17]

Presbyterian mission schools received their primary support from gentiles and apostate Mormons who objected to Mormon church influence in education. Some Mormons sent their children to these schools because they believed their children would receive a better education. The

[9] Edward A. Geary, *A History of Emery County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Emery County Commission, 1996), 81.

[10] Butler, "The Benjamin Presbyterian Church," 260.

[11] Quoted in Jana Kathryn Riess, "Heathen in Our Fair Land: Presbyterian Women Missionaries in Utah, 1870-90," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 182-83.

[12] Ibid., 186.

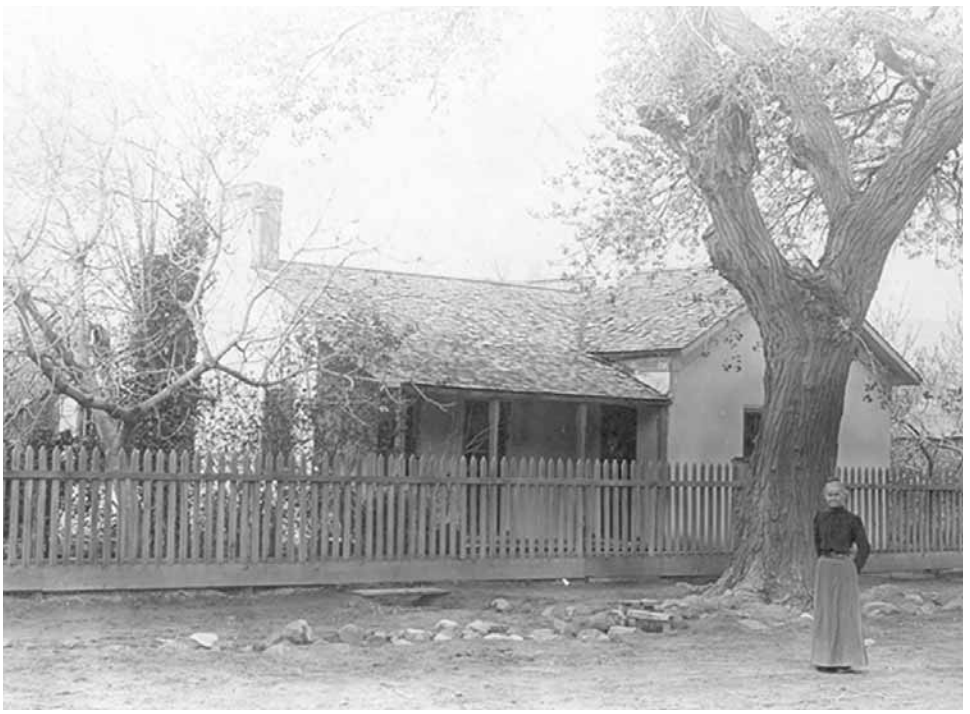
[13] Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 168.

[14] Butler, "The Benjamin Presbyterian Church," 266.

[15] F. Ross Peterson, *A History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Cache County Commission, 1997), 189. For more on early education in Utah see Charles S. Peterson, "A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah's Territorial Schools, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1980): 293-312.

[16] Glen M. Leonard, *A History of Davis County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Davis County Commission, 1999), 47, and Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 163.

[17] Peterson, *A History of Cache County*, 189.



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Frances Burke in front of her home in Toquerville, n.d.

Presbyterian schools had "well trained teachers, better books and supplies, a superior and more improved schoolhouses than their local counterparts," wrote two Sanpete County historians, where there were also Presbyterian schools.[18]

In September 1880, fourteen young missionary women arrived to teach school in the Utah territory.[19] That same year, Rev. A. B. Cort also moved to southern Utah from Chicago to establish both a church and a mission school in St. George. Cort was not well received by the community but persisted and established several Presbyterian schools in Utah's Dixie.[20] Frances came to Salt Lake City a year later, in May 1881, and secured lodging in the home of local Presbyterians.[21] She was immediately taken with the marvelous view of the Wasatch Range, "snow laden and adorned with glacier-sculptured peaks, stretching continuously along the eastern horizon." She described Salt Lake City as "…a city of cottages, built of gray

[18] Albert C. T. Antrei and Allen D. Roberts, *A History of Sanpete County, Utah*, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Sanpete County Commission, 1999), 183; and C. Merrill Hough, "Two School Systems in Conflict: 1867-1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (April 1960): 113-28.

[19] Riess, "Heathen in Our Fair Land," 200.

[20] See *The Church Review,* December 29, 1895, 45-46, copy at Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College; Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *A History of Washington County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Washington County Commission, 1996), 146.

[21] Pendleton and Trapp, "Mission Bell Retired," 3.

adobe bricks, set well back from the street, surrounded by flower gardens and orchards. A city of lilacs and tulips and many children."[22]

Frances stared in amazement at a large store in Salt Lake City bearing the strange inscription, "Holiness to the Lord, Z.C.M.I." She visited the nearby Mormon tabernacle where she heard a sermon by one of the church's twelve apostles. Frances gazed at the men and women in the congregation as if they belonged to a different species. The people seemed strange and lost to her–sheep that had strayed from the proper fold.[23]

After four days in Salt Lake City, Frances boarded the train for southern Utah. At Milford, the terminus of the railroad, she took the stage and traveled southward "through a region of plateaus, deep canyons, extinct volcanoes, desert sands and hot summer winds."[24]

Frances was given the difficult assignment of establishing a mission school in Toquerville, a town that some Presbyterian ministers regarded as the hardest place in Utah to organize an "outsiders" school, because she had "staying qualities."[25] When she arrived in Toquerville, she was unable to find any houses for rent or any families with spare rooms. The Mormons in the community, who felt misunderstood and persecuted by the government and others who opposed their religion, were suspicious of outsiders. For a short time, Frances found shelter at Cort's Presbyterian mission in St. George about twenty-five miles southwest of Toquerville.[26]

After several weeks Ash Nebeker, a Toquerville polygamist with three families, sent word to her that he felt it was his Christian duty to open his home to anyone who wanted to "come into our midst to do good." Frances accepted his offer despite the misgivings of her friends who suspected that Nebeker was considering her as a fourth wife.[27]

Nebeker's generosity proved to have no ulterior motive. Later, he helped Frances and the Presbyterian Board of Missions negotiate the purchase of a town lot for the mission school on which there was an unfinished house,

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 4.

[25] See George W. Martin, Sketch of Present Conditions of Fields, March 30, 1887, Paden Collection, Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College.

[26] Ibid. In October 1881 the Presbyterian minister at Silver Reef, Rev. E. N. Murphy, began holding religious services at Toquerville every two weeks. He continued to do so until he left Silver Reef to take charge of other mission work. After his departure, Cort held occasional services at Toquerville for two years. See The Church Review, December 29, 1895, 45-46,copy at Westminster College. It was probably Cort or Murphy who selected Toquerville as the site for Burke's mission. . Like Burke and Cort, Eliza Hartford, another Presbyterian missionary, also had difficulty in finding a place to live or to teach school. When she moved to Cedar City in 1880, her arrival caused a stir, prompting many Mormon Sunday sermons that warned against sectarian teachers and preachers. After she eventually found lodgings, Hartford's landlady forbade her to teach or preach in the place she rented. See Janet Burton Seegmiller, *A History of Iron County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Iron County Commission, 1998), 194, 273.

[27] Pendleton and Trapp, "Mission Bell Retired," 4.

supposedly haunted.[28] The story of the home and its occupants, which was built by an English convert named Richard Fryer, is one of the saddest chronicles in the history of Toquerville.

Richard Fryer converted to Mormonism in the 1850s while he was a student at Oxford University in England. He was a man of culture and refinement–an artist, sculptor and musician. He came to Utah in 1853 and became acquainted with Brigham Young who eventually asked him to move to Toquerville. There Fryer took a prominent role in the cultural activities of the town, playing for dances, directing choirs, painting scenes and curtains for theatrical productions, and teaching music lessons. In 1874 he began construction of his home, a two-story structure built of native black lava rock.[29]

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Presbyterian missionary and Toquerville school teacher, Frances Burke, often held worship meetings in the school house when a local minister was not available.

Not everyone recognized or appreciated Fryer's contribution to the community. Some thought he considered himself better than the rest of the town and resented him. One evening Fryer was assaulted by a group of young ruffians who seized him, tied his feet to a single tree that was fastened to a harnessed workhorse, and dragged him through the streets of Toquerville.[30]

The hardships of pioneer life, coupled with the persecution and mistreatment he endured, caused Fryer to suffer a complete mental breakdown in 1875. He became obsessed with the notion that his wife Theresa was carrying on an affair with a neighbor, Thomas Batty. Fryer ordered Theresa and their infant son to leave the house and she took refuge with the Thomas Batty family. Theresa, fearful for the safety of their other children, placed them in the homes of friends.[31]

[28] Ibid. Wesley P. Larsen, who resides in Toquerville and has studied and written about Toquerville history, believes Ash Nebeker was Ashton Nebeker, brother of Aquilla Nebeker. Aquilla lived across the street from Richard Fryer.

[29] Lucy Ett Fryer Vance, "Richard Fryer and Theresa Ann Revel Fryer," Personal Family History Section 12 &13: 1, 9, copy in possession of the authors, and Wesley P. Larsen, "A Self-Guided Walking Tour of Toquerville, Utah" (self-published pamphlet), 24. According to Larsen, Fryer's house, which was later "used as the Presbyterian Mission, is architecturally significant as one of five well-preserved exposed stone buildings in Toquerville. It is an excellent example of a 1-1/2 story stone hall-and-parlor house whose projecting gable on the facade reflect Gothic Revival influences."

[30] Larsen, "Walking Tour of Toquerville," Utah, 24.

[31] Vance, "Richard Fryer and Theresa Ann Revel Fryer," Section 12 & 13: 9.

On the morning of March 16, 1875, Fryer went to the Batty home where he shot and killed Thomas Batty, and then murdered his own wife and infant son. Fryer then returned to his unfinished house where he was pursued and eventually killed by Ashton Nebeker, sheriff of Kane County, and a posse of bystanders.[32]

The Fryer heirs, who had difficulty renting or selling the home because of its unsavory past, were happy to sell the property to the Presbyterians. The house was converted into a chapel, schoolhouse, and living quarters for Frances.[33] Unafraid of Mormons or ghosts, she moved into the house in September 1881 and went to work.[34]

On the first day that Frances held school, only three students attended–one in the morning and two in the afternoon. By the end of two weeks, ten students were enrolled. Most of her pupils came from the mining families who lived in Silver Reef.[35] Frances summoned the children to school each day by ringing a large bronze bell that was held aloft by two pine poles. The bell was one of the unique features of her mission. A friend of the missions in the East donated it to the school and it bore the inscription, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land."[36] Frances's Sabbath School fared better than her weekday school. The chapel was usually filled with young people who held prayers, read scriptures, sang songs and listened to Bible lessons. On Sunday evenings, visiting Presbyterian ministers from nearby towns conducted worship services and preached sermons.[37] When ministers were unavailable, Frances held a song and reading service. The meetings were sometimes disrupted by a group of rowdy young men who took delight in misbehaving. The diminutive missionary surprised everyone when she stood her ground, turning the boys out of the chapel.[38]

[32] Larsen, "Walking Tour of Toquereville," Utah, 25. An outcast in life and in death, Fryer was buried outside the cemetery. In October 1967 Fryer's descendants were directed to his final resting place by Adelaide Savage Naegle, a long-time resident of Toquerville. Naegle's mother, who had regarded Fryer as a good man and dear friend, faithfully brought flowers to his grave every Memorial Day for years until her death. Adelaide continued the tradition. See Vance, "Richard Fryer and Theresa Ann Revel Fryer," Section 12 &13: 10. For information on Ashton Nebeker as sheriff, see Kane County Minutes, Series 83799, Utah State Archives.

[33] Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 8.

[34] Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 6.

[35] Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 8.

[36] Pendleton and Trapp, "Mission Bell Retired," 5.

[37] Luella Dodge Maxwell, interview by Sandra Dawn Brimhall, July 22, 2002, Toquerville, Utah. It was Maxwell's belief that more people attended Burke's Sunday services than her school. There are several possible explanations for this. On Sundays, many of the townspeople rested from their labors and they were thus free to attend Burke's meetings. When Silver Reef lost its Presbyterian minister, Rev. E. N. Murphy, some of the residents of that city may have also attended services in Toquerville. See *The Journal of Presbyterian History* 80 (Winter 2002): 257.

[38] Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 9. The Church Review, December 29, 1895, 45-46. Olds recalled some of the problems Burke had in town with youth who harassed her during her meetings and at her home. Olds remembered that Burke was a tiny woman who barely stood above her picket fence. Luella Maxwell also discussed the challenges Burke experienced living in Toquerville. She recalled that some of the youth would kill snakes and put them on Burke's front porch. When Burke brought food to the sick, many would throw the food away after she left. See Olds and Maxwell interviews.

No historical evidence has been found that the Toquerville ruffians, who singled out Frances Burke for abuse, were encouraged by local Mormon church leaders. Other locals, such as Fryer and Wilkinson, both Mormons, were also molested by the town's delinquents.

Frances encountered other opposition in Toquerville that was not so easy to overcome. She was distrusted and ostracized by many Mormons and there were times when her patience and faith were severely tested. When the local Mormon bishop insisted that church members remove their children from her tutelage, she went for three months without a pupil. On one occasion, George Q. Cannon, first counselor to Mormon church president John Taylor, visited Toquerville and also preached against the Presbyterian school, telling church members to withdraw their children from it.[39]

When Congress passed the Edmunds Act in 1882, which disenfranchised polygamists and made polygamy a felony, Toquerville residents expressed their anger by stoning Burke's mission school. Burke, who was alone at the time, did not scare perceptibly.

Earlier, Burke's mentor, Dr. McMillan, also encountered Mormon opposition in Sanpete County. In 1875 Brigham Young visited Mount Pleasant where he denounced McMillan as "a wolf in sheep's clothing, a serpent that charms only to devour" and warned the townspeople to have nothing to do with him and to take their children out of McMillan's school. Young further warned: "This gentile devil will send sorrow and distress into many a mother's heart, will bring irreparable disgrace and ruin upon your daughters." Although McMillan was offended by Young's stinging attack on his character and his vitriolic language, McMillan did not accuse Young of uttering any death threats.[40]

McMillan was also shunned by townspeople during the day and harassed at night by rowdy groups of men. Other Presbyterians throughout the state complained to Mormon authorities in 1880 of similar problems. In towns like Logan, American Fork, Springville, and Payson, Presbyterian religious meetings were frequently disturbed by shouting and cursing, and buildings were vandalized and defiled.[41] Mormons often complained that McMillan and others exaggerated their grievances to gain additional sympathy and financial support for their mission schools. One story is told that McMillan claimed that he was forced to subdue a hostile Mormon audience by preaching with a gun in one hand and a Bible in the other. McMillan later revised the story, claiming that it was merely a metaphor and that although he did not go to the pulpit with a drawn pistol, he went armed.[42]

[39] Presbyterian Home Missions (New York: Board of Home Missions, 1882), 99.

[40] R. Douglas Brackenridge, "Are You That Damned Presbyterian Devil?' The Evolution of an Anti-Mormon Story," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Spring 1995): 87.

[41] R. Douglas Brackenridge, "Presbyterians and Latter-day Saints in Utah: A Century of Conflict and Compromise, 1830-1930," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 80 (Winter 2002): 211, 213-14.

[42] Brackenridge, "Are You That Damned Presbyterian Devil?" 105.

Undaunted, Frances continued to ring her school bell each morning, until, one by one, her students returned.[43] Frances decided that if the people wouldn't come to her, she would go to them by nursing the sick, lending them good literature, teaching the people to can fruits and vegetables, and to make pickles and sew. During the winter months Frances began holding night school for young people whose education was neglected when they were children. She also broadened her influence in the community by becoming the postmistress of Toquerville on October 12, 1887, a position she held for more than seven years.[44] These acts of Christian service gave Frances the reputation as a woman who was always looking for ways to help others. Longtime residents of Toquerville remember her as a very talented woman–an organist, pianist, teacher, and gifted singer–who was not always given her due.[45]

When the Silver Reef mines, located several miles west of Toquerville, ran out of silver in the early 1890s, the Women's Board of Home Missions decided to close Frances's mission school. Their decision to close the Toquerville mission and other mission schools in Utah may have been due to several factors. In 1890 LDS church President Wilford Woodruff issued his "Manifesto" ending the church's practice of plural marriage, which had been a focal point of the Protestants' crusade against Mormonism. Six years later with the achievement of statehood, Utah's newly enacted constitution mandated public support for a public education system.[46] Frances vigorously protested the decision, but to no avail. She decided to stay at her own expense and purchased a small house with two acres of land located a block north and across the street from the mission school.

On the newly purchased property was a small vineyard that grew grapes used to produce Dixie wine. Frances uprooted the wine grapes and planted apricots, peaches, pears, figs, and English walnuts. She also cultivated a large flower garden, which eventually earned the reputation as the finest collection of indoor and outdoor flowers in southern Utah. During her tenure as postmistress, she had Vick's catalogs sent to anyone she could interest in gardening. "The flower lady," as she became known throughout the area, was able to eke out a living from her small postmistress salary, a bequest from her former benefactor, Mary E. Kennedy, and earnings from her orchard and garden. Her flowers "went to the sick, the shut-in, and to all the weddings and funerals of the village."[47]

Frances continued to hold Sabbath School and other services every Sunday, beckoning worshipers to meetings with her school bell. When the

[43] Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 9.

[44] Post Office Department Certificate, dated November 9, 1887, Archives, Giovale Library, Westminster College.

[45] Olds interview and Maxwell interview.

[46] Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 10, Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 6. See Peterson, *A History of Cache County*, 200.

[47] Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 6.

pine poles that supported the bell eventually rotted and gave way, she placed it on the chapel porch, a mute symbol of her futile attempt to convert Mormons.

One evening some wedding revelers borrowed the bell without permission and used it to make a ruckus when the bridegroom, John R. Wilkinson, refused to host a party after his wedding. The revelers hoisted Wilkinson on a fence pole and kept him there until he forked out the money for a dance and refreshments. The incident gave rise to a couplet that became famous in Toquerville:

John R.W., redheaded and frail,
Took his honeymoon trip on a Toquerville rail.

The next morning Frances found her bell in the street with a heap of cowbells, pans and tubs and prevailed upon the boys to return it to her porch.[48]

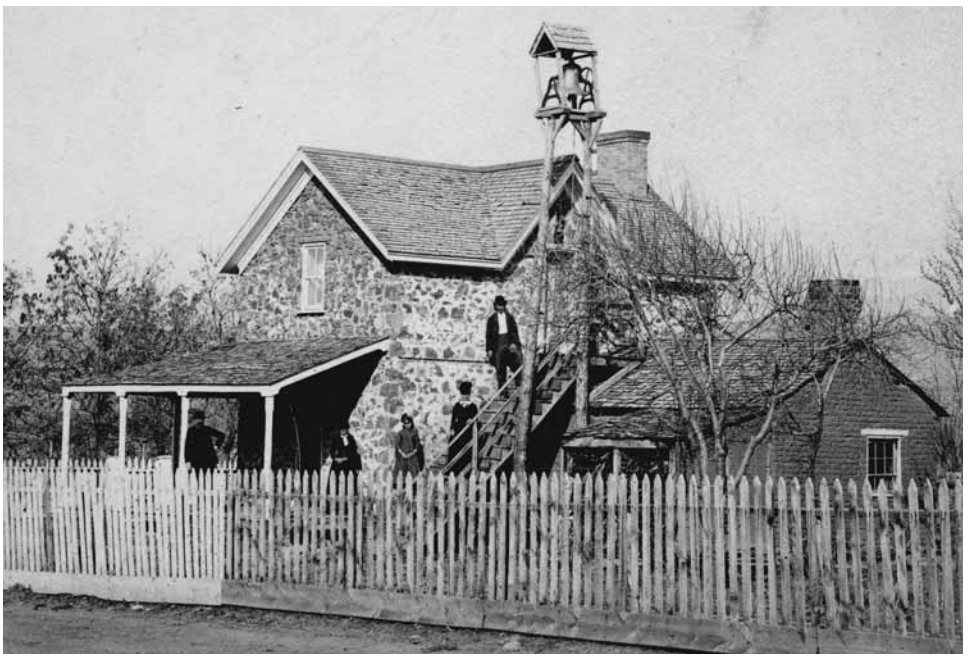
As the years went by, the townspeople learned to tolerate and even respect the aging missionary. Neighbors brought her milk and eggs and assigned their children to assist Frances in harvesting her garden, maintaining her irrigation canals and irrigating her property.[49]

On Armistice Day, November 18, 1918, a group of Toquerville citizens came to Frances's door and asked if they could borrow her bell to herald the end of the war. She was startled, and somewhat gratified, when several in the party addressed her as "Sister" instead of "Miss" Burke. After she gave her consent, the bell was hoisted onto the back of a Ford truck that was driven by the local Mormon bishop, Walter H. Slack. Bishop Slack insisted that Frances ride next to him in the front seat of the truck. They were followed by a high-spirited procession that paraded up and down the streets of Toquerville and then went to neighboring towns proclaiming peace and goodwill.[50]

During her later years, Frances became nearly blind from cataracts and severely crippled by rheumatism.[51] In 1925 she suffered a complete physical collapse. Louisa Conklin, who was a Presbyterian missionary at St. George, came to Toquerville to take care of her. When it became apparent that she would not recover, Louisa took her to St. George where she tenderly nursed Frances until her death on January 8, 1927.

Funeral services were held for Frances in St. George and at the Mormon meetinghouse in Toquerville where she was eulogized for her character and influence as a citizen, teacher, missionary, and a good Samaritan by her Mormon neighbors. The Rev. William M. Paden, superintendent of the Utah-Idaho synod of the Presbyterian Church, conducted the services and

[48] Pendleton and Trapp, "Mission Bell Retired," 6.
[49] Mahon, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 11, Olds Interview.
[50] Pendleton and Trapp, "Mission Bell Retired," 7.
[51] "Women and Missions," March 1927, 477 typed article by the Presbyterian Historical Society in author's possession; Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 7.



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Toquerville Presbyterian School and Church.

dedicated Frances's grave in the Toquerville Cemetery.[52]

When her last will and testament was opened, it was discovered that Frances had left her property and all her belongings to the Presbytery of Southern Utah to be used in maintaining the mission at Toquerville. However, with her death, Presbyterian missionary efforts ceased in Toquerville.[53]

Although Frances's school was never large, her impact was far-reaching. Some of her pupils eventually held positions of honor in the best schools of the state. Others became influential citizens in religion and local government in Mormon communities. The Toquerville mission school, and others like it, helped raise education practices and standards and were a significant force in the establishment of free public education throughout the state.

[52] *Iron County Record*, January 14, 1927; *Washington County News*, January 13, 1927; *Deseret News*, September 18, 1931; and Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 6.

[53] Paden, "The Postmistress of Toquerville," 18. According to Paden, Frances's "property was without mortgage, and after paying all the expenses of her illness and burial, there was an unexpended residue to be used in caring for the mission into which she had put her body, mind and spirit." After her death, the Rev. Charles Hamilton and his wife, Mary, moved to Toquerville and lived in Frances's home. Olds Interview. According to Olds, they were the adopted grandparents of the Olds family. When the Olds home was destroyed by fire, the Hamiltons invited the family to live at the mission school until other living quarters could be arranged. The Hamiltons lived in Toquerville until after World War II. Reverend Hamilton was responsible for Presbyterian churches in St. George and Cedar City but never ran a mission in Toquerville.

BOOK REVIEWS

John Bidwell and California: The Life and Writings of a Pioneer 1841–1900

By Michael J. Gillis and Michael F. Magliari (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. 367 pp. $39.50.)

WHILE PERHAPS UNRECOGNIZABLE to some readers of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, John Bidwell should be known to Western historians and to students of the overland trails. His name is historically tied to the famed 1841 Bidwell-Bartelson party, the first American wagon train to travel cross-country to California.

In 1840 Bidwell met Rocky Mountain fur trader Antoine Robidoux who had recently returned to Missouri from the Far West. Robidoux described California as a "veritable paradise" with its mild climate and fertile soil blessed with abundant natural resources. Bidwell and five hundred others all pledged to go west in the spring of 1841 and formed the Western Emigrating Society.

During his westward journey, Bidwell was advised by fur trappers at Fort Hall to "follow the Bear River as it bent south to the Great Salt Lake" (36). Bidwell's group took the advice and "skirted the northern shoreline of the [lake]," continuing on to the Humboldt River.

Once in California John Bidwell worked initially for John Sutter whose name is tied to the California Gold Rush. Then Bidwell turned his attention to agriculture and politics. Of Bidwell's many contributions to the history and development of California, the authors find "his pioneering achievements in agriculture rank as the most important" (129). He successfully raised crops including sweet potatoes, cabbage, and especially wheat on his Rancho Chino located east of the Sacramento River.

The authors do not shy away from pointing out Bidwell's limitations as well as accomplishments. His actions reflect the prejudices of a frontiersman and a nineteenth-century Californian. In 1864 the *Yreka Semi-Weekly Union*, a Democratic-leaning newspaper, accused him of being a hypocrite who championed abolitionism while enslaving his Indian workers. The rival Chico *Enterprise* rebutted the charge by lauding Bidwell as a "gentleman of broad humanity, a true philanthropist, and the promoter of man's freedom." The authors judiciously conclude that the "more complicated truth" likely "lies somewhere in between" (249).

Bidwell's actions regarding Chinese immigrants seem ambiguous at best. He did treat his Chinese employees fairly, but was that because of his humanity or because they were a prized source of labor? The authors observe: "Bidwell found the advantages of Chinese farm labor irresistible"(316). Concentrated in rural orchards and vineyards, Asian workers shared the job market with the white complement of California laborers. Regardless of their agricultural abilities, the Chinese, who constituted about 20 percent of the workers employed at Rancho Chico, received significantly lower wages than did white employees.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, approximately three hundred

Asians worked in the orchards and packinghouses at Rancho Chino. When anti-Chinese sentiment in Chino festered during the late 1870s, as the pro-white Workingmen's Party of California (WPC) railed against the Chinese, John Bidwell fought back against WPC boycotts of his products by lowering the number of Chinese workers engaged at his holdings. He rallied the support of other farmers against the union by organizing the "Law and Order Committee of One Hundred." Consequently, Chinese labor remained viable at Rancho Chino to the end of the nineteenth century.

M. GUY BISHOP
Woods Cross, Utah

The Natural West: Environmental History in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains By Dan Flores (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xi + 285 pp. Paper $19.95.)

A COMPILATION AND REVISION of a series of essays published between 1983 and 1998, Dan Flores' new book seeks to convince an audience of interested (but not necessarily expert) readers of orbiting clusters of arguments difficult to sum up concisely. Indeed, Flores himself usually resists the temptation to flatten his arguments into static pronouncements. Instead, he presents his reading of the environmental history of the West as a dynamic in which culture and nature dance an evolving reality into an existence. The result is a constellation of chapters through which circulate animals (wolves, bison and grizzly bears), places (Montana troped as the "last best place," Utah imagined as "Zion in Eden," Texas's Llano Estacado plateau, the Rocky Mountains, the Great Plains), peoples (Comanche, Mormons, Arapahos, New Mexicans, Blackfeet), and paradigms (Romanticism, preservationism, sociobiology, the Sagebrush Rebellion). Although the preceding set of lists is partial, it may be suggestive of the ambitions of a book that turns repeatedly to systems theory even as it indexes five grizzlies by individual name.

To convert such a textual performance to a thesis statement is to reduce to simplicity that which Flores means to explode to its fullest complexity. A vivid stylist who is not afraid to draw on the resources of metaphor and first-person narrative to illuminate his meticulous research, Flores' most characteristic questions are "why" and "how" as he considers the past, present, and future of those diverse and particular places that make up the Wests of historical inquiry, climatic change, geographical complexity, and human and animal habitation.

Although the collection is dedicated to the "memory and legacy" of Walter Prescott Webb, Flores' project is not so much to define the region by aridity—or, indeed, by any one characteristic, but to think through a series of issues. Perhaps the most important of these are the questions of how today's West has become

impoverished in terms of life diversity and what, in proposing restoration as an anodyne for that poverty, we're really asking. As Flores points out, by the time Europeans made their way to this continent "at least 350 generations (probably more) of men and women had been living in and transforming North America across a time span of well over a hundred centuries" (189). If the environment is viewed as a long and continuing process, he asks, what do we wish for when we wish for the pristine past.

It is hard to imagine anyone not leaving the book newly aware of the way in which humans, animals, and the land have shaped each other—and of the fragility of our shared lives. However, some readers might see the collection as representing lost opportunities or, more positively, suggestions for future inquiry. One gap lies in Flores' quick dismissal of the feminist critique of versions of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology that view human nature as a universal product of an evolution tied to the drive for genetic survival. It is apparent that Flores sees feminist charges of determinism as beside the point of the real value of sociobiological insights. Understanding humans as evolved animals, he points out, might help people interested in environmental dynamics to attend to the big patterns of history worked out over long stretches of time. However, in hotly pursuing this conviction, Flores may not fully consider what difference it might make if evolution is understood not so much as a real description of real reality but as a cultural narrative. What difference would it make to Flores' argument, one might wonder, if the narrative of "survival of the fittest" were replaced by some feminists' understanding of evolution as the enhancement of cooperation between and among species?

In the same way that many of the essays in this collection have individually inspired further conversation and research in the field, perhaps will reveal other such gaps and connections and thus help reshape the landscape, both literal and scholarly, that Flores and his readers occupy.

JULIE CLARK SIMON
Southern Utah University

American Massacre, The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857

By Sally Denton (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, xxiii + 306 pp. $26.95.)

IN THE DECADE between 1855 and 1865 the United States experienced numerous incidents of extreme violence, some of which were termed massacres. The American Civil War was the most noted of the violent incidents. Others, namely the Sand Creek Massacre, the Fort Pillow Massacre, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre all rightly bear the name "massacre" in this era of vehemence and fierceness which stretches from "Bleeding Kansas" and the Sumner-Brooks

affair to the horrors in and around Andersonville and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. From this period, Sally Denton has chosen to research and write about the massacre which took place in the southern Utah territory in the late summer of 1857. The dust jacket suggests that Denton is an "investigative reporter" for both print and television, and her book bears the marks of her journalistic and sensational approach to history.

The murder of 120 emigrants from Arkansas bound for California at Mountain Meadows by Mormons and Indians is one of the great tragedies of western and American history, and it deserves critical and scholarly attention by historians. Many earlier histories and accounts of the massacre have often been used to deny Mormon involvement in the murders or by their detractors to bash Mormonism. The massacre victims have been reused in one form or another in the ongoing war of words. As Denton writes to place her book in context she notes that "the historian must always make judgments in the use of documentary and anecdotal material..." (245), and adds a disclaimer that "in telling a story so violent and bloody, so controversial, and in many ways so alien to modern sensibility, I have taken no liberties with the factual record. Sources for the narrative and all quoted remarks appear in the notes"(xi).

Denton's thesis includes the ideas that the massacre was the result of Mormon planning from the highest levels of authority from the time the Arkansas party reached the Utah Territory because the emigrant party was a group with great wealth. She notes that one-hundred-thousand dollars in gold has been alleged to be with the Arkansas party and that all the gold that was recovered following the massacre was turned over to the church treasury in Salt Lake City. She further argues that the nine-hundred cattle recovered following the massacre were driven north to the territorial capital for church ownership. Denton also asserts that a significant number of Mormon apostates or "backouts" had joined with the Arkansas party to leave the Utah Territory and these were all also killed at Mountain Meadows. She also states that although there is no way to calculate their numbers there were many. Finally, Denton notes that the emigrants were "orderly, peaceable, Sabbath-loving and generally Christian people" and charges of bad conduct by members of the party have generally come from Mormons and cannot be believed (156). Denton's use of sources, her interpretations, and her judgments have led her to paint the massacre and the events that led to and from it in stark black and white tones only, so that her book lacks the balance and judgment that this event deserves.

Denton outlines her sources in this fashion: "For early Mormonism, I have drawn on the incomparable research of Fawn Brodie, as well as T.B.H. Stenhouse and Fanny Stenhouse, M.R. Werner, D. Michael Quinn, and the analysis by Robert D. Anderson. Also helpful were John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, Stanley P. Hirshson, and Larry Coates. The Gunnison massacre was brilliantly examined by historian R. Kent Fielding in his *The Unsolicited Chronicler*"(245).

Denton uses almost entirely Fawn Brodie's writing, however, in her early

chapters. In an analysis of the footnotes in these chapters it appears that the text is a pasting together of Brodie even though Denton refers to her in such terms as one writer, one critic, and one historian in the text. On pages 9, 10, and 11 for example where nine footnotes are listed, seven of them are attributed to Brodie. Denton's sources paint the massacre as a Mormon conspiracy and attributes Mormon growth and development to Danite violence. In chapter nine, which relates the Arkansas emigrants' travels from Salt Lake City to the Mountain Meadows, Denton uses T.B.H. and Fanny Stenhouse as her prime sources. Any source which may seem friendly to Brigham Young such as H.H. Bancroft is derogated. Denton also uses an arcane footnote system that is not easy to follow and which does not identify many of the issues raised throughout the volume.

There are dozens of examples of inaccuracy both in statements and in innuendoes throughout the book. Inaccuracies include: an early map which has the trail from Mountain Meadows leading through St. George to California; that Joseph Smith's life was marked by hundreds of mythical persecutions; Smith's proposed theocracy of evangelical socialism was a precursor of Marxian communism; the Burned Over District was peopled by Puritan descendants of those who had burned witches two-hundred years earlier; the 1833 Mormon Word of Wisdom prohibited the use of tobacco, alcohol, coffee, and red meat; Parowan is the name of a *Book of Mormon* warrior; the Massacre was a leading reason for Utah not achieving statehood; Kirtland, Ohio, is noted as the beginning of Mormon endowments, proxy baptism, eternal progression, and celestial marriage doctrines; Nauvoo doubled its population for three years following 1840 beginning with three-thousand people in 1840; converts poured into Nauvoo from England "treking" halfway across the continent; the Nauvoo Legion, four-thousand strong, is ordered to storm the *Nauvoo Expositor* office; rival politicians that Joseph Smith faced in the 1844 campaign include James Buchanan and Millard Fillmore; as a master proselytizer, Young had served ten missions to the British Isles before Smith's death; along with maps, Lansford W. Hasting's *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* provided Young with the requisite knowledge of their western destination; Thomas L. Kane, singlehandedly kept individuals from investigating the massacre, as reported by Frank Cannon fifty years later; Amasa Lyman, Mormon Apostle, was excommunicated because he urged participants in the massacre to make a full confession; and most Salt Lake City Mormons laid the blame of the Willie and Martin handcart companies' disaster at the feet of Young.

Denton evidences little understanding of sectional politics in the United States in the late 1850s as she discusses Buchanan and his administration. She notes that Buchanan "attempted to keep the sacred balance between proslavery and antislavery factions"(108). This could not be further from the truth. Buchanan was a tool in the hand of the proslavery element in the United States and his sympathies to slavery had made him eligible for election in 1856. His support of the Lecompton efforts in Kansas in 1857 and 1858 are clear evidences of his politics and his sympathies which Denton misses. She further notes that by the summer of 1858, the

American public had lost all interest in the West and turned its attention to the impending crisis in the southern states. The attention of the United States in 1858 was focused on the Lecompton Constitution issues and Kansas, the constitutional struggle surrounding the Dred Scott case, and the campaign of Stephen Douglas to retain his Senate seat. An impending crisis in the southern states was not in view. All of the above and many others are errors of fact and perception which are not in keeping with serious scholarship.

American Massacre adds little to our understanding of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The numerous inaccuracies, the continuing reliance on a conspiratorial thesis, and the ever-apparent bias detract from having the book accepted as a balanced, evenhanded, scholarly, and important contribution to the history of Utah and the West.

RICHARD W. SADLER
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Going Places: Transportation Redefines the Twentieth-Century West

By Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003. xix + 419 pp. $39.95.)

WHILE HIKING among trees on a quiet, peaceful morning near Snowbird, Utah, I heard an unrecognizable engine sound about as loud as a low flying helicopter coming closer. It was not the sound of a helicopter with beating rotors. Suddenly there appeared not too far above the trees a yellow-orange bi-plane. The plane gracefully continued approaching Alta. What a rare nostalgic sight. I experienced the same nostalgia reading Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes' *Going Places*, a very engaging book exploring the development of transportation in the western United States. *Going Places* describes the many changes that made it possible to travel from coast-to-coast in a matter of hours. Of particular interest is the evolution of the transportation industry. Increased production and marketing of goods expanded the railroads. Adventure and a faster pace of life promoted the airline industry. Government regulation and then deregulation, mergers and expansion of companies, and mobility of the public all had an influence on transportation.

For the more mature and for those too young to remember, Schwantes recounts automobile travel on the highways before World War II. How many remember two-lane highways, motels with individual covered parking stalls or garages, mom and pop restaurants, gasoline pumps that delivered their product by gravity, or traveling across the hot desert in the summer without air conditioning? How many remember the thirty-five mile per hour speed limit during World War II? Improved automobiles and their proliferation demanded better roads leading to the development of the interstate highway system and the demise of many small

roadside businesses. Schwantes tells of the army's 1919 transcontinental overland expedition consisting of trucks, tanks, ambulances, and motorcycles led by Lieutenant Colonel Dwight D. Eisenhower. This expedition may have inspired Eisenhower's development of the interstate highway system.

Time was an extremely important factor in the operation of the railroad. Accident free operation of the railroads demanded that train crews carefully synchronize their watches at the beginning of each run. Meeting places for trains had to be designated precisely in terms of hours and minutes to prevent collisions as one train would take to a siding while another would pass. Working on the railroad was dangerous employment. Schwantes notes that during the twelve months from July 1899 to June 1900, 2550 railroad workers died from job-related accidents. During the same period 39,643 suffered job-related injuries.

Time zones were a railroad invention. In order to give some regularity to the operating day the major railroads of the United States and Canada reset countless watches and clocks at high noon on November 18, 1883. This arbitrarily reduced at least forty-nine different time standards used by railroads into five standard zones without any authorization from state, provincial, or national governments.

Contrary to public opinion, Schwartes reports that the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1855. This was a railroad traversing the Isthmus of Panama. The joining of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads at Promontory only completed service between Omaha, Nebraska and Sacramento, California. At that time passengers and freight had to be ferried across the Missouri River connecting the rail lines of the east and west side of the Missouri River.

Schwantes recounts dare devil pilots in open cockpit fabric covered planes and how their planes evolved into the airliners of today. Commercial airline transportation began with Western Air Express' profitable passenger service without federal airmail subsidy. Most commercial aircraft were manufactured in the West. Before pressurized cabins on airliners and while smoking was still permitted, one of the major concerns was the discarding of cigarette and cigar butts out of the windows possibly causing range and forest fires. Today, we have a hard time imagining open cockpit planes as we fly coast-to-coast in hours at near the speed of sound.

After reading *Going Places*, you will not have to see a biplane to appreciate the advancements in transportation. For readers who want to return to the heyday of railroad travel, automobile travel before freeways, and air travel before jets, *Going Places* by Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes will be of immense interest.

JAY A. ALDOUS
University of Utah

The Brave Ones: The Journals & Letters of the 1911-1912 Expedition Down the Green & Colorado Rivers by Ellsworth L. Kolb and Emery C. Kolb. Edited by William C. Suran. (Flagstaff, AZ: Fretwater Press, 2003. xx + 180 pp. Paper, $15.95.) *Every Rapid Speaks Plainly: The Salmon, Green, and Colorado River Journals of Buzz Holmstrom including the 1938 accounts of Amos Burg, Philip Lundstrom, and Willis Johnson* Edited by Brad Dimock. (Flagstaff, AZ: Fretwater Press, 2003. xxviii + 252 pp. Paper, $15.95.) A cloth-bound, slip-covered set of both volumes is available for $59.95.

THE SIMULTANEOUS PUBLICATION of these two well-edited collections of primary sources is not only a happy event but a coincidental one as well, though neither editor mentions the connection. As Alexander the Great reportedly slept with *The Iliad* under his pillow, so Buzz Holmstrom slept with the Kolbs' book, *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico,* under his. He apparently did so even while on the river, for his diary entry of October 27, 1937, reports finding his momentarily misplaced copy inside his sleeping bag.

Two momentous publications in the early twentieth century did more than anything else to remove river travel from the realm of adventure and place it in the realm of science: the appearance in 1914 of the Kolbs' book, and the U.S. Geological Survey's 1921 maps of the Colorado River drainage to the 3,900 foot elevation level. The maps were the first instrument survey of the river corridor with accurate contour lines showing both tributary canyons and rapids, while the book was a day-to-day, mile-by-mile narrative of one river party's experience. Using those two references, travelers could know at any moment exactly where they were and what was coming up, and expeditions like Holmstrom's in 1937 and 1938 fared very nicely with little else to guide them.

William C. Suran, editor of the Kolb volume, was previously best known for his splendid little picture book, *The Kolbs of Grand Canyon*, an edited collection of Kolb photographs and anecdotes. While a student at Northern Arizona University, he discovered the Kolb diaries, which apparently had been lost for years among the unprocessed manuscripts and photographs in the university library–"They were just layin' around there loose," he recalled (*xiv*). For this volume, he transcribed the diaries of both brothers, Ellsworth and Emery, and blended them chronologically, as editors have done with the diaries of Lewis and Clark. To that combined edition, he added the diary of Hubert R. Lauzon, who joined the brothers in the Grand Canyon, and numerous personal and business letters and newspaper stories detailing the brothers' preparations, provisions, and progress.

The result is a historically invaluable and literarily delightful volume that, taken together with the Kolbs' own book, provides a nearly definitive account of the brothers' experience on the river. One imagines that a popular leisure-time game

among river *aficionados* will be to compare, day by day, the diaries and the book. (A tentative comparison of the two narratives over several days in Lodore Canyon suggests a slightly fuller account in the book, as remembered details and connective passages were added to the diary records.)

About all that keeps this collection from being the last word on the Kolbs is the editor's failure to incorporate material in collections outside northern Arizona. Both brothers lived long lives and were often sought out by later river runners for their wisdom–particularly Emery, who spent most of his remaining years at the South Rim of the Grand Canyon. Among those who knew them best were Otis R. "Dock" Marston and Harry Aleson, whose papers at the Huntington Library and Utah State Historical Society, respectively, are rich in Kolb correspondence.

Among the prominent seekers of Kolb wisdom was Haldane "Buzz" Holmstrom, whose *Iliad* was their book. Holmstrom, arguably the greatest fastwater boatman in history and a brilliant boat designer and builder, has the distinction of accomplishing the first solo run from Green River, Wyoming through the Grand Canyon (1937) and the first run of every rapid on that route in a single trip (1938). His life, at least in its external aspects, was the subject of a 1998 biography by the editor of this volume and two colleagues. The present book, which reproduces the diaries of Holmstrom's Salmon River run and both of his Colorado River trips, as well as the records of Amos Burg, Philip Lundstrom, and Willis Johnson who accompanied him on the 1938 expedition, is a logical follow-up to that biography. Like the Kolb volume, this one includes much correspondence that is helpful in supplementing and interpreting the diaries.

Also, like the Kolb volume, the Holmstrom diaries will find an assured place in the ammo can libraries of modern river runners, who will enjoy, as they pass down the river, comparing notes with their great predecessors. Thus, this edition will replace the typescript copies prepared (and allegedly bowdlerized) by Holmstrom's mother–the most influential woman in his life–which have been widely circulated for many years. One curious omission is an editor's statement regarding the accuracy of Frances Holmstrom's transcriptions, an omission that will require anyone concerned about it to do their own comparison.

Most of Holmstrom's journal entries focus, as one might expect, on the mechanics of getting down the river. When they become more personal, they reveal the Buzz Holmstrom most people thought they knew: a man supremely happy and competent in the outdoors, effusive in his praise for others, self-deprecating and humble, a happy-go-lucky river runner of mythic proportions. If Alexander supposedly wept at the lack of new worlds to conquer, Holmstrom emphasized that neither he nor anyone had ever conquered the Colorado River, or ever would.

That Holmstrom was real, but it was not the whole man. Over time a darker Holmstrom came closer to the surface, a Holmstrom who, although still young, found his best years behind him and his future a dead end, stuck in menial jobs and perhaps struggling with a sexual identity about which he knew he could

never be openly honest. Deepening depression led to despair and ultimately to demise by what was in all likelihood a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

Can the subterranean depths of that Holmstrom ever be plumbed? Perhaps publication of these diaries will inspire some scholar with interpretive gifts and an eye for the nuance of language to reexamine the Holmstrom sources–someone like, say, Gary Bergera, whose brilliant analysis of the possible homosexual identity of another troubled wanderer of the wasteland, Everett Ruess, appeared in the winter, 1999 issue of this journal. The issue may never be definitively resolved, but it needs at least to be explored.

GARY TOPPING
Salt Lake Community College

Silver Fox of the Rockies: Delphus E. Carpenter and Western Water Compacts

By Daniel Tyler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xxi + 392 pp. $34.95.)

THE LEGAL INFRASTRUCTURE governing water use in the American West is truly Byzantine. Numerous agencies at the local, state, and federal level all have a vested (and frequently conflicting) interest in how western water is used. Add to this competitive mix the fact that these various jurisdictions often operate under widely varying legal guidelines, and it is a wonder any water comes out of the faucet when someone turns on the tap.

One way to impose order on this chaos is through the use of interstate compacts to govern the division of water among the various western states. Daniel Tyler's biography of Delph Carpenter (1877-1951) examines the life and career of the man who "invented" water compacts. Tyler's book fills a major gap in western water historiography, and came about because of the unique access that he was granted by the Carpenter family to examine the semi-private collection of Delph Carpenter's papers. The wealth of information in these papers shed light on how a small-town lawyer from Colorado could end up creating a legal device that has come to dominate water resource management in the American West.

Carpenter's decision to try to secure interstate compacts to protect Colorado's water interests grew out of his position as the state's interstate water commissioner and the fact that by the 1910s it was becoming increasingly difficult to resolve water issues in court in a timely way. (One lawsuit between Colorado and Wyoming dragged on in litigation before the Supreme Court for eleven years.) In addition, Carpenter and other western state officials were growing increasingly nervous that the federal government would intervene in court cases to establish a federal water right. Compacts, which are the equivalent of treaties between states, would allow the states to block such efforts.

Negotiations over the Colorado River Compact (the first attempt to use this

legal device) at times resembled the complexity of the Versailles Conference at the conclusion of World War I, and engendered almost as much suspicion and mistrust. Carpenter viewed himself as a voice of reason in these negotiations, although this opinion was not always shared by his colleagues. Ultimately, however, Carpenter did produce the draft agreement for the compact that the other negotiators agreed to sign. Tyler rightly identifies this achievement as the high point of Carpenter's career. During the next several years Carpenter waged a relentless campaign to obtain state and congressional approval of the Colorado River Compact, while he simultaneously negotiated compacts for Colorado's other interstate rivers. This task was made all the more difficult by the onset of Parkinson's disease, which by 1934 left him bedridden for the remaining seventeen years of his life.

Given the key role that Carpenter played in the advent of water compacts in general and the Colorado River Compact in particular, it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of the book focuses on the negotiations and debates surrounding that particular agreement. Tyler's detailed discussion about the Colorado River Compact owes much to and is an excellent continuation of the work by Norris Hundley. Tyler is also clearly influenced by the work of Donald Pisani, who wrote the foreward for this book. One minor criticism, however, would be that Tyler's book almost suffers from too much information. The first one hundred pages focus on Carpenter's extended family and his childhood, and there are other sections that discuss his wife, children and livestock. While this information is interesting, it often seems tangential to the rest of the book. Overall though, this book is an excellent contribution to the steady flow of western water literature.

STEPHEN C. STURGEON
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All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage By Armand L. Mauss (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003. xvi + 343 pp. $36.95.)

DRAWING ON INSIGHTS from sociologist Charles Glock and on a lifetime of studying Mormons and minority groups, Armand L. Mauss offers a brilliant exploration of changing conceptions of race and lineage among Latter-day Saints. As Mauss writes in the introduction, "The theory guiding this book is derived partly from the social psychology of *identity formation and attribution . . . .*"(xiii).

In contrast with many Latter-day Saints before the 1978 revelation on race, Mauss argues, rightly I believe, that Mormonism's racialist framework developed after the Saints arrived in Utah. Moreover, he argues, again rightly, that "It was the product not of any particular revelation but of a social and intellectual movement

among some of Mormonism's most powerful and articulate leaders"(4). These combined certain interpretations of scripture with influences such as "British Israelism and Anglo-Saxon triumphalism"(4).

Proceeding from this interpretation, Mauss explores the significance of changing Mormon conceptions of race. He argues that despite the Book of Mormon's teachings that "seemed to define Euroamericans, including the Mormon converts . . . as 'Gentiles,'" and American Indians as descendants of Israel, Mormons came to perceive themselves as Ephraim taking the gospel to Manasseh. Some came to believe that an actual change in blood took place at conversion which transformed Gentiles into Israelites. By the mid-twentieth century, however, most had begun to interpret such change as symbolic. Near the end of the twentieth century, although some commentators still continued to stick to the older interpretation, leaders often emphasized a Pauline belief in the common blood of all God's children.

From that beginning, Mauss considers Latter-day Saint conceptions and relationships with American Indians, Jews, and African-Americans.

Though nuanced through time, the conception of American Indians has changed from the early nineteenth century in which leaders tended to see them as the central figures in the millennial pageant. More recently, some have tended to downplay that role. Some now see the Indians of Central and South America as more significant in the eternal scheme of things. In spite of favorable conceptions, nineteenth century Mormons experienced problematic relations with Indians. Mormon settlements undermined the ecosystems upon which hunter-gatherers had relied for sustenance. Conflicts resulted. Still, missionaries preached to and converted numerous Indians, though the interaction between the two races tended to remain limited.

Next, Mauss discusses relations with Jewish people. In general, Mormons, except the most conservative, have exhibited a lower degree of anti-Semitism than other Americans. Mauss could have strengthened this discussion had he understood that Rose Marie Reid not only "spent much of her life among Jews" (174), but that members of her family were Jewish, and had he explored J. Reuben Clark's attitudes.

In contrast with Indians and Jews, Mauss rightly characterizes the relationship with African Americans as extremely problematic. The adoption of the prohibition of priesthood ordination and temple ordinances, which originated in the late nineteenth century, cast a pall on such relationships. Nevertheless, studies by Mauss and others showed that at mid-twentieth century, Mormon attitudes generally mirrored those of other Americans. Change came slowly until the 1978 revelation removed priesthood and temple disabilities.

Both before and after the 1978 revelation, Latter-day Saints and scholars have tried to understand the changes that have taken place. Some commentators insist on a "*myth of continuity*" in which they interpret change as linear progress. Mauss favors a conception of "*myth of history as time-filtered*"(262). In the latter concep-

tion, obsolete practices and ideas "simply do not count any more, even if they originated as divine revelations," (263) which the African-American priesthood prohibition did not.

I consider this as an excellent book worthy of study by anyone who seeks to understand Mormonism.

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER
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Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith By Jon Krakauer

(New York: Doubleday, 2003. xxiii + 330 pp. $26.00.)

JON KRAKAUER IS A JOURNALIST who has successfully published dramatic accounts of people who live on the edge. In his latest book, *Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith*, he discusses aspects of twentieth century Utah history that most citizens wish they could ignore. This account cannot and should not diminish the history and religion of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Nor is the original official LDS church prepublication criticism of the book totally justified.

Krakauer uses the horrendous brutal 1984 murder of Brenda Lafferty and her daughter, Erica, by her brothers-in-law, Dan and Ron Lafferty, as a backdrop to discuss violence in the contemporary polygamous off-shoots of mainstream Mormonism. Students of contemporary Utah history know that violence among Fundamentalist groups is widespread, too frequent, and is usually blamed on God's will through some sort of perceived revelation. Although Krakauer barely touches on the Tom Green and Kingston cases, they are reminders that sexual violence and other physical violence against pre-sixteen year old teenage females is an aspect of violent faith that most Utahns find theologically uncomfortable. The defeat of the Tom Green county prosecutor, David Leavitt, in his last election documents that very fact. Part of Utah's plural marriage past, magnified by current fundamentalists, yields an uneasy aura throughout the state.

The Laffertys' violent acts and subsequent behavior provides the main core of the volume. Krakauer's knowledge of polygamist communities in Canada and on the Arizona-Utah border and how they tie to Utahns and various organized groups is enlightening. He also reminds the reader of the LeBaron polygamist civil war in Mexico that spread into the United States and led to numerous murders in Utah and Texas. The author might have included the John Singer-Adam Swapp polygamist family's violent confrontations with school and state authorities as another aspect of fundamentalist violence.

Another significant contribution is that in a time of international concern over Islamic fundamentalism, Krakauer reminds the reader that individuals who claim

direct access to God can justify any action—including violence. The Laffertys believed they had divine revelation concerning Brenda's fate. A fanatical terrorist can make the same claim. Krakauer did not expand and explore this concept enough because there are some obvious parallels. The prophet Mohammed and the Koran do not condone nor encourage an Osama bin Laden. Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, and modern LDS leaders are not comfortable with religiously justified violence. However, there are examples throughout the history of all religions where the righteous are asked to defend the faith by the sword. The problem with most violent fundamentalists is that they are no longer welcome among the main body of believers. This is true of the Mormon examples.

Krakauer's thesis is less convincing when he tries to explain the historical roots of polygamist fundamentalism by a brief and, at times, confused survey of Mormon history.

Although frontier violence is part of Mormon history before and after the arrival of the pioneers in Utah, it is a stretch to tie the Laffertys, Ervil LeBaron, John Singer, or any other individual's actions to early Mormonism. The church and its prophets established a clear policy of who speaks for the Lord and the church. An individual is personally responsible for his own actions and must pay the consequence for disobeying God and the Constitution. Krakauer tries hard to see the roots of violence in Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, and others. For sure, polygamy is obvious in Nauvoo and after, but he loses his way by being enticed to the early rumors of polygamy. He ignores recent publications that refute early teen sealings. Instead, Krakauer's thesis has greater authenticity when applied to radical fundamentalism of any form or in any religion. In searching for evidences to document his thesis, the author overlooked sources that explain the LDS church's evolution away from polygamy. The violent actions are usually directed toward family or community members who do not agree with the self-appointed prophets. The actions are not designed to injure the mother church.

This is a haunting book because it is a reminder of Utah at its worst. The people who act violently have their own reasons for action and the voices they hear are not divine. People act upon what they perceive to be the truth, not what is real. The results are tragic and disastrous but they are part of Utah's history.

F. ROSS PETERSON
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BOOK NOTICES

Bodie's Gold: Tall Tales and True History From a California Mining Town

By Marguerite Sprague (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003. xiv + 264 pp. $34.95.)

Marguerite Sprague writes about the history of a quintessential gold mining town of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the interesting story of its existence as a gold mining town until 1942 when, because of World War II, the federal government closed all gold mining operations. Bodie is located in the isolated Sierra high desert near Mono Lake of eastern California. Sprague explains that Bodie was sold to the state of California in the 1960s to become the Bodie State Historic Park with surrounding property acquired in the 1990s to provide added protection. The book is filled with historical photographs and the author has included numerous sidebars that add to the story of the once booming gold mining town.

African American Women Confront the West, 1600-2000 Edited by Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. 390 pp. Cloth, $34.95.)

This anthology addresses African American women's urban and rural experiences in the West over the course of four centuries. The volume is divided into six sections or time periods with at least one chapter per section, and an introduction. Section titles include: "The Spanish-Mexican Period," "The Antebellum West," "The Post-Civil War Era," "The Early Twentieth Century," "World War II," and "The Civil Rights Era." Established historians wrote each of the chapters and several sections include short first-person accounts as well. Of particular interest to readers of Utah history is the fine article "`Is There No Blessing for Me?': Jane Elizabeth Manning James, A Mormon African American Woman" written by University of Utah history professor Ronald G. Coleman.

Surviving Conquest: A History of the Yavapai Peoples By Timothy Braatz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 301pp. $55.00.)

Surviving Conquest is an attempt to better understand the Yavapai past, "a history of resilient peoples and their evolving world as they maneuvered to survive on their own terms, as best they could, in the face of American conquest"(24).

The focus here is on the late nineteenth century and the process by which Yavapais suffered foreign invasion, conquest and the forced removal into exile. Historian Timothy Braatz illuminates how they shifted from their hunting and

gathering economies to a more sedentary lifestyle, one of commercial agriculture and wage work, which was key to their survival. Braatz draws on archival research and Yavapai accounts recorded in the early twentieth century to weave together the story of the Yavapais' changing world, their near extermination, persistence and eventual success.

White Poplar, Black Locust By Louise Wagenknecht (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. x + 263 pp. $26.95.)

Using beautiful flowing prose, Louise Wagenknecht writes of her childhood memories of Hilt, one of the last western lumber company towns. Wagenknecht's personal experiences in Hilt (on the California-Oregon border) began in the early 1950s after her mother divorced and returned to Hilt, her hometown. But this narrative also dips into the collective memory of Wagenknecht's family: how they survived the depression, their cultural values and the history of the company lumber mill.

The historical events mentioned in the book are founded in extensive research by the author who includes these sources in a bibliography. Forests and forestry have been a central factor in the author's life; she worked for the United States Forest Service for nearly thirty years, and is a writer and editor at the Forest Service headquarters in the Salmon-Challis National Forest, Idaho.

Hope in Hard Times: New Deal Photographs of Montana, 1936-1942

By Mary Murphy (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2003. xii + 256 pp. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $22.00.)

An exhibit of Dorothea Lange's Farm Security Administration photographs inspired this book of 140 photographs of rural and urban life in Montana during the Great Depression. Mary Murphy draws from Lange's extensive collection as well as from other FSA photographers' collections including Arthur Rothstein, Russell Lee, Beaumont Newhall, John Vochon, and Marion Post Wolcott to provide a visual story of Depression-era life in Montana. Murphy uses liberally first person accounts to bring life to her narrative. For example, she writes about Ethel George helping her husband operate a thresher. In addition to keeping house and tending the children "[Ethel] made a hand….I had to 'cause my husband could not afford to hire help" (31). Murphy's volume presents an often-overlooked story of the history of Montana.

Mormonism and Music: A History By Michael Hicks (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003. xiii + 243 pp. Paper $19.95.)

One of the most important monographs of Mormon social history, *Mormonism and Music* was first published in 1989. This paperback edition includes a new preface that outlines recent developments in the ongoing story of Mormon music. The book's twelve chapters trace a fascinating story beginning with the question would hymns and music be a part of the new faith. Readers will be surprised to learn that historical forces worked for and against the inclusion of music. The account concludes with an examination of the present-day issue of the place of indigenous musical traditions in a world-wide church. Other chapters address such topics as singing in tongues, the musical exchange between European convert musicians and the American frontier church, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and the initial opposition and later accommodation to the waltz and polka, ragtime music, and the Beatles.

Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881-1967 Edited by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester (1978; paperback reprint edition, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in cooperation with University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxvi + 446 pp. Paper, $34.95.)

For readers seeking to gain insights into the nature of Navajo family, religious, and political life, this autobiography of Frank Mitchell cannot be surpassed. Born in 1881, several years after his parents returned from The Long Walk to Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico, Ólta'ì Tosh or Big School Boy was widely known by his English name—Frank Mitchell. One of the first Navajos from his clan to attend boarding school, Mitchell left school to labor as a railroad construction worker and then at various jobs until he took up a life of service as a blessingway singer, councilman, and judge. His editors find, "In his life and thought, Frank Mitchell embodied the qualities of Navajo religion. He was a man essentially practical, focused on this life and its problems, and deeply involved in moral and ethical values"(1). This moving and insightful autobiography is based on a series of oral interviews conducted with Mitchell in 1963. In 2001 the University of New Mexico Press published a history of Frank's wife, Rose Mitchell under the title *Tall Woman: The Life Story of a Navajo Woman 1874-1977*.

Asa Shinn Mercer: Western Promoter and Newspaperman, 1839-1917

By Lawrence M. Woods (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. 238 pp. $32.50.)

A "psychological role-model for losers" is one justification the author gives for this biography of Asa Shinn Mercer and its inclusion in Arthur H. Clark's Western Frontiersman Series. Nevertheless, Mercer was a man of tremendous energy, optimism, ambition, and promotion; a man for whom controversy was no stranger and whose money-making schemes found him "sometimes close to the outer edge of the law" (9).

Following his graduation from Ohio's Franklin College in 1860, Mercer moved to the Northwest where he became the first instructor at the University of Washington. Appointed Immigration Commissioner in 1863, he recruited women to immigrate to Washington in a successful effort to reduce the 9 to 1 imbalance of men to women in the territory. As a customs collector in Oregon, Mercer was tried for smuggling. The 1880s found him in Texas as a newspaper editor. His last years were spent in Wyoming where he wrote about the 1892 Johnson County War. He then moved to the Big Horn Basin where he continued to promote, dream, and scheme until his death in 1917.

Healing Souls: Psychotherapy in the Latter-day Saint Community By Eric G. Swedin (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. ix + 241 pp. $24.95.)

Presented as the first history of psychotherapy among Latter-day Saints, this volume by Weber State University educator Eric G. Swedin traces the LDS acceptance of modern psychologies from the later 1950s to the present. In so doing, he explains how the LDS integration of modern psychologies has differed from that of mainline Protestants who embraced modern psychologies before World War II. Of particular focus is how the LDS community has resolved conflicts between theological doctrines and particular aspects of mainstream psychology noting "modern psychologies and religion are such close cousins that they perform the same set of functions for individuals in modern American society….Both religion and psychology endeavor to fill the empty space between act and explanation" (3).

Swedin outlines the emergence of the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists, the expansion of the LDS Social Services Program, and the importance of the Institute for Studies in Values and Human Behavior established at Brigham Young University in 1976. Other chapters address such issues and questions as forms of LDS psychopathology, feminism and the roles of women, sexuality, and the LDS rejection of selfish psychology.

Inside the Hoover Dam Scrapbooks (Ogden, Utah: Stewart Library Special Collections, 2003, 81 pp.)

This short book contains eighty or so photographs, many from the Big Six construction companies' official photographic scrapbooks, of the construction of Hoover Dam. *Inside Hoover Dam* provides a glimpse of about a half million photographs now housed in the Stewart Library Special Collections at Weber State University. The book is divided into four sequential sections: "Beginnings," "Boulder City," "Excavation," and "Construction." Each photograph is accompanied with captions and sidebars of delightful quotes from construction workers, construction company officials, and others. This book is a limited edition and can be acquired at Stewart Library Special Collections.

Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler By Randy Roberts (1979, Louisiana State University Press, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003. xi + 314 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

Sports fans and boxing enthusiasts will find this biography of America's most famous twentieth century boxer to be of considerable interest. General students of Utah history will learn of Jack Dempsey's Mormon connection and the beginning of his boxing career in the hundreds of saloon fights in Utah, Colorado, and Nevada. Dempsey eventually made Salt Lake City's Commercial Street area his home base. In June 1916 he defeated Bob York in Price, Utah, just a few days before heading east to New York City and international fame. First published by Louisiana State University Press in 1979, this new paperback edition is from the University of Illinois Press.

Mormon Country By Wallace Stegner, with an introduction by Richard W. Etulain (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xviii + 362 pp. Paper, $15.00.)

This paperback edition of Wallace Stegner's popular 1942 classic includes a new introduction by Western historian Richard W. Etulain and makes Stegner's important literary portrait of Utah available to a new generation of readers.

The Miracle at Academy Square Volume I By L. Douglas Smoot (Provo, UT: Brigham Young Academy Foundation, 2003. xxvii + 595 pp. $75.00.)

This large book is a combination bound scrapbook and history of Academy Square (Provo City's library). Smoot provides the reader with copies of minutes, letters, newspaper articles, meeting agenda, budgets, floor designs, public comments, biographical sketches, photographs, and other documents relevant to the Academy Square project, which was completed in 2001.

A History of Utah's American Indians Edited by Forrest S. Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History 2003. xx + 394 pp. $19.95.)

This volume on Utah Indians was edited by Forrest S. Cuch who was born and raised on the Uintah and Ouray Ute Indian Reservation and has served as Director of the Division of Indian Affairs since 1997. Originally published in hardback in 2000, this paperback edition includes chapters on the Northwestern Shoshone by Mae Parry, Goshutes by Dennis R. Defa, Paiutes by Gary Tom and Ronald Holt, Northern Utes by Clifford Duncan, White Mesa Utes by Robert S. McPherson and Mary Jane Yazzie, and Navajos by Nancy Maryboy and David Begay. Also included are an Introduction by Forrest Cuch and two other chapters by Robert McPherson, "Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited" and "The Contemporary Status of Utah Indians." The volume is a collaborative effort between Indians and non-Indians to recount how Utah's American Indians have celebrated and interpreted their past from the earliest days to the present. The book is distributed by Utah State University Press.

Blue Mountain Folks: Their Lives and Legends By Doris Karren Burton (Vernal: Uintah County Library, 2003. xi + 692 pp. $34.95.)

Blue Mountain, located in eastern Uintah County, extends into northwestern Colorado and much of the area in Utah and Colorado is included in Dinosaur National Monument. The mountain was first used by cattlemen in the late 1870s. David Karren, grandfather of the author, was one of the early cowboys on Blue Mountain. Later, he and his sons, including Victor Karren, the author's father, established a successful sheep operation on the mountain. Originally privately published in 1985, the book has been revised and expanded as a volume in the Uintah County Library History Series. Doris Burton has spent a lifetime collecting stories of the Uintah Basin and in particular from the Blue

Mountain area. In this extensive and rambling volume, Doris allows the Blue Mountain people to tell their own stories. Readers come to know the people through their language, their humor, their trials, their experiences, their interaction with each other, and the wonderful collection of photographs used to illustrate the volume.

Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian Project in the Field Edited and with an introduction by Mick Gidley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xiii + 178 pp. $49.95.)

Edward S. Curtis is best known for his monumental twenty volume *The North American Indian* published from 1907 to 1930. As a photographer and student of Native Americans, Curtis undertook a life-long quest to document through word and picture the traditional cultures of Indians in the western United States. The volumes present an array of cultural and historical information about more than eighty different Native American peoples living west of the Mississippi River and are illustrated with photographs taken by Curtis beginning in the 1890s. Utilizing excerpts from a variety of sources including unpublished reminiscences, memoirs, reports, letters, field notes, magazine and newspaper articles, Mick Gidley recalls the research and field work undertaken by Curtis and his associates in four western regions—the Southwest, the Plains, the Northwest, and the West Coast.

The American West in 2000: Essays in Honor of Gerald D. Nash

Edited by Richard W. Etulain and Ferenc M. Szasz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. viii + 208 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

As a professor of history at the University of New Mexico from 1961 until his retirement in 1995, Gerald D. Nash earned a well-deserved reputation among students for his clear, concise lectures and delightful classroom theatrics. Among historians, Nash is well known as the foremost authority on the American West in the twentieth century. Indeed, Nash is credited with opening the field with the 1973 publication of his pioneering overview of the post-1900 period *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis*. In later works—*The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (1985) and *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (1990)—Nash argued "that the Second World War transformed the American West. No other single influence on the region—not the Mexican War, not the Civil War, not World War I, nor even the Great Depression—brought such great cataclysmic changes to the West (191)."

Shortly after his death in 2000, ten colleagues and former students came forward with this festschrift in honor of their colleague and mentor. The ten essays cover a wide range of twentieth century topics—Native Americans, women, mining and the environment, religion, urbanization, tourism, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the life and career of Gerald D. Nash.

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest Edited by Hal K. Rothman (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xi + 250 pp. $34.95.)

This anthology includes twelve essays that cover a variety of cultural tourism topics and places from California's El Camino Real to modern San Antonio, Texas. Editor Hal Rothman argues, "When others look at models for tourism, especially cultural tourism, as an economic engine, no region had done it better than the Southwest" (4). Several of the essays focus on New Mexico topics including a look at tricultural New Mexico—Indians, Hispanics, and Anglos. Some, such as "Anglo Artists and the Creation of Pueblo Worlds," "Handmade by an American Indian," and "Virtual Tourism, Vicarious Travel, and the Consumption of Southwestern Indian Artifacts," cover the objects and products of cultural tourism. Others, including "Appropriate Cultural Tourism—Can It Exist? Searching for an Answer: Three Arizona Case Studies," and "Cultural Tourism and the Future: What the New Las Vegas Tells Us about Ourselves," address important questions about the nature and future of cultural tourism.

The Indian Frontier 1846-1890 By Robert M. Utley (1984; revised ed., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xix + 325 pp. Paper, $22.95.)

Since its publication in 1984 as part of the Histories of the American Frontier Series, *The Indian Frontier 1846-1890* has become perhaps the most popular one volume history of the Indian experience in the American West. This is a big picture history as it sketches in nine chronological chapters the story of Indian-White relations from the Dakotas, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas to California, the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. Utley presents a balanced history of Indian-white relations and while rejecting the single frontier line proposed by Frederick Jackson Turner—"white on one side red on the other," Utley does see "…groupings of frontier zones in which white and red mingled. They saw themselves as distinct peoples and usually on opposing sides in conflicts….The interaction almost always produced acculturation—changes in values, attitudes, institutions, and material culture….Both peoples changed, often radically and in ways

not perceived as attributable to the other. Even so, the worldview of each remained essentially incomprehensible to the other" (xvi). Utley does seek to enlighten and explain rather than to reproach or condemn as he reminds readers, "Two peoples, two cultures, were the players. Each had to be treated with respect and understood on their own terms. Both whites and Indians acted according to *their* time and place, not ours today. Neither would have understood interpretations that held them accountable for failing to live up to the values, attitudes, institutions, and standards of behavior of a later generation, still less interpretations designed to promote modern political, economic, or social agendas" (xvii-xviii).

The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada By Earl Pomeroy (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003. xxiii + 433 pp. Paper, $21.95.)

This landmark study of the development of six western states was originally published in 1965 by Alfred Knopf. The University of Nebraska Press issued a Bison Book edition in 1991. This volume includes the original text, notes and bibliographies from the two previous editions and a new forward by Elliott West. This is not a romantic history of the region, but one that looks at politics, technology, transportation, urbanization, the consequences of geography and climate, population movements, and financial, industrial, and commercial development. Pomeroy begins his study with the Far West of the 1830s and 1840s and carries it through the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Progressive Era, the Great Depression, the World Wars, and the postwar period to the early 1960s by which time Pomeroy found that "the West itself as an area separate and different from the rest of the United States is disappearing," and that Utah, "whose people had left the Middle West to live like Biblical patriarchs, was more urban than Ohio and Missouri" (372-73).

LETTERS

Editor,

Upon the arrival of a new issue of the *Quarterly,* I ordinarily turn first to the book review section as part of my effort to remain abreast of the burgeoning literature of our field. As the *Quarterly* is on a tight budget, space for reviews is limited, but one can generally expect full reviews of the most significant new books as well as brief notices of others. Choosing which book gets which consideration is undoubtedly a tough job, but I was disappointed to see Clive Scott Chisholm's *Following the Wrong God Home: Footloose in an American Dream* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003) relegated to a brief notice in the Fall, 2003 issue. While I have no desire to create my own backstairs book review column, I am writing to call readers' attention more fully to this extraordinarily thought-provoking (not to say provocative) new book.

Chisholm, a Canadian native, became intrigued with the idea of an American Dream after moving to New York, as part of his attempt to understand his adopted country. (Apparently our practical-minded neighbors to the north, of whom most of us remain arrogantly ignorant, have no such notion.) Having grown up in the Reorganized LDS Church, Chisholm was well aware of the Mormon Zion as one of U.S. history's most focused and persistent attempts at a perfectible earthly order, so he set out on foot to retrace the Mormon Trail from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City in search of that and any other American Dreams he might encounter along the way. While one could easily suggest a less arduous research strategy, Chisholm's journey brought him into contact with some truly memorable characters who provoked some memorable reflections on Mormon and United States history and culture and the ways in which we have interpreted our past.

The most memorable character of all is Chisholm himself, one of the grouchiest curmudgeons who have ever come to my attention. Mormon readers will be the first ones offended, for after all he determined that he had "followed the wrong god home," but nothing else his blistered feet could bring within the purview of his lively intellect escapes caustic comment either. Particularly nettling to him are historic markers that ignore minorities—the losers in the "winning" of the West—and living history exhibits that present a sanitized and mythologized version of history. He meticulously refutes the version of the Mormon takeover of Ft. Bridger presented by Fred Gowans and Eugene Campbell and—less cogently—excoriates what he regards as the overweening optimism behind the handcart experiment that sent some 200 emigrants to their deaths in 1856. (The tragedy of the Martin and Willie companies was an easily avoidable anomaly that indicates no essential flaw in one of Brigham Young's most ingenious and successful ideas—an idea that brought some 3,500 emigrants to Utah safely and inexpensively.)

Chisholm's book leaves some intriguing questions unanswered, mostly about himself. What brought him to this country in the first place, given the fact that he consistently contrasts the U.S. unfavorably with his native Canada? Why did he eventually settle in Utah, where he is a retired Utah State University professor, given the fact that he "followed the wrong god home"? And what brought him to

become a Roman Catholic, an event gratuitously mentioned only at the very end of the book (if things continue as planned, he will have been ordained a deacon in that church by the time this letter is printed)?

In contrast with many other books reviewed in this journal, *Following the Wrong God Home* encourages us to think largely, about the place of Utah and the West in United States culture, and to think critically, not only about our shallow and selective historical interpretations, but also about the very limits of human perfectibility. I hope readers will buy it, let it lift their blood pressure, then let it lift their intellect into renewed and deeper reflections about who we are.

Sincerely,
Gary Topping

Editor,
Always look forward to receiving Historical Quarterly and Fall 2003 was no exception. In "Kanosh and Ute Identity in Territorial Utah" it is stated on page 334 that Chief Kanosh "died in December 1881, yet on page 340 the picture of Chief Kanosh's Headstone indicates he died in 1884. Which date is correct?

Thanks for your help.
William E. Swenson
Pocatello, Idaho

Editor's response,
I'm pleased that you enjoy reading the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and am impressed with your careful reading of the Kanosh article. Kanosh died on December 4, 1881, and there is a lengthy description of his funeral and burial in the December 12, 1881 issue of the *Deseret Evening News*. In his history of the town of Kanosh, *Birth of Kanosh*, published in 1995, Leavitt Christensen also identifies the date as December 4, 1881, but notes that some biographers had listed 1884 as the death date. He also notes that the Kanosh marker was erected by the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1935. Obviously they chose the 1884 date for the marker.

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