

SUMMER 1977 / VOLUME 45 / NUMBER 3



HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



Brigham Young



UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Utah Historical Quarterly was established in 1928 to publish articles, documents, and reviews contributing to knowledge of Utah's history. The *Quarterly* is published by the Utah State Historical Society, 603 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102. Phone (801) 533-5755.

Members of the Society receive the *Quarterly* and the bimonthly *Newsletter* upon payment of the annual dues; for details see inside back cover. Single copies, \$2.00.

Materials for publication should be submitted in duplicate accompanied by return postage and should be typed double-spaced with footnotes at the end. Additional information on requirements is available from the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion by contributors.

The *Quarterly* is indexed in *Book Review Index to Social Science Periodicals*, *America: History and Life*, and *Abstracts of Popular Culture*.

Second class postage is paid at Salt Lake City, Utah.

ISSN 0042-143X

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HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER *J. H. Brown, Jr., of Providence, Utah, a young sculptor and painter of note in Cache County, copyrighted this bust of Brigham Young in 1885. A year later, the promising artist died. A copy of the bust, made of a plasticlike material, is in the Society's collections.*

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In this issue

With one or two possible exceptions—perhaps John Winthrop, perhaps William Bradford in seventeenth-century New England—no single personality ever dominated an American colonizing experience to the extent that Brigham Young did in Utah. As the acknowledged religious leader within a theocratic system, he not only monitored the orthodoxy of his people but guided their secular affairs as well. Indian relations, urban management, economic experimentation, national and international politics—these and all other significant fields of endeavor were personally directed by this man. Naturally enough, Brigham Young was and continues to be many things to many people. It is appropriate that this issue, appearing an even century after his death, should again place him under the historian's glass.

The first two articles focus on Brigham Young as a personality and a leader. They complement each other and point the reader in similar directions. By contrast, the third selection is a biographical essay reminding us that consensus in history is an elusive quantity and that Brigham Young has had his detractors and apologists through the years.

The final three articles represent an indirect approach to Brigham Young by looking at people and processes close to him. The vignette on calligraphy offers an intriguing glimpse into the workings of Young's busy office, while the reflections of daughter Susa provide a refreshing peek at the family distaff. A protégé son is the subject of the final selection. His story is interesting not alone for what it reveals about him and his contribution to Utah statehood but also for its implication that position and influence are, by historical standards at least, transitory and whimsical things.



*Building a Commonwealth:
The Secular Leadership
of Brigham Young*

BY LEONARD J. ARRINGTON AND RONALD K. ESPLIN

Brigham Young's estate looking south toward the Eagle Gate and Beehive House with City Creek in the foreground. This oil painting by Danquart A. Weggeland was so popular that he made several copies of it. Courtesy of the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts.

ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-THREE years ago, in the spring of 1854, a large expedition left the Salt Lake Valley headed south. It included twelve carriages, carrying leaders of the Utah community; another twenty-two

men on horseback; some wagons with provisions, firearms, and ammunition; and an assortment of dogs, extra horses, and oxen. They were headed for the Sevier River Valley where their leader expected to have a series of conversations and gift exchanges with Wakara, chief of the southwestern Ute nation, whose people had not enthusiastically welcomed their new white neighbors. As members of the expedition turned the Point of the Mountain and headed into Utah Valley, their leader realized that they had not brought along enough beef for gifts, so he sent a horse-borne messenger ahead to deliver a note to the bishop of Springville, requesting him to have ready for them, as the expedition passed by, some fat cattle to add to their supply of gifts. But when they arrived in Springville, the cattle failed to appear. So the leader wrote a heated note to the bishop:

I made a public call to your place yesterday for some fat cattle to take to Walker. . . . I was in earnest in making the call and fully expected that it would have been answered without delay or defalcation.

"I now wish to renew the call in a different way," he continued. You have one chance to select which cattle come, otherwise we will gather up whatever cattle we can find, "for the cattle I must and will have."

If the people have not learned that when I order a thing to be done I mean to have it accomplished it is time they had, and this will leave them a lesson. I am determined not to hold any person in fellowship who will treat lightly the things of God and walk under foot their own acts and professions. Lip service and no corresponding acts are despicable in the sight of God. . . . I have borne it long enough, it is an insult to God to the Holy Priesthood and to Holy Angels and all good Men for pretended Brethren to hold up their hands unto high heaven and witness before God that they will sustain me and my brethren in presiding over them and then turn right round and treat with neglect and disdain our reasonable requests and counsel. I am righteously angry at such things. . . .³

Who was this man who dared to "requisition" cattle so arbitrarily? Who had such confidence in his own authority and judgment that he expected Utah's settlers to comply with an edict of this type? It could only have been Brigham Young, governor of the State of Deseret, first governor

Dr. Arrington is a Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society and church historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Mr. Esplin is a research historian in the Historical Department of the LDS church. Dr. Arrington delivered a version of this paper as the Statehood Day address, sponsored in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, in St. George on January 4, 1977.

³ Brigham Young to Bishop Blackburn, May 8, 1854, Brigham Young Papers, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

and for eight years governor of Utah Territory, superintendent of Indian Affairs, and for thirty years the supreme religious authority for the overwhelming majority of Utah's early residents.

Associates and critics, pioneer observers and modern historians, have all agreed that Utah's first governor was a remarkable man.² Both nineteenth-century visitors and twentieth-century students have noted his strong leadership, his sincerity, and his accomplishments. To one non-Mormon contemporary who visited him, the English traveler and writer Sir Richard F. Burton, Brigham Young was "at once affable and impressive, simple and courteous, [without] signs of dogmatism, bigotry, or fanaticism."³ A famous scientist, Jules Remy, concluded that he was of "superior intellect, though uneducated," and that

few men . . . possess in so high a degree as he does, the qualities which constitute the eminent politician and the able administrator. All who have had an opportunity of seeing him at his work, friends, or enemies, are unanimous on this point.⁴

For historian Allan Nevins he was "the most commanding single figure of the [American] West," while Herbert E. Bolton, comparing him to other great American colonizers, concluded that none "so completely molded his people and their institutions as Brigham Young molded the Mormons."⁵ The founder of some three hundred fifty settlements in Utah and neighboring territories, he was the central entrepreneur in the establishment of most of the key economic enterprises of the region. A man of indomitable will and strong direction, he believed that religion is a system of principles and practices that can promote happiness and progress in this life as well as the next. For that reason he was confident that it was proper for him to provide leadership in secular affairs as well as in spiritual matters, and his life was devoted to promoting the temporal

² Works on Brigham Young include Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young, the Man and His Works* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1936), the standard Mormon account, and Morris R. Werner's *Brigham Young* (London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1925), probably the best non-Mormon biography. The most recent biography, Stanley P. Hirschson's *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), has serious interpretive and research problems and is not reliable. Milton R. Hunter's *Brigham Young, the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), and Ray B. West's *Kingdom of the Saints: The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons* (New York: Viking Press, 1957), deal with some aspects of Young's secular leadership.

³ Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 263.

⁴ Jules Remy, and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, 2 vols. (London, 1861), 1:201 and 2:495.

⁵ See Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), 1:315 and Herbert E. Bolton, quoted in Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer*, p. 8.

well-being of his fellow Saints as well as counseling them in things of the spirit and the eternities.⁶

There were those, of course, who criticized Brigham Young's intimate involvement with secular and temporal pursuits—his concern with fencing farms, with negotiating contracts for selling grain, his mobilizing workers to build the transcontinental railroad—but his point of view was that temporal and spiritual concerns were indissoluble. In wearing many different hats—prophet, businessman, governor, and family patriarch—he saw his task and goal to be to promote the temporal *and* spiritual welfare of his people. In his view, he was the Lord's steward in using all human resources—public and private, church and state—to create an economic and social order where all God's children under his care might live in peace and prosperity. A religion that will not govern men and women in their social and economic affairs, he declared, must be "a very poor religion, . . . very feeble, . . . hardly perceptible in the life of a person."⁷ He moved comfortably and unapologetically from one phase of his leadership to another. A council meeting to choose a new apostle might end with discussion of legislative matters. A religious epistle could counsel Saints to bring machinery to Utah and, in the same sentence, admonish them to "keep yourselves unspotted from the world." And on more than one occasion President Young turned a Sabbath meeting into a political caucus, for, to use his phrase, "it is all embraced in our religion."⁸

Let us look for a moment, then, at the man Brigham Young as a leader. How did he teach, direct, and motivate people? How did he conceive projects and organize resources to carry them out? How did he apply his wisdom and get the people to respond as they did?

Contemporary observers whom we have a right to respect—persons of education and experience and standing who traveled to Utah to observe him—emphasized three characteristics: his self-confidence, his sincerity, and his good common sense. Fitz Hugh Ludlow, a nationally known writer and artistic critic, found that Brigham Young had "absolute certainty of himself and his own opinions."⁹ Governor Young, he wrote, was convinced that he was doing God's work, and that if he and other mortals did all they could to establish the kingdom, God would see to the rest.

⁶ See Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 22-35 for a discussion of these concepts.

⁷ *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London, 1854-86), 14:159.

⁸ "Ninth General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church . . . to the Saints Scattered Abroad throughout the Earth," *Millennial Star*, July 9, 1853; and *Journal of Discourses*, 1:188.

This helps us to understand the governor's firmness, his calmness, and his unshakeable optimism in the face of seemingly impossible circumstances.

As to the second quality, the English ecclesiastical leader John Hyde wrote: "the whole secret of Brigham's influence is his real sincerity." "Brigham may be a great man, greatly deceived, but he is not a hypocrite. . . ." ¹⁰ Jules Remy recorded that Brigham Young "has set before him, as the object of his existence, the extension and triumph of his doctrine; and this end he pursues with a tenacity that nothing can shake, and with that stubborn persistence and ardent ambition which makes great priests and great statesmen." The leadership of the "eminent politician and able administrator" was at root religious, Remy wrote, and he and his companion, the English journalist Julius Brenchley, were "perfectly convinced of the sincerity of [Young's] faith." ¹¹

Other observers commented on the governor's versatility and good judgment—on his practicality and good common sense. In the words of Fitz Hugh Ludlow, an American traveler, Brigham Young enjoyed the "great American talent of uncornerableness" to a degree "which I have never seen surpassed in any great man of any nation." Young would never, he went on, "be put into a position where he is at the end of his resources; earthly circumstances never take to him the form of a cul de sac." After commenting on his many practical skills, Ludlow concluded:

On Sundays he can preach. . . . On week-days he sits in the Church office, managing a whole nation's temporalities with such secular astuteness that Talleyrand or Richelieu would find him a match should the morning's game be diplomatic, and the Rothschild family could not get ahead of him if the stake were a financial advantage.¹²

Brigham Young would have laughed at such comparisons. He saw himself, at best, as a rough and unpolished instrument but one with the grit to do his best and the faith to leave to the Lord the rest. If his abilities were, as he believed, a gift from God, it was his duty to use them for good. It was a part of God's plan that one must expend his every energy and resource on good works before turning to God for assistance. Do not ask God to protect you from Indians if you are unwilling to build forts, he counseled. Man is left alone, he taught, "to practice him to depend on his own resources, and try his [free agency or] independency." ¹³ Folk-

¹⁰ Fitz Hugh Ludlow, *The Heart of a Continent* (New York, 1870), p. 368.

¹¹ John Hyde, *Mormonism, Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857), p. 154.

¹² Remy and Brenchley, *Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, 1:210 and 303 and 2:495-96.

¹³ Ludlow, *The Heart of a Continent*, p. 373.

¹⁴ Secretary's Journal, January 28, 1857, Brigham Young Papers. All minutes, journals, letters, and addresses, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Brigham Young Papers.

lore has preserved this attitude in the story of President Young overlooking the valley with an admiring minister: "What you and the Lord have done with this place is truly amazing," observed the visitor. To which President Young replied, "Yes, Reverend, but you should have seen it when the Lord had it alone."¹⁴ Man must use all his skills and efforts and energy for the kingdom, and if that is not enough then he may justifiably ask God to intervene.

Because man's role is so important, there will be mistakes, human failings, lost battles, and temporary setbacks. But in the end, if man does his part, God will provide the margin for eventual victory. Brigham wrote to Orson Hyde in 1850,

We feel no fear. We are in the hands of our heavenly Father, the God of Abraham & Joseph who guided us to this land. . . . We live in His Light, are guided by His Wisdom, protected by His Shadow, and upheld by His strength. . . . With the Blessings of the Almighty we shall none of us have to die but once.¹⁵

When Alfred Cumming, Young's successor as governor of the territory, expressed regret at not knowing what to advise him about a difficult situation, Young replied forcefully, "With all due respect to your Excellency I do not wish any [advice]. I do not calculate to take the advice of any man . . . in relation to my affairs. I shall follow the counsel of my heavenly Father, and I have faith enough to follow it and risk the consequences."¹⁶

This combination of confidence in himself and faith in God allowed him to handle tremendous weight and seem to carry it lightly. Many observers wrote of his calmness, his dignity, his equanimity. In the words of Richard Burton, he was "calm and composed" in his leadership. Or as Jules Remy noted, he was "calm, cool, prudent in council, he decides slowly. . . . but the time of action arrived, he then goes to work with an energy which stops only at success."¹⁷ As Young himself once observed when discussing financial affairs: "when it comes time to sleep, I do not stay awake contriving how we are to financier. I can understand in a very few minutes all that is necessary and possible to be done, without taking very great thought in the matter."¹⁸

Unquestionably, Brigham Young's exercise of his stewardship was not always appreciated. When the famed New Englander Ralph Waldo

¹⁴ Young family folklore.

¹⁵ Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, July 28, 1850.

¹⁶ Minutes [1859].

¹⁷ Burton, *City of the Saints*, p. 263, and Remy and Brenchley, *Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, 2:496.

¹⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, 8:201.

Emerson visited Brigham Young, his secretary recorded Brigham Young's reaction to Emerson's praise of Mormon accomplishments. Yes, said Brigham, it did show "what combined labor can do under the directing power of a single man." According to the secretary, the New Englander took offense at the blatant expression of what he regarded as "one-man power."¹⁹ But taken in the context of Brigham Young's role as head of the kingdom, it was only a description of how things were accomplished. People were organized and centrally directed for the supposed good of all. Brigham saw his role as that of coordinating men, money, and material for the greatest good of the community.

The governor accomplished this by keeping in personal contact with key men and women throughout the territory by letter, traveling to them, or meeting them in his office; by providing detailed instructions and advice; by receiving regular oral and written reports; and by providing encouragement for projects both large and small. And in so doing he was sufficiently impressive to energize those he worked with and to elicit loyalty, devotion, and commitment. As the Jules Remy party left Brigham Young they concluded, in Remy's words: "We experienced what all have felt who have known Brigham Young, namely, that sort of sympathetic and marvellous attraction which certain natures have the faculty of exercising over those who approach them. We came away with a permanent impression of mingled respect and affection."²⁰

In the LDS church archives in Salt Lake City are documents which enable us to follow Brigham Young on his frequent trips throughout the territory and to see him engaged day after day building up the kingdom, as it were, through personal contact and administration. We see him counseling with leaders in each community; preaching and teaching the people; meeting with individuals wanting counsel and advice; giving instructions on building, industry, and agriculture; solving particular problems; encouraging, motivating, and informing the people; listening to them and learning from them; and blessing them. Young himself summed up the accomplishments of one such trip by noting:

From the 22nd of April to the 21st of May we spent our time, accompanied by several engineers, and nearly fifty of the brethren, in visiting all the settlements south of this, . . . and many places which had not before been visited; instructing, comforting, and blessing the Saints, selecting new

¹⁹ James Thayer, *A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson* (Boston, 1884), p. 34.

²⁰ Remy and Brenchley, *Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, 1:303.

²¹ "Eighth General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church . . .," *Millennial Star*, February 19, 1853.

locations, forming acquaintances with and striving to promote peace among the different bands of Indians; and, by the blessings of heaven, accomplished all we could reasonably anticipate.²¹

More than a decade later Wilford Woodruff, always careful to note such things, summarized a summer's travels by recording:

From May 3rd to September 29, 1865, President Brigham Young in company with the Twelve and other Brethren traveled 1778 miles, and visited 49 settlements and many of them twice and three times. President Young attended 87 Meetings and delivered 62 addresses, which occupied 24 hours and 22 minutes.²²

That comes out to an average of twenty-four minutes per talk, somewhat shorter than his longer Salt Lake Tabernacle addresses.

In 1872 Elizabeth Kane, wife of Brigham Young's close personal friend, Col. Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia, recorded her impressions of one evening during a similar trip. At the end of a day's journey, she wrote, they settled in before the fire in the sitting-room and many from the settlement came to visit, during which "informal audiences, reports, complaints and petitions were made."

They talked to Brigham Young about every conceivable matter, from the fluxing of an ore to the advantages of a Navajo bit, . . . and he really seemed . . . to be at home, and to be rightfully deemed infallible on every subject. I think he must make fewer mistakes than most Popes, from his being in such constant intercourse with his people. I noticed that he never seemed uninterested, but gave unforced attention to the person addressing him, which suggested a mind free from care.²³

Although these tours remind one of the progresses of Louis XIV through seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, Brigham certainly lacked the pomposity of Louis. Richard Burton commented on Brigham's "plain, simple manners of honesty" and the "total absence of pretension in his manner." Another English traveler, William Chandless, noted that "he affects no singularity of dress or superiority of manner, and will shake hands freely with brother this and brother that."²⁴

Something that endeared Brigham Young to his followers was his saving sense of humor. To an embittered woman by the name of Elizabeth Green who had written him to have her name removed from the records of the church, he dictated to his clerk, Thomas Bullock, the following reply:

²¹ Minutes [October 1865].

²² Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 113.

²³ Burton, *City of the Saints*, pp. 263-64, and William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake City* (London, 1857), p. 189.

Madam . . . I have this day examined the records of baptism for the remission of sins in the Church . . . and not being able to find the name of "Elizabeth Green" recorded therein I was saved the necessity of erasing your name therefrom. You may therefore consider that your sins have not been remitted you & you can enjoy the benefits thereof.²⁵

To a certain bishop who had been caught selling whiskey in his store, the president wrote:

I write to request you *not* to sell any more whiskey or alcohol, or any description of spirituous liquor, no matter who may call upon you to purchase. And in case the plea is made that some one will die, unless the liquor can be had, be pleased to tell them to first call upon me and get an order for the coffin, for the liquor they cannot have. We have seen as much drunkenness about our streets as we care about seeing, and they all acknowledge that they get their liquor at [your] still.²⁶

To a frontiersman who wrote from Spanish Fork asking the prophet to "bless me with a wife," Brigham responded:

I would gladly bless you, agreeable to request in your note, . . . if you would take a course to retain such blessings after they are conferred upon you. But you are naturally inclined to be a little wild, and to draw away from settlements to places unpleasant and unsafe. . . . until you can tame your thoughts and actions so far as to be willing to live where a family can be safe and have a reasonable opportunity for social enjoyment and improvement, it will be altogether best for you to continue to lead the life of a hermit, for I know of no women worth a goat who would be willing to agree with your wild unsocial ways. . . .²⁷

To the woman who came in to complain that her husband had told her to go to hell, he replied, simply, "Sister, don't go, don't go!"²⁸

As the population of the territory grew, such personal diplomacy became more difficult. A smaller percentage would know Brigham Young intimately, and more activity was carried on beyond the reach of his watchful eye. Obviously, this was a concern to him. Although he had always favored dancing as an excellent means of recreation and social diversion, he also knew that dances could be abused with late hours, unwholesome atmosphere, or drinking. To help control this as the community grew, he tried to discourage the use of unauthorized dance halls and to keep dancing located in church centers. "When parties are held in the Social Hall [the Salt Lake center, built near his residence]," he explained, "I can walk there in a minute and see how things are going

²⁵ Clerk's draft penned on letter of Elizabeth Green to Brigham Young, December 28, 1851.

²⁶ Brigham Young to H. M., April 19, 1858.

²⁷ Brigham Young to P.S., February 13, 1860.

²⁸ Young family folklore.

and have order kept, and if there is any whiskey or tobacco there, I can track it out, and it's gone quick. . . . But if there is dancing at a hall here and there and everywhere, I cannot have my eye upon them."²⁹ As economic, political, and church concerns multiplied he found himself more pressured and less available, and there were resulting complaints from those who felt they had important business and could not reach him. Near the end of his life, particularly after 1872, he delegated more and more of his responsibilities to his counselors, Daniel H. Wells and George A. Smith, and his clerks.



Brigham Young in 1867. Utah State Historical Society collections, photograph by Edward Martin.

But during the years of his governorship, and most of the years of his presidency, his private office was next to his sleeping room, presumably so it would be convenient for work at any hour of the day or night. Richard Burton, who visited him in 1860, described the president's private office, where he "transacts the greater part of his business, corrects his sermons, and conducts his correspondence":

It is a plain, neat room, with the usual conveniences, a large writing-desk and money-safe, table, sofas, and chairs, all made by the able mechanics of the settlement. . . . There was a look of order, which suited the character of the man: it is said that a door badly hinged, or a curtain hung awry, "puts his eye out." His style of doing business at the desk or in the field . . . is to issue distinct, copious, and intelligible directions to his employes, after which he dislikes referring to the subject. It is typical of his mode of acting, slow, deliberate, and conclusive.³⁰

The governor's office was organized like countless offices in his day or ours. Someone was responsible to wind the chronometer and keep it set, another to see that the ice-cooler was full. Men sat long hours laboring over their books, glad for interruptions and visitors with interesting stories. Some days were too short for the labors, and men had to burn candles

²⁹ Minutes, January 30, 1862.

³⁰ Burton, *City of the Saints*, p. 267.

into the night to meet the morning mail or prepare papers for the president to take on a trip. When the president was away, the clerks would clear off their desks, file their papers, get caught up on back work, and hopefully find some time to relax.³¹

The record shows that innumerable visitors went to the office, either to see President Young, to keep up on the news (he always had the latest national and territorial dispatches), or just to verify their accounts on the central ledgers. Records for tithing, emigration, some historical records, and a wide variety of account books found a place there. At least one clerk was busy on a set of books wherein were recorded Young's "private" business affairs, including a record of the purchases of each of his many families. It was an orderly, busy place, a center of communication where information came and went and where decisions were made. One day Willard Richards stopped by to chat, and the record shows that the president joked with him: "If you will make a gentleman out of me, I will make a rich man out of you."³² One high church official came by one day to complain about the high taxes the legislature had passed on the sale of liquor and imported merchandise. "Can you not see," the governor responded, "that men will spend money for drink but not for building up the Kingdom. So we impose taxes to take it from the devil and place it in the service of the Lord. Can't you see that taxation builds up a people. Neglecting the payment of taxes would run a nation into barbarism," he concluded.³³

Brigham was pretty realistic about this "counseling." On one occasion he told his clerks to write down the counsel he gave, for, as he said, "Brethren come to him with their minds prepared as to what they are going to do; and after they had received his counsel they put a construction of their own entirely different to his counsel." "They carry out their own [counsel] and say they are carrying out mine," he noted.³⁴ Another came in to assure the governor that he had signed as security for a loan and he was *endeavoring* to satisfy the lender. To this the governor replied, "*endeavoring* would not do; he must actually *pay*."³⁵ Another testimony of Brigham's personal honesty comes from soldier-turned-merchant Alexander Toponce who recorded several of his experiences

³¹ Office journals have numerous brief references to the style and tempo of office "life." For examples see April 23, 1856, and August 29, 1856.

³² This anecdote was later retold in the office. See Secretary's Journal, September 3, 1860.

³³ Ibid., January 17, 1861. Journal entry has been paraphrased.

³⁴ Ibid., March 12, 1860.

³⁵ Ibid., October 9, 1860. Emphasis added.

doing business with the Mormon leader. He reported that Brigham always followed through on his word, was easy to deal with, and was liberal in his dealings and not penny-pinching. After Toponce had agreed to extend credit on the purchase of mules for the Salt Lake City streetcar system, President Young handed him a note, asking if that would be all right without any additional security:

That will be all right, Mr. Young. I don't suppose you would go out and ask some Gentile to endorse it, not for the world, and as for the Mormon side of the house, all the names in Utah wouldn't make it any better.

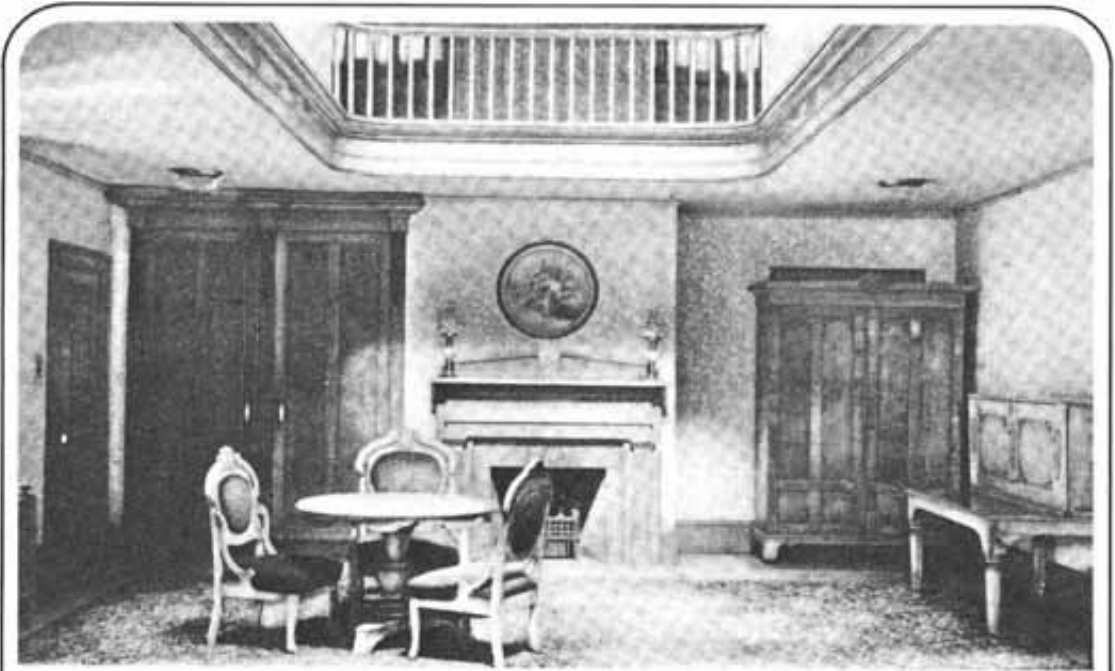
After a hearty laugh, they parted.

The note was paid promptly [he wrote] on the date when due. From the first to the last, I found Brigham Young the squarest man to do business with in Utah, barring none, Mormon, Jew or Gentile.³⁶

While Brigham was governor his clerk might spend part of the day on church records and papers, and the rest on official territorial matters. Or he might work on business records and be interrupted to keep records of church sealing and ordinance work. Monday, February 16, 1857, was a typical day. The record shows that, on that day, Governor Young had the usual coterie of visitors concerned with commerce and manufacturing. He counseled with Bishop Frederick Kesler about the design of a windmill for pumping water in the morning, and in the afternoon the two of them discussed improvements in the sugar factory. Dan Jones came by with samples of slate and flagstones for paving. Young received the report that the Weber tunnel project would be dropped because of sand and water problems, but in the afternoon he met with other parties concerned with a related canal project who, on his advice, agreed to continue both the canal and the tunnel. He met with Levi Stewart who was working out a plan to purchase one of the governor's businesses, organized officers for another canal company, and arranged for the purchase of grain because "he wants to put 300 hands on the temple & needs feed." He spent the evening with his clerk working on legal matters as governor, drawing up "release, pardon and remission[s] until after 9 p.m." During the day he left the office to attend to some family sealings, stopped his work several times to counsel with church members who had personal concerns, and granted an interview to an Indian brought in by Dimick Huntington.³⁷ Some days ecclesiastical matters occupied more of his time, and on less

³⁶ Alexander Toponce, *The Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce: Pioneer 1839-1923* (Ogden, Utah, 1923), p. 196.

³⁷ Secretary's Journal, February 16, 1857.



Brigham Young's office and desk were located in a small building between the Lion and Beehive houses. Utah State Historical Society collections.

busy days work might be interrupted to discuss the current national political scene, a new book, or a new idea not immediately related to current business—or just to chat about old times. Altogether, the governor's office was a busy, probably pleasant, and certainly an interesting place.

Certain specific incidents help to reveal the basis for some of his decisions as governor. In general, these reveal him to be as direct and open

in negotiations with non-Mormon visitors as he was frank with his followers. One international filibusterer came to Utah to try to persuade Brigham Young of the merits of moving to Central America. The governor replied that if the gentleman owned the whole country "and would give it me for nothing, I would not move a peg." He rejected the man's assurance that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between Great Britain and the United States would protect the Mormons from interference should they colonize there, and replied that the nations "cared no more for breaking treaties than a horse does to break a spider's web on his way to his oats." When the visitor objected that Young looked at treaties differently than he did, Young replied that he (Young) looked at them "as the Nations *treat* them." They would annex Central America if we moved there, he concluded, for the "political pulse of the United States is to annex the World."³⁸

On another occasion Governor Young and the Mormons joined forces with a Gentile group in an unsuccessful bid for congressional aid on a mail venture. They eventually agreed on terms, but Brigham insisted that if the Mormons did all the work they ought to have the final say on policy: "If we are the bone and sinew and marrow [he said], if we hold the balance of power in hard knocks, we want the balance of power in dictation."³⁹

Once a Gentile visitor observed that "What you say is generally done," implying that he was a dictator. The governor responded, "If it is right [then] it *should* be done, but I would not and could not control: I instruct the people . . . and leave them to choose for themselves."⁴⁰

When preaching, principles and platitudes were not sufficient; the governor might use ridicule and sarcasm, mixed with hyperbole and exaggeration, to sharpen points and move people to action. For example, when preaching about being producers and earning a livelihood by the sweat of one's brow did not get the able-bodied into the fields and workshops, he tried something stronger:

Hardy men have no business behind the counter; they who are not able to hoe potatoes [should] go to the kanyon, cut down the trees, saw the lumber, &c. . . . Our young men in the stores ought to be turned out and the sisters take their place.

It is always disgusting to me to see a big, fat, lubberly fellow handing out calicoes and measuring ribbon; I would rather see the ladies do it. The

³⁸ Minutes, May 24, 1858. Emphasis added.

³⁹ Ibid., July 27, 1850. Contractions and clerk's abbreviations expanded.

⁴⁰ Interview with Colonel Potter. Minutes, 1862. Emphasis added.

ladies can learn to keep books as well as the men. . . . and let the men go to raising sheep, wheat or cattle, or go and do something or other to beautify the earth and help make it like the Garden of Eden instead of spending their time in a lazy, loafing manner. . . .⁴¹

One pioneer woman recorded the chastisement President Young delivered to a group of colonizing missionaries who failed to hold a new settlement. This he delivered with "much irony," she remembered, "for he was very angry":

Had we sent the sisters of the Relief Society, some of our pioneer sisters, they would have held that place and accomplished the mission. But instead we sent a "passel" of Squaws down there—some of our pets whom we have raised in Salt Lake City. [We have] raised them on a feather pillow with silver spoons in their mouths. Men that don't know anything about a hard day's work or a privation and they came away because the sun *shone hot* and the *wind blew!* gave up their inheritances without a stroke.⁴²

One could be reasonably sure that the next group of colonizers would work hard to avoid that type of public humiliation.

Another prerogative open to the governor that supplemented his cajoling and chastising was the practice of the "call," which had particular force in moving men to action. A call came from the stand for missionaries or colonists. Others were private: a summons to the office or letter or message relayed through channels. Some came as strong suggestions, others were firm expectations that they should respond. Some were invited by the recipients, while others came as complete surprises to those who received them. George Goddard visited the governor's office one day to ask for advice about what line of business he might enter. The governor was at the time concerned about his paper machinery and making good quality paper, and responded that Goddard might collect rags for making an improved grade of paper. This surprised the proud and talented Goddard. Collect rags through the territory? But Brigham was serious, and for three years Goddard traveled around as "the territory's rag man."⁴³

The over-all record of response to church calls to colonize, proselyte, build a flour mill, and so on, is impressive. It is said that William Clayton stayed away from conference two times in succession so that he would not be called, only to go the third time to hear his name read out.⁴⁴ Of greater

⁴¹ As quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), pp. 88, 98–99.

⁴² Martha Cragun Cox Reminiscence, pp. 222–23. LDS Archives.

⁴³ Secretary's Journal, October 20, 1861.

⁴⁴ Young family folklore.

substance is the story of two Nephi, Utah, girls sitting in the audience as Brigham Young read their fathers' names as missionaries to settle the Muddy. One immediately burst into tears. "Why, what are you crying about? It doesn't make me cry. I know my father won't go," said the other. "Well, there is the difference," responded the other. "I know that my father *will* go and that nothing could prevent him."⁴⁵ Juanita Brooks and Karl Larson have gathered some examples of how the early settlers to Dixie accepted their calls. Elijah Averett told how his father came home weary from a hard day's work only to learn he had been called. "I'll be damned if I'll go," he exclaimed as he settled into a chair. After sitting for a few minutes, head in hands, he stood up: "Well, if we are going to Dixie, we had better start to get ready." Robert Gardner "looked and spat, took off my hat, scratched my head, thought, and said, 'All right!'" John Pulsipher had heard the call for volunteers but didn't think it meant him, for he had "a good home, was well satisfied and had plenty to do." But then George A. Smith told him he was selected, and he began to see the importance of "the mission to sustain Israel in the mountains." "I thot I might as well go as anybody. Then the Spirit came upon me so that I felt to thank the Lord that I was worthy to go. . . ."⁴⁶ It is not hard to imagine what success the Cotton Mission would have had if President Young had merely invited interested parties to find their way down there and set to work! Charles L. Walker wrote of his experience in colonizing Dixie, concluding, "This is the hardest trial I ever had, and had it not been for the Gospel and those placed over us, I should never have moved a foot to go on such a trip."⁴⁷

This overview presents some glimpses of the man who was our first governor and our leader for thirty years. It is clear that he sought to use every resource and tool of leadership to maintain unity and order, to benefit the community at large, and to build up the kingdom of God. And the solid base of Utah's future prosperity and growth was the result. His program is summarized in an address he made to the Utah "ghost" legislature in 1866:

Unlike those who delve for gold and pursue the glittering phantom to the neglect of more important pursuits, we have found our wealth and comfort promoted by raising the stock, the grain, and the rich fruits of the earth—by developing manufactures and making good and useful improvements.

⁴⁵ See Susa Young Gates's life sketch of Elizabeth Ann Claridge McCune in *Young Women's Journal* 9 (July 1898): 292.

⁴⁶ Juanita Brooks, "The Cotton Mission," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 206-7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* See also Andrew Karl Larson, "I Was Called to Dixie," *The Virgin River Basin: Unique Experiences in Mormon Pioneering* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961).

Our experience demonstrates the wisdom of this policy, and seems the more fully to convince us that such pursuits are by far the surest and most prolific source of wealth and plenty and the most conducive to health, peace and comfort.

Trusting in God, and exercising those energies with which He has endowed us, let us continue to found new Settlements, build new towns and cities, make roads, construct canals and water ditches, both for navigation and irrigation, and contribute with our means and strength to every improvement which will extend the area of civilization, enhance the fertility, beauty, and greatness of our State and add to the comfort, convenience and happiness of our fellow citizens and the stranger who may visit us.⁴⁸

According to the eminent American historian Allen Nevins, with whom we began, "no man of less strength could have succeeded; he had taken a heterogeneous people, foreign and native, skilled and unskilled, and molded them into an industrious, orderly, devoted, and homogeneous community."⁴⁹ The methods of Brigham Young, his style of leadership and aura of religious authority, were needed in the harsh environment of Utah, and to a great extent they were effective in building what Brigham Young had envisioned. "I have never particularly desired any man to testify publicly that I am a Prophet," he once said, hastening to add that he never said he was not one, "but, if I am not [a prophet], I have been very profitable to this people."⁵⁰

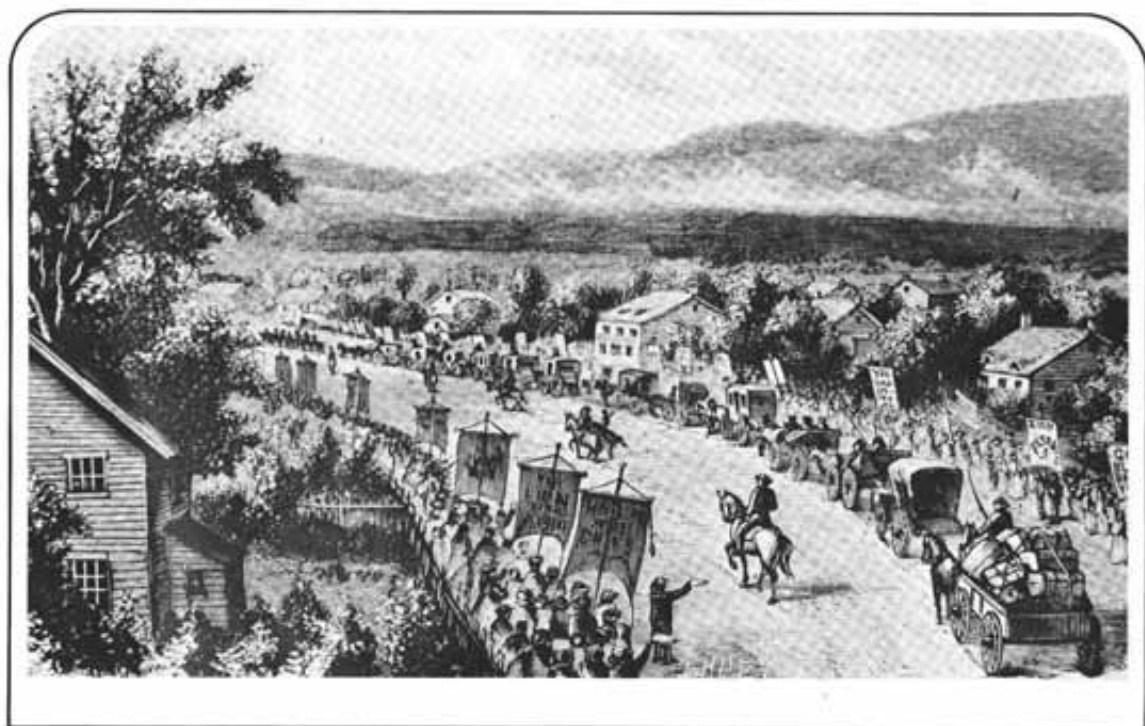
As the clerks in the governor's office relaxed one evening after a busy day, the office talk fell to the game of chess. Governor Young remarked that he knew nothing of such games. Then he paused. Rather than chess with wooden figures, he said, "I have had to play with the kingdoms of the world [as a board] and living characters" as pieces. When one of those present observed that he had indeed played a great game, the governor answered, "Yes and I do not regret any move that I have made."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Governor's Message, January 21, 1866.

⁴⁹ Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, 1:317.

⁵⁰ *Journal of Discourses*, 10:339.

⁵¹ Secretary's Journal, February 17, 1859.



*Encouraging the Saints:
Brigham Young's Annual Tours
of the Mormon Settlements*

BY GORDON IRVING

Engraving depicting the fanfare that often accompanied Brigham Young's visits to the settlements. Utah State Historical Society collections.

DURING BRIGHAM YOUNG'S thirty years as the religious leader of the Latter-day Saints his pragmatic vision of building up the kingdom of God in the West led him to involve himself personally in all the affairs of his people. The scale of Mormon society during the pioneer period

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was such that the system was far from being an impersonal bureaucracy. The Mormon population was small enough that President Young could be acquainted with a large percentage of his people and could exercise "close supervision of their day-to-day performance," thus creating a strong feeling of solidarity between the people and their leaders.¹ The president was not satisfied that this personal contact could come solely through the visits of his people to church headquarters for annual conferences or on other occasions. Rather he sought to visit the Saints regularly in their communities throughout the valleys of Utah.

In the early years of settlement this was a somewhat easier task. When settlements were confined to Salt Lake County and the contiguous areas, the church leader could easily visit Tooele or Grantsville over a weekend and conduct a two-day meeting or stake conference, as it would later be called. But with the extension of Brigham's colonization program such easy contact became impossible. As a result, President Young's visits soon grew into regional tours wherein he would visit most of the settlements along his route. Unless some special circumstance required more frequent visits, the press of business allowed for only an annual trip to the more distant southern and northern colonies, although areas closer to home continued to be visited more frequently. A typical tour of the southern settlements might occupy three or four weeks, while a visit to Cache and Bear Lake valleys would probably take ten days to two weeks before the extension of railroad service to northern Utah in the 1870s.

YOUNG'S TOURS OF 1860 AND 1862

Brigham Young's first extended tours of Utah were made in the early 1850s, with visits to Sanpete County and other points further south. An 1855 trip took him to Malad Valley in Idaho, and in 1857 he traveled as far north as Fort Lemhi. The Utah War of 1857-58 disturbed many of the normal patterns of life, and Young's annual tours were no exception. The problems of the times kept him from again leaving Salt Lake City for an extended period until 1860, thus forcing him to supervise the activities of the Saints through correspondence and his subordinates in the church hierarchy. From 1860 on the regional tours again became annual events. Before proceeding to an analysis of the purposes served by the president's excursions, it would undoubtedly be helpful to describe

¹ P.A.M. Taylor, "Early Mormon Loyalty and the Leadership of Brigham Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (1962): 113.

briefly a few of the annual tours in order to give some idea of the pattern such visits followed.

In 1860 Brigham made a ten-day visit to the new settlements in Cache Valley in early June. On his departure for the northern excursion the clerk of the company reported that the president was accompanied by his counselors and about thirty carriages, most of the party being "clerks and businessmen anxious for country air." As the group proceeded north they were joined by others, until when they left Brigham City there were 116 people in the party, including 18 ladies and a few children.

Young held meetings in Brigham City, Wellsville, Franklin, Richmond, and two in Logan, during which the visitors gave the local Saints "necessary instruction for their guidance in the discharge of their several duties as Saints and pioneers in that part of the Territory." The entourage visited most of the settlements in Cache Valley to observe conditions and to ascertain what resources the people had. On the return trip a second meeting was held in Wellsville, and local congregations in Willard, Ogden, and Kaysville were visited. The clerk reporting the trip noted that Brigham's sermons were "almost exclusively of a practical nature."²

The principal trip in 1862 took the church leader as far south as St. George. A fairly large party left Salt Lake City on September 1, and J. V. Long, clerk for the company, noted that as they moved south several others joined the group. A meeting was held in Pleasant Grove, and one had been looked for at Payson. However, the bishop there had not received word that the president was coming, so he had a drum beaten to call the people to meeting where they were addressed on practical subjects. Young delivered a "fatherly and comforting" discourse at Nephi the following day. The next meeting was at Round Valley where the group was joined by the bishop from Fillmore who had come to find out what the program would be during Young's visit to his settlement.

Leaving Fillmore the group stopped at Cove Creek to rest the horses and then held a meeting at Beaver that evening. Two other sessions were held there the next day, Sunday, during one of which President Young rebuked the local people for their failure to build up the kingdom: "He showed the lack of local improvements of every kind, and stated that instead of visible improvements calculated to attract his attention on leaving, everything had remained in statu[s] quo since his last visit." Speaking somewhat sarcastically of the almost total absence of

² Manuscript History of the Church, Brigham Young Period, 1860, pp. 158-63, MS, Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

improvements in the physical condition of many of the southern settlements he added, "I actually noticed that one or two stone houses had been built at Fillmore, which is wonderful; that will have to go into the history."³

Upon leaving Beaver the party was joined by George A. Smith and shortly thereafter was met by the town band from Parowan, which accompanied them the rest of the day. A meeting was held at Parowan in the later afternoon, and the next day the party visited the cotton factory there. Moving south the group reached Summit where the school children lined both sides of the road to greet them. At Cedar City that afternoon Apostle Lorenzo Snow preached on the practical duties of the Saints and President Young noted that their visits were short but that the settlements were many. Later in the day the group moved onto Kanarra and the next day to Toquerville and Pocketville.

When the party arrived at Grafton they found the citizens already assembled, waiting for the meeting to begin. Discerning that the local people were somewhat discouraged by the frontier conditions of the area, the visiting brethren tried to encourage them, and Brigham offered practical advice on building houses, growing cotton, and planting trees. Returning to Toquerville, the party continued on south to Harrisburg, Washington, Santa Clara, and St. George, urging the people to build up the kingdom.

When the company left St. George to return to Salt Lake City—having been gone for two weeks—there were thirty-five in the party. On the way north meetings were again held in Toquerville, Kanarra, Cedar City, Parowan, Beaver, Corn Creek, Fillmore, and Round Valley. Then the group detoured to visit the settlements in Sanpete Valley, and meetings were held at Fort Gunnison, Manti, Fort Ephraim, and Moroni. Leaving Moroni the company traveled rapidly, reaching Nephi after dark. The next day they visited an annual fair at Payson and then held a meeting in Provo.

The party reached Salt Lake City on September 25, having been gone more than three weeks. J. V. Long reported that they had traveled 775 miles through eight counties and had visited twenty-five branches of the church and passed through many communities. Thirty public meetings had been held, and Brigham Young had preached twenty-four sermons.⁴

³ *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 807.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1862, pp. 785–88, 802–26, 857–64.



Brigham Young's party on its journey to southern Utah and northern Arizona in 1870. The church leader, in a top hat, is seated near the center. Utah State Historical Society collections, photograph by Charles R. Savage.

PURPOSES OF THE TOURS

The visits summarized are typical of most of the tours made by Brigham Young. The overall purpose of these visits can best be seen as pastoral, since they gave Brigham a chance to provide encouragement and guidance to his people. Also inherent was the desire to achieve social control by fostering patterns of life and behavior compatible with the president's vision of the kingdom of God.

As special needs arose, visits to the outlying areas were made for other administrative or personal reasons. For example, an 1854 journey to central Utah was made not only to urge the Saints to "fort up" as a protection against Indian attacks but also to meet with Chief Wakara to try to solve the problems with the Indians at their source. Other trips were made in the interests of exploration and colonization, such as the 1857 visit to the Salmon River Mission in Idaho and several journeys to southern Utah in the late 1860s and early 1870s. These excursions gave Brigham a personal knowledge of the country and aided in laying plans for new settlements. From 1870 on, with his health failing, his annual southern trips also enabled him to spend the winter months in the milder climate of St. George. From the time he left for St. George in November

1870 to spend the winter until his death seven years later, more than 30 percent of Brigham Young's time was spent either in St. George or on the road between that settlement and Salt Lake City.

But returning to the more typical visits—those made in the general interest of encouraging the Saints—what specific purposes were served by these tours? There appear to be at least four broad and somewhat inter-related ends: 1) Brigham Young was able to personally observe and evaluate conditions in the Mormon colonies; 2) he was able to give practical guidance and spiritual encouragement to his people, thus circumventing barriers inherent in communication through the written word or through agents; 3) the resolve of the people of Mormondom was strengthened through contact with the head of the church, both in terms of commitment to the church as a religious institution and commitment to the social and temporal goals involved in building up the kingdom in a frequently harsh physical environment; 4) the visits also provided a certain relief from the drudgery and hardship of pioneer life by giving the settlers contact with outsiders and through the social activities held in connection with President Young's tours.

PERSONAL OBSERVATION OF CONDITIONS

Brigham Young used several forms of communication to learn of conditions in the settlements and to give instructions. Through scribes he carried on an extensive correspondence, and he often sent representatives to visit the outlying wards and settlements. In some cases local churchmen visited him in Salt Lake City to report on their assignments, but the president did not seem to be satisfied with such information. An indication of his general attitude toward seeing things for himself is his report to a Salt Lake City congregation following his return from the Salmon River in 1857. He had, he said, received "hardly one correct idea" from anyone he had ever talked to about the northern country prior to visiting it himself.⁵ He apparently had learned by experience that nothing is ever the same in the telling as it is in actual fact.

Many of Brigham's contemporaries commented on his eye for detail and his interest in seeing things for himself. George Q. Cannon eulogized Brigham Young as having been

the brain, the eye, the ear, the mouth and hand for the entire Church. . . .
From the greatest details connected with the organization of this Church,

⁵ Remarks by Brigham Young, May 31, 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London, 1854-86), 4:324-25.

down to the smallest minutiae connected with the work, he has left upon it the impress of his great mind. . . . Nothing was too small for his mind; nothing was too large. His mind was of that character that it could grasp the greatest subjects, and yet it had the capacity to descend to the minutest details. This was evident in all his counsels and associations with the Saints. . . .⁶

Frank J. Cannon, not a particular admirer of Young, noted that his abilities included

an incessant and minute though not always accurate observation. In the march across the plains it was said that he could hear the squeak of an ungreased wagon wheel and note a badly fitted ox-yoke twice as far as any other man in the party; and this same instant notice was manifest in his management of his people.⁷

Those who accompanied him on his tours of the territory also commented on his interest in detail. Charles R. Savage, photographer for the 1870 tour of the southern settlements, observed that Brigham carried something for every possible emergency in his buggy—rawhide to mend the wagons, marbles for the children, and tobacco for the Indians being among his store—knowing that he would see the need arise to use all these things. Solomon F. Kimball, who as a young man accompanied the 1864 southern tour, remembered the same thing, adding that Brigham often stopped to investigate “children’s little troubles.”⁸

Contemporary accounts of the president’s travels include reports of visits of inspection to cotton factories, woolen mills, granaries, orchards, and the other enterprises of his people. Brother Brigham paid close attention to the kinds of houses the Saints lived in and the sorts of food available on their tables. For instance, in a meeting in Cedar City in May 1855, Brigham chastised the people for eating too much, saying it made them “dull.” Another example of his interest in the smallest detail was his recommendation to the people of Saint Charles and Paris, Idaho, in 1870 that they raise the roofs of their meetinghouses and install more windows to improve air circulation in the buildings.⁹

Brigham also took an interest in individual Saints and their progress. Wilford Woodruff noted in his diary during the 1861 southern tour that

⁶ *Deseret News*, September 3, 1877, cited in Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young, the Man and his Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1936), p. 534.

⁷ Frank J. Cannon and George L. Knapp, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire* (New York City: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913), pp. 185–86.

⁸ Charles R. Savage, “A Trip South with President Young in 1870,” *Improvement Era* 3 (1899–1900): 297, 365–66; Solomon F. Kimball, “President Brigham Young’s Excursion Party,” *Improvement Era* 14 (1911): 313–14.

⁹ Public Meetings Minutes Collection, May 20, 1855, MS, LDS Archives; Wilford Woodruff Diary, June 15 and 18, 1870, Wilford Woodruff Collection, LDS Archives.

President Young had talked to a woman in Washington who reported that she had followed his advice that the Saints be self-sufficient and had for the past four years made all the clothes for her family. Brigham rewarded her efforts with a present of ten sheep.¹⁰

Not only were conditions in the established settlements observed, but the regions through which he traveled were also subjected to close scrutiny in terms of the natural resources available. This was largely a result of Young's desire to find new locations for settlements, but at the same time it reveals his interest in nature. Solomon Kimball recalled that

President Brigham Young was a great lover of natural scenery, and while journeying through these valleys of the mountains, whenever he came to beautiful landscapes, or discovered anything of unusual interest in the heavens, he nearly always stopped long enough to point out to his traveling companions such sights, giving them a touch of his own admiration, and what he himself enjoyed so much.¹¹

INSTRUCTION OF THE SAINTS

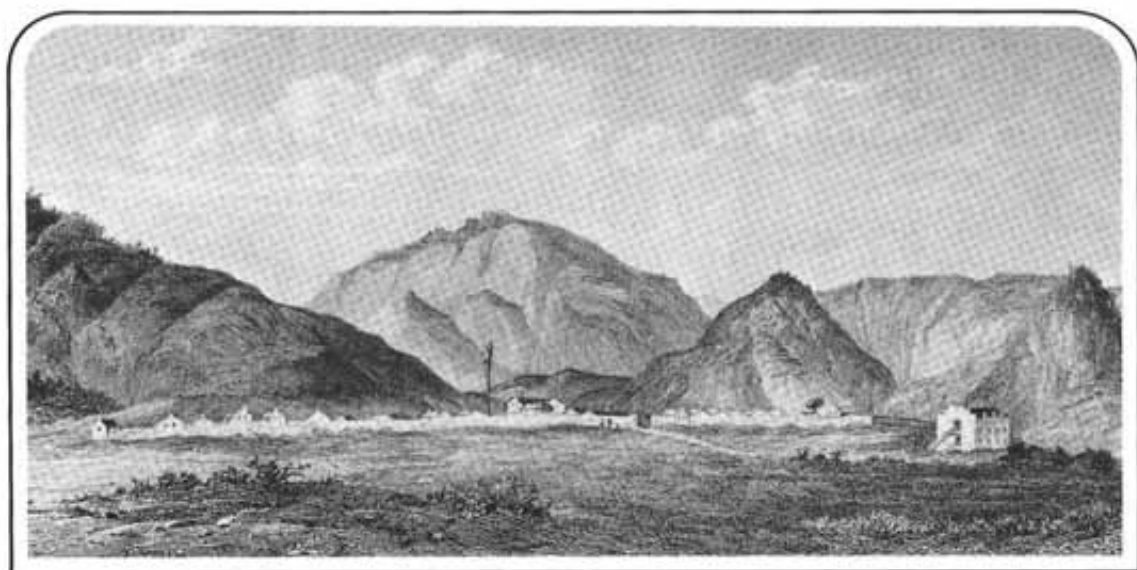
As noted above, the many meetings during which Brigham and others in the party gave the Saints counsel and advice were a prominent feature of the annual tours. Usually the gatherings were held in the local meetinghouses, although frequently these structures were too small to accommodate more than a fraction of those who came to hear their leader. In the smaller communities a short meeting might be held upon arrival of the company, and then they would travel on to the next town to hold another meeting the same day. In larger settlements sessions might be held on two days. Solomon Kimball recalled that President Young "determined the day and almost the hour that he would visit each settlement. He then sent runners ahead on horseback to notify the Saints of his coming. He never failed to keep his appointments, even if he had to drive all night to do it."¹²

Several of those traveling with the president were generally called on to speak. Charles Savage observed in 1870 that each speaker had "his line of thought, each his pet subject" and that Brigham commented on "topics of everyday interest," as did George A. Smith, "but with more reference to spiritual matters." Brigham Young, Jr., also spoke on everyday life, while Brigham's brother Lorenzo liked to discuss doctrinal points

¹⁰ Wilford Woodruff Diary, May 27, 1861.

¹¹ Kimball, "Excursion Party," p. 416.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 417.



The arrival of Brigham Young and a large party of visitors was a special occasion in small settlements like Fillmore. This engraving shows the town as it appeared to French traveler Jules Remy in November 1855.

and the president's son John W. spoke about architecture—that is, “the construction of homes, barns, schoolhouses, etc.” Brigham was frequently the closing speaker and only talked briefly, letting his associates carry the burden of the message to the people, while he laid the capstone. His closing remarks were described as “sledge-hammer blows that warmed up the audiences” to go home and strive harder.¹³

Brigham generally relied on serious discourse to convey his message. Savage reported that “Brother Brigham did not believe in loud laughter; he seldom more than smiled, and rarely repeated jokes to provoke laughter.” However, on occasion the president used humor to drive home a point, as in a sermon in Fillmore in 1865, when he told the men assembled, “Ye Elders & young men, court up the girls & marry them & not let them go to the Gentiles. I cannot take them all.”¹⁴

When counseling his people on practical matters, Young's approach most often was to determine through observation what the people needed to do to improve their material conditions and then to speak accordingly. For instance, in a meeting in the new settlement of Logan in 1860, he began his sermon by saying, “Many ideas are presented to my mind; among them, What are the wants of the people in this place? As yet you have no houses, no fences, and no saw and grist mills; for which reason I will take the liberty of giving you a little information and instruction in

¹³ Savage, “A Trip South,” pp. 367, 295, 298.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 365; Wilford Woodruff Diary, September 26, 1865.

regard to your temporal affairs." Savage noted that Young did very little "chapter and verse" preaching, dealing more often with the "unrealized possibilities before the people, the needed improvements in their lives and the cultivation of the better qualities of their natures."¹⁵

In a meeting with the settlers at Union Fort in Salt Lake Valley on his way south in 1854 Brigham Young told them,

I do not wish to spend my time . . . in telling the people what was done in the days of Adam, Enoch and Noah, thousands of years ago, or what will be done in the millenium, thousands of years hence; but my business is to tell the people what they should do today in order to be saved. This is my doctrine all the time. What can I, or this people, do this day in any one thing in order to help build up the kingdom of God, or to advance one step further towards the salvation of ourselves or our brethren.

He then went on to tell them to build a fort to protect themselves from the Indians.¹⁶

His sermons deliberately centered more on fields and herds and houses than on theology. These subjects were perceived by Brigham to be part of his religion just as much as more spiritual matters. He saw man as having a stewardship over the earth. Thus, the president could tell the Saints of Provo in 1855 that the "Lord designs this people to beautify this earth like the garden of Eden, and be brought back from the state of wretchedness fallen into. . . . Then our duty is to build up the Kingdom of God. . . . The Lord will not live in unholy temples, not in an old log cabin, nor in a bed bug city." In the same vein he told a congregation in Franklin, Idaho, in 1870 that the Lord didn't want them to "live in filth and bedbug[s]." He wanted "cleanliness, refinement & good order & good home[s]."¹⁷ Continually his message was that the Saints should build better homes, plant gardens, be clean, and make other necessary improvements. His counselor Jedediah M. Grant put it forcefully to the people of Fort Ephraim during the president's visit there in 1855: "We don't settle down with a loghouse and be content like the old fogyism of the rest, with a corn dodger and a little honey, and a few negroes and think we are in Paradise, but we build house after house. This we expect you to do."¹⁸

¹⁵ Remarks by Brigham Young, June 10, 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 8:78; Savage, "A Trip South," pp. 297, 364-65.

¹⁶ Public Meetings Minutes Collection, May 4, 1854.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, March 9, 1855, pp. 2-3; Wilford Woodruff Diary, June 20, 1870.

¹⁸ Public Meetings Minutes Collection, May 13, 1855.

The improvement of one's material surroundings was seen as a religious duty by Brigham Young. But beyond that, he believed any act performed in building up the kingdom was a religious act. To Brigham, personal effort was an expression of faith and could not fail to be rewarded by God. He told the people of Cedar City in 1855 that

there is no difference between temporal & spiritual things. To preach is labor, & a hard one too, &c. It is all manual labor from the beginning to the end. If it is to dig coal, make iron, or any other work for the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth and the redemption of Zion, it is just as holy as preaching the Gospel. It does not matter where we are sent, or what we are to do. If it is to build up the Kingdom of God on the earth it is all right.¹⁹

The southern tour of 1855 was made during a time of famine, and one of Brigham's themes was that God would take care of his people if they were faithful. At Fillmore he told them that the Lord was controlling what happened and could defeat their enemies and bless the Saints if he chose to. God could provide for and sustain them, even though they could raise no grain that year. After returning to Salt Lake City he made a report of the trip and then admonished the congregation: "It becomes our duty to use our diligence to sustain ourselves & leave the final issue with God. If it is necessary for the Lord to rain down Manna he will do it. He can sustain us better than we can. It is our place to beautify the earth; it is God who gives the increase."²⁰

As implied in this passage, Brigham did not expect much help from the Lord until the people had done their part. He told the southern colonists in 1861 that he "would not give [a] lb. of Lead for all the Preaching & Praying without works &c." In a meeting in Round Valley in 1869 he told the congregation, "The Lord takes care of those who take care of themselves. . . . Neither will the Angels come & do your work for you. But you have got to do for yourselves. . . . The Lord will not come & raise your Bread. You must raise it yourselves." A year later, while speaking to the people of Paris, Idaho, regarding the building up to Zion he told them, "We cannot do it by singing & praying alone, but it must take the bone & sinnew of the people."²¹

Whether Brigham praised or chastised the people depended upon his perception of their effort. Their accomplishments did not seem to

¹⁹ Ibid., May 20, 1855.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955) 1:315; Wilford Woodruff Diary, May 8, 1869, June 14, 1870.

matter as much as their attitude toward the struggle. At times his talks could be full of encouragement, an example being his report of the 1857 Salmon River trip: "I feel to bless the brethren who accompanied me and those we have visited. . . . The improvements in the settlements we have passed through bespeak a contented, industrious spirit, and this place bespeaks faith and industry during our absence."²²

Praise was often given to lift the spirits of those facing particularly difficult conditions. In Virgin City in 1864 Brigham praised the people for their contentment and assured them that they were blessed in that the southern soil was richer than that in the north and that they did not have as many "foul spirits" to contend with, "both from the Living & the dead." A year later he again buoyed up the spirits of the southern Saints: "I will say also to those who have taken advantage of the Brethren in the South in their poverty and oppressed them [that] they will go to Hell and God will bless those who obey Council [counsel], have gone South and done there [*sic*] duty, if they are poor." Two days earlier he had told a similar group that they were the best people on earth and had advanced more in the same period of time than had the people of Enoch.²³

But if the people did not seem to be trying, Brigham chastised them and goaded them to do better. For example, John D. Lee reported in 1861 that the president told the people at Harmony that he was astonished by the ignorance of those who were talking about going back to Jackson County, Missouri, when none of them knew anything about it. Turning to conditions in southern Utah he noted that the people were behind the times and that he would not live in a single home he had seen in the south. Frank Cannon, looking back at Young's career with a somewhat jaundiced eye, characterized all of his sermons in the outlying towns as a "round scolding on the bad fences of the community, or the choked-up character of their irrigation ditches, or the poor quality of bulls or rams kept for breeding." In fact, Cannon asserted, Brigham's role was to act as "a sort of scolding housewife to the whole Mormon community. He jawed it into order."²⁴

What effect did all the preaching have on the people. J. V. Long reported that following a visit in 1862 the party "left the folks at Beaver

²² Remarks by Brigham Young, May 31, 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, 4:324.

²³ Wilford Woodruff Diary, September 20, 1864, September 22 and 24, 1865.

²⁴ Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 1:312-13; Cannon and Knapp, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire*, pp. 185, 195.

feeling well, most of them showing signs of contrition, and evincing a determination to improve the habitations of both men and beast by the time of the president's next annual visit." John Henry Evans asserted that the people, knowing that Brigham would be quick to condemn or praise, sought to avoid chastisement by bringing their property into line with the instructions received from the president.²⁵

Thus, Brigham's visits served as an incentive to the people and provided a sort of deadline for action. While his preaching did not provoke all the Saints to good works, as is indicated by the repetition of his message year after year, he felt satisfied that he was doing his duty to the Saints and to the Lord. At times he must have sought consolation in that fact, especially in his later years when the long days of travel and the many meetings left their mark on him. Frequently he was described as fatigued, and at times upon arriving in a settlement he could only eat a bowl of bread and milk and then retire to bed, leaving the younger members of the party to socialize with the settlers. Sometimes he was too weary or too unwell to speak to the people at all.²⁶

Following his return home from a trip in 1870 Brigham complained of the arduous nature of the tours:

How many times we have preached I do not know. I have not kept count. Whenever we came to a settlement, either in the daytime or evening, while stopping to feed, the brethren would say, "Can't we have a meeting? We want a meeting! Brethren, will you hold meeting?" Frequently we would say, "Yes," and while our animals were refreshing themselves, we would assemble with the people and talk with them.

It made no difference how arduous our labors had been; if we had travelled and preached a month without sleep, I don't know that the brethren would have supposed that we needed a rest. I asked one brother, a presiding Elder, who wanted to have a meeting, how old his father was. "Why," said he, "he is sixty-seven." I suppose that man does not do as much labor in a month as I do in a day, take it year in and year out. Still I may be mistaken in this. Said I, "Brother, if your father had endured what I have endured for three or four weeks past, and was asked to go to meeting and there spend an hour or two, talking to the people, you would feel insulted, and would consider it an imposition for your father to be required to labor without cessation." Said he, "I did not think of that." Said I, "I am considerably older than he is, yet look at my labors!" So we passed on and did not have a meeting, but it was meeting, meeting, meeting, from the time we left this city until our return.²⁷

²⁵ Manuscript History, 1862, p. 808; John Henry Evans, *The Heart of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, 1930), p. 425.

²⁶ George A. Smith to W. H. Hooper, February 14, 1869, Manuscript History, 1869, p. 106; George A. Smith to Brigham Young, Jr., October 3, 1865, Manuscript History, 1865, p. 895; Savage, "A Trip South," p. 295; Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 2:113-14; Manuscript History, 1861, p. 396; Wilford Woodruff Diary, September 22, 1868.

²⁷ Discourse by Brigham Young, September 25, 1870, *Journal of Discourses*, 13: 242-43.

Although wearied by incessant public speaking, Brigham knew that meeting with the people was one of the principal reasons for his travels.

STRENGTHENING THE SAINTS' COMMITMENT

An important factor in building up the kingdom in Utah was the continuing loyalty of the Mormon people to the church and to the man they revered as God's mouthpiece. Personal contact with Brigham Young, in most cases, heightened the people's loyalty. His visits to the settlements provided two sorts of contact. The people witnessed his arrival in their community and participated in the public activities involved in his visit, while those in positions of leadership and those who knew the president personally or had special business with him had an opportunity for a closer association through private interviews.

Brigham's influence was not merely a matter of his personality, although surely that factor played an important role, but was due largely to the reverence Mormons had for his office as their prophet and the Lord's representative among them.²⁸ Those writing for publication frequently referred to his annual visits as "royal progresses." Frank J. Cannon described Brigham's tours in terms of "the visiting monarch," his "courtiers," and the president's "imperial pleasure." The *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1874 poked fun at Young by reporting that he was about to

commence a royal progress northward, accompanied by his court, that lithe and graceful courtier, George A. Smith, performing the part of the Lord High Chamberlain. The people of Kannara, Cedar, Parowan, Beaver and other places on the line of march will be illuminated by the sacred presence.²⁹

But what the *Tribune* reported with such sarcasm in 1874 had been said sincerely twenty years earlier by Andrew L. Siler: "Brother Brigham Young and company came like a brilliant planet and illuminated our little world nearly two days and passed on, leaving a happy influence behind him." And Charles Savage wrote for a church publication using the royal analogy without any sense of inappropriateness. He reported that Brother Brigham had "the regal faculty" for settling disputes without "arrogance or assumption of superiority," and the "homage and genuine attention" he received and the "triumphal parades" occasioned by his arrival were acknowledged "with the grace of a king."³⁰ The

²⁸ Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer* (4th ed. rev.; Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Inc., 1973), p. 119.

²⁹ Cannon and Knapp, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire*, pp. 383-84; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 1, 1874.

³⁰ *Deseret News*, May 29, 1852, cited in Hunter, *Brigham Young*, p. 267-68; Savage, "A Trip South," pp. 293, 295, 364, 366.

appearance among the people of the president of the church was a major occurrence in their lives. To the average Mormon, Brigham Young occupied as high a position, if not a higher one, than any of the crowned heads of Europe by virtue of his prophetic office.

Mrs. Thomas L. Kane reported that

the saints who are more used to his presence take Brother Brigham's arrival at a village tranquilly, but new-comers in Utah greet him much more deferentially than if he were the President of the United States. There was a bright-eyed woman at Parowan with snow-white hair who tried to kiss his hand, and went round to all the party shaking hands with both hands and patting us. She had only been in Utah three months, and had come out with a train of indigent, almost destitute converts.

The effect of Young's visits was particularly marked in the more distant settlements such as the Muddy Mission, certainly one of the places of greatest trial and hardship in all of Mormondom :

No people could do more than they had done to show their loyalty, love, and veneration for the 'old chief' as they called the President; they ministered to the needs of the party with the best they had. They were a long distance from supplies, and were short of many necessities, but no one grumbled; they had been called there, and were going to stay until released.³¹

Solomon Kimball reported that on the 1864 southern trip the "farther from home, the greater the enthusiasm became, and the more anxious the people were to see them." George A. Smith commented on the phenomenon the next year in a letter to Brigham Young, Jr. :

Our visits to the south become annually more interesting and important. There is great anxiety manifested by the Saints to see your father and hear him preach, many of them hearing him for the first time. . . . It was astonishing to see the large assemblies which met at those points where meetings were held for one or two days.³²

In addition to deepening the sense of commitment of the Saints to the president and the church, the annual visits also fostered social unity and doctrinal and behavioral uniformity within Mormon society, important aspects of the kingdom of God as envisioned by Brigham Young. The *Deseret News* correspondent for the 1868 trip to northern Utah concluded his report with the statement that

³¹ Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona*, ed. Everett L. Cooley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1974), pp. 102-3; Savage, "A Trip South," p. 433.

³² Kimball, "Excursion Party," p. 191; George A. Smith to Brigham Young, Jr., October 3, 1865, Manuscript History, 1865, pp. 895-96.

It would be difficult to place too high an estimate upon the value of these visits of President Young to the various settlements. . . . A visit from the Presidency and Twelve is refreshing to the officers and people. They partake of the spirit which prevails at head-quarters, and can better keep pace with their brethren who reside there. Without these visits the people might become narrowed up in their feelings, and sectional intercourse between the settlements, and between the officers of the Church who reside at this City and those who live elsewhere, has the tendency to prevent this.³³

For those already acquainted with Brigham the visits offered a chance for contact of a more personal nature. Mrs. Kane described such gatherings as "informal audiences":

When we reached the end of a day's journey, after taking off our outer garments and washing off the dust, it was the custom of our party to assemble before the fire in the sitting-room, and the leading "brothers and sisters" of the settlement would come in to pay their respects. The front door generally opened directly from the piazza into the parlor, and was always on the latch, and the circle round the fire varied constantly as the neighbors dropped in or went away. At these informal audiences, reports, complaints and petitions were made. . . . They talked away to Brigham Young about every conceivable matter, from the fluxing of an ore to the advantages of a Navajo bit, and expected him to remember every child in every cotter's family. . . . I noticed that he never seemed uninterested, but gave an unforced attention to the person addressing him. . . .³⁴

Finally, Brigham Young's visits were the occasion for reminiscing about the old days in the church. Such conversations strengthened the identification of the participants with the president. Charles Savage noted that often the crowd of Nauvoo veterans went over their stories "until the President was nearly talked to death. The house was besieged by visitors all day." As in the matter of holding meetings, the eagerness of the people led them to make inconsiderate demands on his time. Savage reported that "President Young told me that the greatest difficulty he had was to keep up so much private conversation as well as public speaking, that he was glad at times to retire and have a rest."³⁵

LIFTING THE SPIRITS OF THE SAINTS

Brigham Young's tours lifted the spirits of the people by providing them with opportunities for social activity and celebration, temporarily altering the pattern of daily toil, hardship, and pioneering conditions. Solo-

³³ Manuscript History, 1868, p. 997.

³⁴ Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*, p. 101.

³⁵ Savage, "A Trip South," pp. 294-95, 363.

mon Kimball, who as a young man of seventeen accompanied Brigham in 1864, described his traveling companions as "one of the jolliest crowds that ever left Salt Lake City" and reported that the members of the company had purposely been selected for their good spirits, which would help to "[keep] the people in good spirits till their leaders came again." The presence of the company "did the Saints a world of good." Other travelers also commented on the cheerfulness of the tour parties. Charles Savage described the 1870 southern party as a "jovial crowd, free from care and full of fun." An example of the good nature of the parties was the "kidnapping" in 1864 of the Salt Creek brass band. The company had so much enjoyed their music while at Salt Creek that they persuaded the members of the band to travel with them all the way to St. George and back.³⁶

Contact with such blithe spirits undoubtedly raised the morale of settlers on the frontiers of Mormondom, but the settlers themselves produced most of the merrymaking that accompanied the president's annual visits. As the party approached a settlement they were often met by a mounted escort and a brass band that conducted them triumphantly into town. Lorenzo Snow took credit for setting the precedent for such receptions during Young's 1855 visit to Brigham City. Before the party arrived an escort was organized, consisting of forty or fifty young men in gray uniforms mounted on horses and carrying lances at the top of which were affixed colored ribbons. Behind them came a wagonload of young ladies dressed in white. At the head of the escort was a martial band, followed by the carriages of the leading men of the town. As the party entered Brigham City the children lined the streets and cheered, rang bells, and waved flags.³⁷

Other communities were quick to follow Brigham City's example: "From Washington to St. George our train was a triumphal parade. On all the knolls were companies of cavalry and infantry, as well as the Sunday School children, and bands of music," Charles Savage wrote of the 1870 tour. In 1862 hundreds of people from Logan came to meet the president and his company, "all receiving him with tokens of enthusiastic joy." On the way north that year the party had been met outside of Kaysville by sixty school children who formed a line and paraded up the street carrying banners, the boys bearing signs labeled "Intelligence in Embryo" and "Defenders of Right" and the girls bearing standards that

³⁶ Kimball, "Excursion Party," pp. 189-90, 196; Savage, "A Trip South," p. 294.

³⁷ Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer*, pp. 292-93.

read "Daughters of Zion" and "Our Parents love Virtue." Even when the party did not stop in a given town its people might turn out to salute the company with "uncovered heads and waving of hats, show[ing] their joy at the sight of the visitors," as at Mona in 1870.³⁸

Although such demonstrations may be viewed as only another manifestation of the people's devotion to Brigham Young, it should be remembered that parades and costumes and marching bands served a social and recreational purpose and perhaps were more important in the lives of the people in that sense than as tokens of homage.

Once the company halted in a town there was a "constant hand-shaking festival." Next on the program came a public dinner. Solomon Kimball recalled that in southern Utah wagonloads of fruit and melons were lavished on the party, many people bringing foodstuffs for the multitude gathering at St. George to hear Brother Brigham.³⁹ In many ways the celebrations resembled the harvest festivals held in other places. Generally the occasion included a dance, and the younger members of the community and the traveling party would continue the festivities long after the president and the older men and women had retired to bed.

The president's return from the settlements also occasioned social activity and celebration in Salt Lake City. In 1864 as the party approached the capital they were met by Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells

at the forefront of the finest turnout that ever greeted a "Mormon" presidential party. It seemed as if all the people in Salt Lake county were in line: companies of cavalry, state officers, county officials. There were the city fathers, brass and martial bands, private citizens, and everybody who could muster an outfit. And how they made the dust fly from then on until they reached President Young's residence on Brigham street.

John D. Lee witnessed a similar homecoming celebration in 1867 and asserted that 25,000 people, divided into companies, formed an escort five miles long to greet Brigham.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

Critics of Brigham Young have claimed that he enjoyed the homage shown him by his people, especially during his visits to the settlements.

³⁸ Savage, "A Trip South," pp. 296, 366; Manuscript History, 1862, pp. 950-51, 940-41; See also accounts of receptions at Grantsville, Wilford Woodruff Diary, August 25, 1865; at Ogden, Manuscript History, 1868, p. 984; and at Harmony in 1869, Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 2:114.

³⁹ Savage, "A Trip South," p. 299; Kimball, "Excursion Party," pp. 197-98.

⁴⁰ Kimball, "Excursion Party," p. 510; Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 2:71-72.

He would have been less than human had he paid no heed to such things. But his principal interest was not homage but "rearing Saints" and building up the kingdom of God. He felt that his visits furthered those ends by giving him a chance to observe conditions, to give encouragement or chastisement to the people regarding their attitude toward the task before them, to increase the Saints' devotion to the church, and to offer some break in the monotony of the harsh frontier life by providing wholesome diversion. The scale of Mormon society was such that the head of the church could personally visit each settlement annually with those ends in mind. Brigham undoubtedly expected and demanded that his people "hold up his hands," but at the same time he sought to serve them by laboring to "encourage the minds of those whose duty it was to build bridges, make ditches, and kill the snakes for the generations that will follow."⁴¹

⁴¹ Savage, "A Trip South," p. 436.



Shadows of Brigham Young as Seen by His Biographers

BY DONALD R. MOORMAN

Brigham Young ca. 1850. Note the Masonic pin that has been added or retouched on his shirt front. Courtesy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

THE TEMPLE STOOD SOMBERLY incomplete on the Sunday afternoon of September 2, 1877, as the mourning procession passed through the streets of Salt Lake City to honor its fallen leader, Brigham Young. That year of

Dr. Moorman is professor of history at Weber State College.

ORDER OF PROCESSION

AT THE

Funeral of President Brigham Young.

New Tabernacle, Salt Lake City,

SEPTEMBER 2d, 1877.

Tenth Ward Band.

Glee Club.

Tabernacle Choir.

Salt Lake City Council.

President Young's Employes.

President Joseph Young, Bishop Phineas H. Young,

Bishop Lorenzo D. Young and Elder Edward Young.

(President Brigham Young's brothers.)

THE BODY,

Borne by Clerks and Workmen of Deceased.

Ten of the Twelve Apostles as Pall Bearers.

Counselors of President Brigham Young.

The Family and Relatives.

First Seven Presidents of the Seventies.

Presidency and High Council of Salt Lake Stake of Zion.

Visiting Presidents, their Counselors and High Councils of
Various Stakes of Zion.

Bishops and their Counselors.

High Priests.

Elders.

Lesser Priesthood.

Seventies.

The General Public.

—:o:—

No Horses or Vehicles will be allowed in the Procession.

*Printed card details
the order of
Brigham Young's
funeral procession
from the tabernacle
to the family
cemetery on First
Avenue. Courtesy of
the Church of
Jesus Christ of
Latter-day Saints.*

frantic activity and change also signaled the beginning of a long quest by biographers to understand and chronicle the complex life of Brigham Young. After one hundred years, four or five important biographies survive despite their problems and limitations, each providing a distorted image of the Mormon leader. These representations of sainted father, false prophet, heavenly leader, divine oracle, or unscrupulous financier merge into an impossible conglomeration of a man. Nevertheless, Brigham Young is today what these biographies have made him, and students of Mormon history will find but the shadow of the man unless they shed these impressions. There is a tendency among some historians to excuse the biographers for falling short of their goal because they did not have access to primary materials or were not schooled in the art of biography. However, such excuses serve only to perpetuate inaccuracies and to sanctify falsehood as acceptable history. A review of five book-length biographies of Brigham Young may help to illuminate the path some future biographer might take.

When the chilling news of Brigham Young's death swept Salt Lake City there was but one noteworthy volume on the shelves of the public and private libraries of the territory, a privately printed work by Edward W. Tullidge.¹ With remarkable ambivalence, he drew from memory his conceptions of the Mormon theocrat, but the work was marked by a progressive relinquishment of independent speculation and an overabundance of catering to the popular Mormon image of the founder of Utah.

Viewing this book in light of the mass of materials that had crossed the publisher's desk, Tullidge's efforts are disappointing, especially when one takes into account the author's own role in reshaping Utah's colorful history. There are few insights into the critical issues that separated Utah from the nation and even fewer attempts at interpreting Brigham Young's motives for directing the course of Utah history along the path it eventually assumed. Granted, Tullidge's biography, when combined with Hubert H. Bancroft's monumental work on Utah, provided the basic foundation for several generations of historians; nevertheless, it tends to be an uninspiring history of the Saints rather than a perceptive treatment of the inner workings of the church prophet. Tullidge ignored completely the glimmer of heart, mind, social consciousness, and the mystical love of the land that was so uniquely Brigham Young. Nor does the figure of a vigorous, passionate, and fearless communitarian thinker emerge from

¹ Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young* (New York, 1876).

this editing room version of the prophet's life. Reportedly basing his biography on the high points of the church president's long career, Tullidge chose to dwell heavily on the lifelong influence of Joseph Smith, Jr., on Brigham Young, connecting the two personalities with threads of religious conviction and human pathos. Yet Brigham Young was not a Joseph Smith, a point that was lost to Tullidge. Following the tendency of many Mormon writers of that period, he compared the two church presidents in such a manner as to give the impression that the similarities between the men outweigh their differences, leaving the reader to assume that Brigham Young had the same religious compulsion that moved Joseph Smith along the road of spiritual introspection.

The general Mormon belief that progress is the direction of history suffered extensively at the hands of Tullidge, a literary man who underwent intellectual metamorphosis in discussing a number of incompatible elements in Brigham Young's career. Nowhere does one find analysis of the church president's flirtations with communitarianism, his impractical objection to Gentile domination of trade and commerce in the 1850s, or the opportunism that accompanied the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Though Tullidge gave full support to the God-beite movement that helped drive a wedge between the values of the United Order and those Mormons who hoped to preserve the free enterprise system in the territory, he formed an uncritical literary allegiance to Brigham Young and failed to enumerate the wide range of economic, social, and political hardships caused by Brigham Young's unmovable will. The price the Mormon people may have paid for sustaining Brigham Young's position of power is totally ignored.

Tullidge produced a comfortable biography with friends and enemies of the Saints clearly identified. The solemn commonplaceness of his views follows the traditional lines of Mormon writers who coolly attacked the men and institutions that seemed to deny the Saints mastery over their lives—the people of Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio; Gentile officeholders; and even the federal government. Tullidge held, in common with Brigham Young, an inherited distrust of the federal government, yet, at the same time, a blind faith in the sanctity of the national Constitution. However, the continued concentration of power in the executive and legislative branches of government in the late 1850s and 1860s left little room for home rule in the territories and forced Brigham Young to assume a constitutional position favorable to sectionalism.

With the exception of the slavery question and the policy of secession, the South stood upon the same ground that Utah had stood upon

just previously. True, she had no intention to follow any example set by Utah, for old and powerful states, which had ranked first in the Union from the very foundation of the nation, would not have taken Utah as their example. Yet this very fact, coupled with the stupendous view of North and South engaged in deadly conflict, shows how fundamental was the cause which Utah maintained, and how pregnant were the times with a common national issue. Moreover, with that view before us, Brigham Young stands not only justified, but his conduct claims extraordinary admiration, for he led his people safely through that controversy without secession.²

Almost out of keeping with Tullidge's materialistic and pragmatic view of Brigham Young, the church leader emerges as a saint with a mind of exceptional power and gravity, as one by talent and inclination an engineer rather than a statesman, as one rising in mental power far above his contemporaries, yet strongly influenced by a shepherd's duty to his flock. In light of the drawn-out, stormy, passionate struggles the two men were engaged in during the last decade of Brigham Young's life, Tullidge seemed to have forsaken any criticism of the church leader that he might have had in favor of reinforcing the prevailing values and institutions of the popular territorial culture.

For the next half-century Gentile books about Brigham Young and the Mormons drifted from bad to abominable, with only one noteworthy exception, a biography written by a popular journalist. To many readers Morris R. Werner's study of Brigham Young revealed the uncertain characteristic of being neither a biography of the church leader nor a history of the Mormon people.³ For almost a third of the volume, Werner paints around the central figure in the life of the Mormon church, Joseph Smith, while virtually ignoring his major responsibility of relating Brigham Young to the tensions and drama that shaped the community of Saints. Indeed, the author seems to be primarily interested in Joseph Smith's controversial activities in connection with polygamy, a theme that is revived several times in his long narrative, usually at the expense of other discussions.

Nevertheless, the central figure of his study is a very human personality who is profoundly influenced by his environment and by inheritance, especially that derived from his Puritan background in Vermont. Although a gifted and clever writer, Werner fails to allow his reader to live through the daily occurrences in Brigham Young's life or to share his spiritual wanderings and complex emotions, perhaps because of the rigid limitations imposed by the author's lack of familiarity with Mormon

² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

³ Morris Robert Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925).



Copy of an old Daguerreotype of Brigham Young, possibly by Lucien R. Foster in Nauvoo. Utah State Historical Society collections.

prophet's efforts to blame others for his mistakes. In striking contrast, other pictures of Brigham Young in Werner's book are surprisingly friendly, often demonstrating a degree of understanding of the leader's humanistic qualities:

He encouraged this tendency to consult him on everything, and he once said in a sermon: "If you do not know what to do in order to do right, come to me at any time, and I will give you the word of the Lord on the subject." They came, and Brigham Young devoted much of his time to their minute troubles, for he realized that such time was not wasted for a man in his position. His patience helped to inform him of the most intimate details of the life of his people, and it increased the confidence which those people reposed in him, and his power over them, for he soon got to know who were his enemies when he became arbiter of the quarrels of the community.*

* *Ibid.*, p. 265.

historiography and primary research materials. There is little need to question Werner's intellectual integrity; he seemed to suffer overwhelming personal pressure to minimize the significance of the Mormon church while at the same time building toward the conclusion that Brigham Young's ultimate and enduring greatness was that he succeeded in leadership despite the peculiarities of his religious beliefs. Yet, Werner felt haunted by Young's impregnable personality. He brings out the church leader's sensitivity to opposition, his tendency to see in it motives of person rather than of principle; and he exposes with bits and pieces of evidence the

Writing with the cool, somewhat ironic detachment of a man not disposed to take religion seriously, Werner softens the historical image of Brigham Young as a man who possessed Caesar's mind, Napoleon's ambition, and Mohammed's zeal for the dissemination of religion. Throughout the text, the author's point of view is that of a detached observer, "though he permits his sense of humor to exercise when the grotesque incongruity of certain claims of his heroes is particularly glaring. . . ." ⁵

What could stand as a model of careful and discriminating scholarship totters because Werner is incredibly unfamiliar with Mormon economic patterns, nor does he attempt to bring understanding to the financial affairs of Brigham Young. Perhaps that is just as well, for the author lets slip several unguarded statements that doubtless say more than he intends.

A carpenter was paid for his work with an order on the stores, or, if he worked for the Church, with an order on the central tithing house. With this order he paid his rent and got food. Tithing was paid to the Church in cattle or grain, if the member was a farmer, and in labor, such as shingling church buildings, if the man was not. This system gave Brigham Young a great economic hold on his people, because a man could not easily accumulate riches convertible outside Utah, and it was therefore difficult to leave the territory, even if one became dissatisfied with its government or disgusted with its religion. ⁶

Brigham Young emerges from these pages as a latter-day Simon Legree who holds his people in economic bondage. Werner offers no detailed discussion of the variety of organizations created by the Saints to meet the demands of the territorial economy, nor did he understand how the normal progress of a decade was compressed into financial bankruptcy with the collapse of the YX Express. Nearly half of Brigham Young's life was devoted to these shifting plans and their failures, the sheer momentum of which ran like regenerative flame through his mind and body without restraint.

The Saints, on the whole, profited greatly from Brigham Young's planning, although urban residents received a better return on church planning than did the settlers in isolated rural villages and towns. Nor was Brigham Young completely immune from rude shocks. Riding waves of periodic prosperity, Mormon merchants courted heavily old-fashioned Yankee free enterprise, despite Brigham Young's attempt to collectivize the territorial economy under the cooperative movement.

⁵ *Springfield Republican*, August 30, 1926.

⁶ Werner, *Brigham Young*, p. 250.

It is understandable, then, that the biography, despite the industry and skill of the author, has remained largely a popular work rather than a definitive study. Relying heavily on the *Journal of Discourses*, and at the same time forsaking most primary materials, Werner frequently uses his ironic comments as a means of connecting one long quotation after another in order to hurry a rather traditional story to its conclusion.

Every age, it is said, must write its own history of the past; thus it was natural for Brigham Young's daughter, Susa Amelia Young Gates, to try to place a literary capstone on her father's long, illustrious career.⁷ Born at the height of the Mormon Reformation in 1856, she was twenty-one at the death of her father, an age that suggests she might have offered new glimpses into Brigham Young's clever mind to update interpretations of Mormon society as she knew it. The book instead turns repeatedly to simple and often sophomoric themes that are no more than banal eulogies extolling Brigham Young's angelic character and fortitude.

In the entire volume there is not one word against her father, as expected from a loving daughter, nor any conscious effort to place him in his time or to assess his great appeal to his contemporaries. Definitely not intended for a scholarly research-oriented audience, this volume, both in its strengths and its weaknesses, is very much a reflection of existing secondary church literature. The portrait has been painted a thousand times. Brigham Young is a simple man of the people who combined humanity, intelligence, common sense, and determination into political, economic, and religious strategies that enabled him to win the undying support of his people. Nevertheless, this picture might hold clues to Brigham Young's personality.

It is more than a coincidence that even Brigham Young's daughter cannot reveal more about her father than to portray him as a religious reformer who acted according to a Mormon code of ethics, defying injustice, brutality, and oppression as he understood them. We do not see Brigham Young in his private moods of faith and despair, in his passionate righteousness, or in his obstinate wrongheadedness; such full-figured portraits are possible only where there is a bold, arresting, total, and truthful commitment to the figure in question.

Half emotional, half religious, Susa Young Gates is extremely generous in excusing errors in judgment on the part of church leaders, occasionally sprinkling grains of truth in her narrative to make her story sound reasonable.

⁷Susa Young Gates, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930).

Despite the persecutions which were meted out to the saints and the threat upon the life of their Prophet Joseph Smith he nevertheless decided in the spring of 1843 to accede to the wishes of his loyal friends and allow his name to be put forward as a candidate for the office of President of the United States. His people held the balance of power in Illinois because of their numbers and unity on fundamental issues, such as slavery. That and their unpopular religion, together with their anti-slavery sympathies made them hated and feared by their rough southern neighbors. Letters had been addressed by the Prophet to the various Presidential candidates with special reference to his people's persecuted condition. None responded with any assurances of protection. Hence the people of Nauvoo decided to put up their own candidate.⁸

The statement is fraught with historical inaccuracies. Like any Saint of the nineteenth century who possessed a keen and cutting conscience that was highly resistant to any understanding of the Gentile world, Mrs. Gates interpreted jagged complexities and sharp animosities from the position of a true believer. Speaking of the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* she wrote:

The Prophet, who was mayor of Nauvoo, under authority of the Nauvoo City Council, had ordered the City Marshal to do away with the *Nauvoo Expositor* and to warn the publishers to leave Nauvoo. This apostate paper had published lies about good men, had threatened their lives and had incited mobs to pillage and murder. The city was placed under martial law. This was a pretext for the Prophet's arrest.⁹

In her handling of the Mountain Meadow Massacre she did little to restore stature to her dynamic and many-sided father. The broad outlines of the tragedy had long been known to her, as well as the need for revealing details; nevertheless, she displayed a dazzling skill in blending falsehood and truth to exonerate her father from the crime. Yet by indirection Brigham Young is dragged further into the web.

The white men who engaged in this horrible tragedy entered into a league, by a strong and binding oath, that they would never reveal the part they played in this gruesome occurrence. A false report was forwarded to Brigham Young. The white Indian farmer also reported in person, laying the blame solely upon the Indians. Brigham Young was horrified and wept bitterly at the recital of the tale. He and the Church were entirely blameless in the matter.¹⁰

The truth of the matter was that the official report was composed with the full knowledge of Brigham Young, the falsehood deliberately included to hide Mormon participation in the tragedy.

⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 144-45.

And there are some questions about which one would have liked to hear more: the causes of in-fighting between various church leaders, the relevance of territorial law in Mormon arguments with federal disputants, and the impact of political shifts in Utah on the success of the anti-Mormon lobby in Washington. Without serious analysis of these and other of the nineteenth-century Mormon problems, the history of Brigham Young's growing commitment to his people is only partly explained. Though Susa Gates was capable of understanding the inner workings of Brigham Young's office, she showed little concern to correct the oversimplifications, distortions, or plain inaccuracies of earlier biographies.

To anyone who expected a new biography of Brigham Young to throw light on recesses of his life that were dark when Susa Young Gates wrote over forty years ago, Stanley P. Hirshson's book was disappointing.²¹ A clever writer who apparently found it difficult to bother too much about factual accuracy, Hirshson revived some of the nineteenth-century tendentious views of Mormon history. To his discredit, the New York professor did not have a solid grasp of Mormon historiography; this, combined with the discouragement he received from the church historian's office, allowed him to fall prey to his sources. Abandoning the archives in the West, since he was convinced that few records of historical importance were to be found in the Rocky Mountains, Hirshson immersed himself to the drowning point in the printer's ink of eastern newspapers.

Unfortunately, these papers were highly prejudicial when it came to all things Mormon, believing as they did that where there is knavery there must be knaves and where there is heroism there must be a hero. A flesh and blood Brigham Young might have survived these accounts had Hirshson not ignored the best of Mormon erudition and the thrust of its scholarship. Sharp, tireless, and occasionally humorous, he lays down his pen as one who sheathes an avenging sword, having cut a picture of a fairly respectable but somewhat degenerate Brigham Young. Suffering from the same ambivalence that was felt by Brigham Young's contemporaries, Hirshson is bewildered by the mass of contradictions in the life of his subject. Facts are marshalled to show the church leader as blood-thirsty yet benevolent, high-handed yet generous, lustful yet pure, but always a charlatan, liar, and a poor prophet.

Hirshson created less of a biography and more of a rendering of a fearful legacy of authoritarian politics and the twin sins of polygamy and

²¹ Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).



Caricature of Brigham Young with several wives, published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on February 11, 1882, at the height of the antipolygamy campaign.

blood atonement, all of which are cataloged in great detail. Like writers of a century ago, he believes in a rather rigid notion that Mormon history is fundamentally aristocratic, shaped by and identical with the will of ambitious men inspired by less than noble causes. In the last analysis, Hirshson seems to suggest that Deseret had been created and maintained in order to prevent Brigham Young and others from becoming bored.

Good biography, like good history, originates in curiosity about the past; where there is no such curiosity there can be no historical quest and even less appreciation of the nature of biographical studies. Also, there must be an awareness of the enormous scope and complexity

of the person under study which excludes rash and casual judgments that erode away any hope of a genuine historical understanding of the subject. Hirshson seems unable to understand the relationship between formal and operative doctrines espoused by Brigham Young during especially trying periods in Mormon history. It is extremely difficult to measure, for example, what impact, if any, the doctrine of blood atonement had on everyday life in Utah. Although Hirshson covers Brigham Young with blood-spilling evidence, there is much research that indicates the doctrine was nothing more than fiery rhetoric that broke the slumberings of church audiences.

The legend surrounding the life of Brigham Young seems to grow with the passage of time, and one measure of his significance is that he has become one of the symbols of his religion, not only for his people but for most of the nation. As a man he was surprisingly human, but as the spiritual leader of an earthly kingdom he became the focus for the collective identifications, hopes, and ideals of his people, perhaps even the

symbol of a radical challenge to the conventional political and religious wisdom of his day. To write a biography of Brigham Young is inevitably to narrate much of the birth pangs of the Mormon church and of the shaping of new forces that helped to create the territory of Utah. And there rests the major problem.

Ray West, for example, aware of the difficulties that face a biographer whose best materials are already known, offered his work as a complement rather than a substitute to the numerous volumes on Brigham Young and the Mormons.¹² He repeatedly and convincingly made the connection between the history of Brigham Young and the Latter-day Saints; but his account, though pleasant, adds little to our understanding of either Brigham Young or the history of Utah. Despite his wide reading, he has not quite the scholarly expertness and historical background necessary for the difficult task of probing the deeper issues of Brigham Young's career without drifting into a narrative history of Utah and the Mormons. Past notions about Brigham Young must be replaced by something more sophisticated and perhaps considerably more controversial if there is to be any hope of understanding the Mormon leader. A few of these themes are open for attention.

One of the things that has made Brigham Young legendary was his energy, a sheer driving force that enabled him to tackle obligation after obligation with a remarkable consistency. Yet these bursts of energy might have served to obscure a temperament that tended to restrict his emotional outbreaks to limited critical situations among a small circle of followers. If he was genuinely emotional, he tended to curb these expressions for himself or for those with whom he identified, perhaps believing that such displays of personality might become inhibiting to effective leadership.

In addition, those of us who are interested in Brigham Young's ideologies would like some clarification of those attitudes that complicated the lives of Mormon intellectuals and exacerbated his fundamental yeoman's distrust of them. The tension between the church leader and the intellectuals did little for his philosophic image over the years in the cities of the territory or across the land. Although there has been a growing tendency to judge Brigham Young's significance in terms of his broad, pragmatic approach to spiritual and economic problems, there is a pressing need to evaluate just how much he contributed to the strong anti-intellectual tradition in Utah. In other words, at what

¹² Ray B. West, *Kingdom of the Saints: The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons* (New York: Viking Press, 1957).

point did Mormon ideas go outside the stream of modern thought to reduce its influence on American society to a minimum, and what role, if any, did Brigham Young play?

Did the Mormon leader see American society clothed in a spiritual and material inheritance that could not survive in the complex environmental and social setting of the raw frontier? It is on this intellectual side of biography that grey areas appear. Brigham Young's debt to Puritanism has not been established as carefully as one might wish. Although biographers have been quick to cast Brigham Young in unflattering shadows, the nature of the leader's preaching is not fully expounded. What precipitated the Adam-God doctrine and what were its immediate and long-range results on Mormon theology? Brigham Young's biblicism remains largely uninterpreted, both with respect to his own sweeping church reforms on the one hand and with respect to economic and social changes on the other. Granted, there are planes of conduct and thought that cannot be understood by whatever effort of biographical imagination. However, imagery that would give Brigham Young no more perception than that of a village squire who might support the Mormon church as a solid, unquestioned foundation for religious life oversimplifies his views of theology and his earthy passion for economic and social stability.

It is also taken for granted that he possessed a political intelligence of rare subtlety, capable of such spectacular and dramatic coups as the peaceful conclusion of the Utah War and the expansion of Mormon settlements during the occupation of Johnston's Army. Was there ever a real political war between Brigham Young and hostile federal officeholders, or was it a sham battle from beginning to end? Did Brigham Young attack the Gentiles only to use them? Rather than grapple with his political nemeses, did Brigham Young prefer to stab at them to avoid wrestling with the real forces of economic, political, and social change that confronted him on all sides?

It is indeed high time that we repossess the important historical truth that it was a quest for power that was the fundamental cause of Brigham Young's genius. It was this striving to maintain a heavenly, political kingdom in the Rocky Mountains that brought into sharper focus Mormon-Gentile conflict. The quest for a fortresslike isolation had a great deal to do with Brigham Young's attitudes toward those who were in a position to erode away his authority, and it helps to explain his prolonged war against internal dissenters.

Calligraphy in Brigham Young's Office

BY RONALD G. WATT

TUCKED AWAY IN SOME little-known financial volumes in the LDS church archives are examples of beautiful, handwritten title pages with fine lettering and fancy flourishes. This calligraphy is reminiscent of the manuscript illumination practiced by medieval scribes. William Appleby and Joseph M. Simmons, two of Brigham Young's clerks, were responsible for this calligraphy. Altogether, these two men, between January 7, 1851, and November 4, 1853, illuminated nine volumes, one trustee-in-trust ledger, five trustee-in-trust day books, and one tithing record book.

Of the two men, Appleby embellished seven title pages, including the first one, and he probably encouraged Simmons to illuminate the other two. A few years earlier Appleby had elaborately drawn the title page to his own journal. Done in black and blue ink, this page probably took most of his spare time in one day, since he did not start writing in the journal until the following day. The title pages he did in the president's office were never that elaborate. Appleby's journal shows that he was concerned with his readers, especially his own descendants. He expressed his testimony of the truthfulness of the church often and told about his spiritual experiences in great detail. His writing portrays an articulate man. Verbally he expresses himself very well. His work characterizes him as an artistic man who was able to plan and execute a drawing of some detail.

Appleby inscribed his first title page in the trustee-in-trust volumes on January 17, 1851. It is entitled, "Day Book B," and it has the date he began the volume, followed by the location, "G.S.L. City, State of Deseret," and ends with his initials. Daybook C has a similar but more elaborate format, but it does not give the location. The outline of the title



Daybook title page by J. W. Appleby. All title pages are courtesy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

is formed by the flowing horizontal lines which end in gentle curls. In the middle of these lines, Appleby has accented it with some short heavy vertical lines that grow longer toward the center. The eye in a quick glance sees one continuous line. The lettering is done in a cursive style and is accented with horizontal lines under each word. The "C" is almost lost in his gentle, flowing lines. He signed this page as an artist would sign a painting, framing it with curls and scrolls.

Daybooks D and E are unsigned, but they, too, were undoubtedly done by Appleby. The same curls and scrolls are there. Daybook D, however, has a more elaborate scroll in a half-circle under the identification which is the focus of the title and also accents the rather simple cursive letters above. Daybook E is even more simple and has a block "E" in the very center. On November 4, 1853, Appleby illuminated Daybook G which is reminiscent of his earlier "C" because it is almost lost in his many lines.

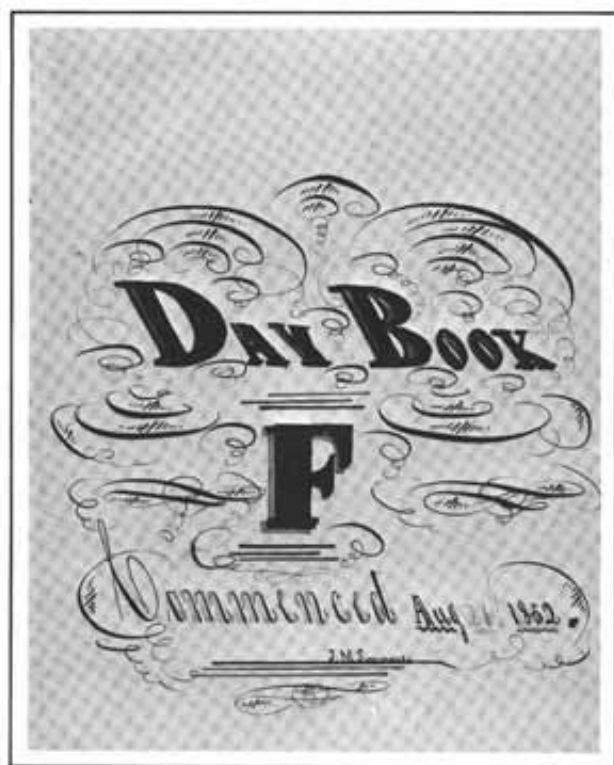
On August 24, 1852, Appleby began a new tithing record that he illuminated with scrolls and short, heavy, dark vertical lines—characteristics of Appleby's title pages. The writing shows versatility, since each word is a different style, but is unified by the dispersion of similarly treated curving lines. He accents the word "record" with varying widths

of lines. He also has flowery configurations on these wide lines, which gives a light and airy appearance. Immediately after the word "record," he puts what appears to be a small exclamation point. He slants the remainder of his cursive lettering to the left. The word "tithing," the focal point of the page, appears in big, black straight lines. Like the "record," Appleby's "No." has an airy appearance, but it is not ready to float off. The distinguishing characteristic is an arrow through the "n" with the point and feathers being easily discernible. He wrote out the location, dated it, and signed his name. Of the seven titles, this was his most superb effort.

Simmons drew the title pages for only two of the volumes: Daybook F and Ledger C. The outstanding part of the daybook page is the blockish, three-dimensional aspect of the title. Simmons has used blue and black ink to create this effect. The letters in the daybook have a leftward slant which gives the impression that those two words are lying down. The "F" is upright and is the focal point of the title. The scrolls above the title are cloudy in appearance. In fact, with only a little imagination, one can see rain and almost feel the wind that blows the water in sheets upon the soil. The "Journal History of the Church" records that on August 17, 1852—only a few days before—"There was a very boisterous wind in the night with heavy rains and vivid lightening." Only the lightning is

Record of Tithing title page by J. W. Appleby.





Daybook and Trustees Ledger title pages by J. M. Simmons.

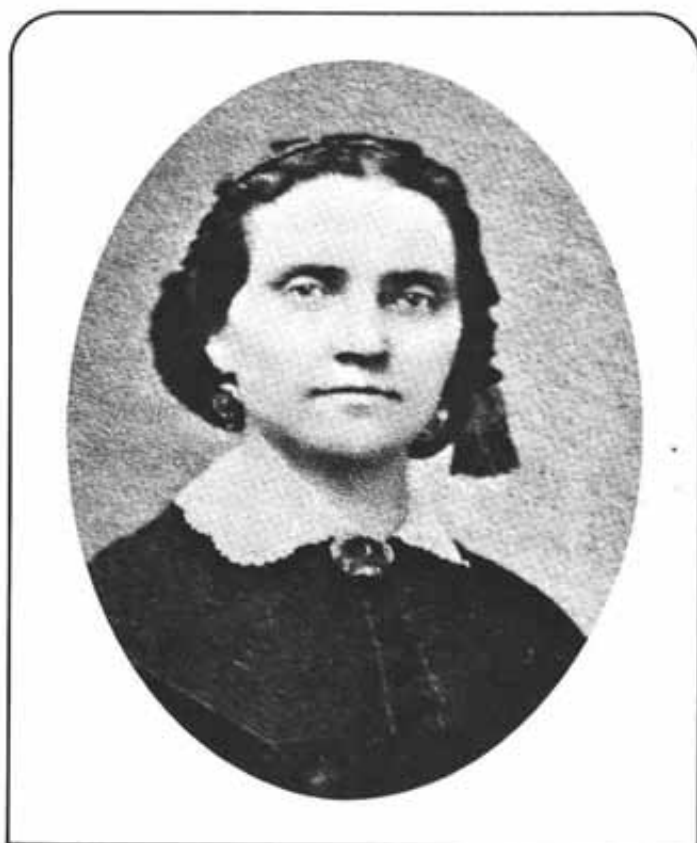
missing in Simmons's title page. He also dated it and signed it. The letters seem to be resting upon his three straight lines below each set of words which give them a sense of stability.

Ledger C is very different from Simmons's earlier drawing in the daybook. Gone are the blockish letters and in their place is substantial cursive lettering. The capital letters, especially the "T," become part of the embellishments that frame his entire title. The focal point of the title should be the name, "Trustees Ledger," but instead it is the lines that flow from that name. He has accented them in brown and red inks. This title page has the same curlicue lines as his other title page, and again he has underlined all the words. The former title page has a military appearance, whereas this title page seems to have a dramatic form. Perhaps it documents the two sides of Simmons: the Nauvoo Legion man versus the man of the theatre. As with the other title page, he has slanted the letters differently. This whole title page leaves one with, in modern terms, a psychedelic feeling, which is especially noticeable because of the motion and activity of the radiating, spiraling lines.

Some biographical information on both men may be helpful in understanding the two artists. William Appleby, born in 1811, was con-

verted to the Mormon church in 1840 in New Jersey. For the next few years, he proselytized in his hometown and the immediate area. In 1844 he journeyed to Nauvoo and met the Prophet Joseph Smith. A year later he became a high priest and presided over the LDS branches in Pennsylvania and Delaware. In 1849 he migrated with his family to Utah in the company of George A. Smith, one of the early apostles. Immediately upon his arrival he began working in the president's office, which was his main employment until he left on another mission in 1856. In that seven-year period, he was also clerk of the supreme court and first judicial courts of the territory, regent of the University of Deseret, trustee of the Utah library, and treasurer of the territory. He also executed soldiers' bounty warrants and powers of attorney. He had many duties and responsibilities, yet he still found time to illuminate seven volumes with beautifully drawn titles. Appleby's formal education of only a few years did not qualify him for positions of prominence usually reserved for the educated, but he was gifted and even taught school in his home state and served as a justice of the peace before his conversion. Very little is known about J. M. Simmons before he came to Utah in 1850. He stopped in Salt Lake City on his way to the gold mines of California and was converted to the church. Brigham Young employed him as a bookkeeper in the president's office. He spent his leisure time in two endeavors—as a member of the dramatics association and as commander of the first division of the Nauvoo Legion.

Appleby's last decorative title page was done on November 4, 1853. He probably no longer had the time, being deeply involved in civic responsibilities. His call to the Eastern States Mission ended his work in the president's office. Simmons continued to work at the president's office for some time, but he never inscribed another title page. In the late 1850s Horace K. Whitney became the tithing clerk in the president's office, and he was too businesslike to decorate title pages. There is also the possibility that during the early 1850s the clerks had an excess amount of time. Shortly after Appleby drew the last title page, Brigham Young cut down on the number of clerks in the office. Thus passed from the scene a very artistic part of the president's office, as aesthetics gave way to practicality.



*From Impulsive Girl
to Patient Wife:
Lucy Bigelow Young*

BY SUSA YOUNG GATES

*Lucy Bigelow Young ca. 1865. Utah State
Historical Society collections.*

TO BE A WIFE OF Brigham Young gave one a certain social standing in pioneer Utah, to be sure, but no guarantee of a distinctive place in the histories of that period. Eliza R. Snow made a permanent niche for herself through her organizational activities with the Relief Society and her

This manuscript was edited for publication by Miriam B. Murphy, assistant editor of *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Original spellings and punctuation have been retained.

A register of the Susa Young Gates Collection was prepared by the Utah State Historical Society in 1976. The "Lucy Bigelow Young" typescript is found in box 14, folder 5, of the collection.

cultural achievements, but she was a wife in name only. Ann Eliza Webb attained a transient notoriety with her highly publicized divorce, but, again, one does not see her as a wife. Of course, biographical sketches and stories illustrative of wifely and maternal virtue have been written about many of the church president's wives, but none has commanded a full biography, nor are their own memoirs or diaries readily available.

Susa Young Gates, the remarkable daughter of Brigham Young and Lucy Bigelow, may have felt this lack of detailed information on her father's mates and on women in general, for her manuscript collection at the Utah State Historical Society contains many pages of data on pioneer women, from handwritten notes to typed drafts. Among these is a 249-page typescript biography of her mother.

Lucy Bigelow was born on October 3, 1830, in the backwoods of Coles County, Illinois, to Nahum Bigelow and Mary Foster Gibbs. When she was seven years old her parents were converted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by two traveling missionaries. The family moved west to Mercer County, Illinois, and finally, took up temporary residence in Nauvoo in 1845. By then, Lucy was a ripening young beauty who had attracted the attention of several swains. One her parents had rejected without explanation; a second, David Ward, had died of measles before he and Lucy could complete their plans to marry.

When the Bigelows settled in Winter Quarters, Iowa, following the exodus from Nauvoo, Lucy and her older sister, Mary, were courted by a Brother Wicks who wanted them both as wives. Lucy, a lively and impetuous girl, had often remarked that she "would *never* marry a married man," and Mary did not seem inclined to accept Wicks's proposal either. So persistent was the suitor that Nahum Bigelow finally sought the counsel of Brigham Young.

At this point, the story becomes Susa's. Of necessity, many deletions have been made in order to include as great a variety of incidents in Lucy Bigelow's life as possible within a limited space. The extracts illuminate her life and shed light on Brigham Young's character as well, all, of course, from a devoted daughter's perspective.

"Pres. Young," he [Nahum Bigelow] said, "I would like your opinion of Bro. Wicks. I know he is working for you, and you are well acquainted with him. He is very anxious to get my two girls sealed to him."

"Oh," said the President, "he is, eh? Well, so far as anything I know, Brother Wicks is a very good man, but his wife is a high-strung piece."

"Well, the girls seem very backward about it, and as they are getting to a marriageable age, I am naturally quite anxious to see them married to a good man. I have never sought to influence them in their choice, but this Brother is very persistent in his appeals to me and to them, so I want the matter settled one way or another. If you say so, I will advise the girls to take this brother at once."

"I haven't said so, Bro. Bigelow. Let the matter rest awhile, and I will come up and see the girls about it before long."

It was so arranged. Before many days the President (who was not an infrequent visitor) came in, and spent the evening chatting. Knowing his especial errand, the family quietly got out of the way, leaving him a few moments alone with Mary. . . .

"I understand Bro. Wicks wishes to have you and your sister Lucy sealed to him. What are your feelings in regard to this matter? Do you want him for a husband?"

"No, sir; I don't think that I do," the girl timidly and quietly replied.

"Well, is there any one you do want? The Sisters ought to have their choice in the matter for they can choose but one. . . ."

"I don't know of any one, thank you, Pres. Young."

"Well, now then; how would you like me for a husband, Mary?"

"I can't tell, sir."

"Take your own time to think it over. And you may ask your sister Lucy the same question I have asked you. If you girls would like to be sealed to me, you can tell me whenever you are decided on the matter."

This was the simple, direct proposal of a man who had not time and less inclination to "court" young women. . . .his principles never allowed him to run after girls. When the Spirit of the Lord whispered to him that he should seek such and such a one for a wife, he did so in a quiet, manly, grave way, never with any spirit of co-ercion on his part, and always leaving as he so often expressed it: "the sparking to come after." "Marry first and spark after," was a favorite aphorism of his, and he carried it out in his own life.

This conversation occurred in the fall of 1846. Once in a while he would drop in and spend part of the evening chatting with the family. But almost always on these occasions, Lucy was out of sight.

No matter what Mary thought, Lucy had determined in her own mind that she would say, "NO!" She had resolved long ago not to be sealed in plural marriage; and certainly not to such a reserved, dignified man, old enough to be her father; (there was nearly thirty years difference in their ages), and he was already the possessor, so rumor asserted, of an unlimited number of "spiritual wives."

. . .She was a gay, impulsive girl full of frolic and fun, and as she often declared was never "going to take any care of her heart that she could not kick off with her heels."

Still whenever Mary mentioned the matter to her, she was too frightened to say No outright, but would say evasively, "I don't know."

She had hoped something would transpire to relieve her from the necessity of saying "No" to the President of the Church, but she had certainly decided not to say, "Yes." . . .

"Lucy," said Mary. . . , "President Young wants you to make up your mind now; I am to be sealed to him next week, and you, too, if you want to. So what do you say?"

"I don't know," answered the puzzled girl. "I'll tell you what it is, Mary, I don't feel as if I could marry him. He's got such lots of wives now, and it don't seem like he could ever be my husband."

So another week drifted by, and on Sunday evening, Mary and Lucy happened to be alone in the living-room, when in walked the President. . . .

"Well Lucy, have you made up your mind whether to be sealed to me or not?"

"Y-es sir," faltered the little coward; and her fate was sealed forever, thank God! . . .

So it happened. The fourteenth day of March, 1846, in the evening of that day, President Young, accompanied by Elders Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and Ezra T. Benson came down to the Bigelows, and after chatting a few moments the two girls, Mary and Lucy, stood up, and were sealed to Brigham Young for time and all eternity. Mary stood next [to] him, and after she was sealed he put her arm in his, then took Lucy's hand and she was sealed.

Nothing was known of this except to the few interested parties.

What a scene! A low-roofed log house, lit by the flaming log-fire and tallow candles, the father, mother, and elder members of the family, watching the scene with solemn, wistful eyes; the group of quiet yet striking-looking men, the tallest and handsomest of whom now stood up and took the hand of the elder girl while the younger stood close to her sister; the girls themselves clad in dark homespun, and decked only in the sweet, faint blushes of innocence. . . .

Brother Heber C. Kimball officiated, the other two acting as witnesses.

After the ceremony they all resumed their conversation, and shortly after the brethren went away. . . .

In the early spring [1848], a letter was received from Lucy's father in which he stated that Pres. Young had returned from the Rocky Mountains, after locating the Pioneer Company in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, and had been to the house, and finding Lucy gone to St. Louis had said he would rather have given the last coat off his back than to have her down there.

This letter caused the girl some anxiety. She determined to return to Winter Quarters, her mother and brother accompanying her. . . . Quite a respectable amount of supplies had been obtained, and the trip back to the father was undertaken by all three only as a visit; they all wished to return to St. Louis to earn more money.

. . . Little time elapsed before Lucy saw her husband (strange word to this girl-wife). He repeated his regrets to her, and asked her if she would not rather go to the valley with him than back to St. Louis.

"If you wish me to," she answered.

"I would much rather you would. I am very thankful to say that I have heard a very good report of you while you stayed in St. Louis, but I don't wish you to go down there again. I will make arrangements to have you go with this Company to the valley. I have just had a call on me for a heavy Church debt, which took four wagons and eight yoke of oxen. For this reason I shall have to find places among the families of some of the brethren for such of my family as I shall take this spring."

Brother Willard McMullen agreed to let the girl Lucy ride in with him and his wife: she was to work her way across the plains in part payment, as his wife was an invalid. Pres. Young furnishing a yoke of oxen and three hundred pounds of flour.

The company started in May, 1848. Lucy was thus the first of her family to cross the plains to the great Salt Sea in the desert. Mary was not very well and waited to come. . . .

Lucy's frequent companion on this long journey was a young wife of her husband whose maiden name was Ellen Rockwood. Together they walked far ahead of the teams at times, then lingered behind maybe to further explore some inviting spot along the way. . . .

Once on the trip Lucy was ill. . . .

The evening on which Lucy felt and was so ill, President Young having doubtless heard of it through Brother McMullen came to the wagon and administered to her.

The next morning, behold, she was covered with the measles and of course knew why she was ill. The prayer of her "companion" was effectual in that she was soon over them and out walking with her young friends as gay and frolicsome as ever. . . .

. . . She rested content knowing all would be well with her. One day while doing something about the wagon, Sister McMullen said to her,

"Lucy, you are going to be asked to work for Vilate Decker this winter for your board."

"Well, I won't do it, let me tell you."

Vilate Decker was the second daughter of Pres. Young by his first wife, Miriam Works Young—long since dead—and was reputed to be of a proud, haughty disposition. The girl quite made up her mind to refuse firmly to live with one so unprepossessing.

Shortly after this the President came over to the McMullen's wagon and asked for Lucy. Then he talked long and kindly to her, telling his girl-bride about the delicate health of his daughter Vilate and of his fears that she would die prematurely as her mother had done; his gentleness to herself and his solicitude for his sickly daughter, Vilate Decker, won over the warm impulsive heart and Lucy promised to go when he wished, and she learned to love Viltate Decker as if she were a sister.

Accordingly, she was soon installed in a small adobe house—the first one ever built in Utah, built by President Young himself, up near the City Creek.

This house was situated in the center of the block on which afterwards was erected the Lion House on the east and the Tithing Office on the west. It was



Locks of Brigham Young's and Lucy Bigelow's hair, a framed family memento. Utah State Historical Society collections.

small, low-roofed, with two front rooms and two tiny back rooms. Here in two of the rooms lived Vilate Decker with her husband, who was familiarly called Charlie Decker, and their one little girl, while the hired men, who worked in Charlie's saw mill, boarded here, sleeping in wagons or tents. The other two rooms comprised the front room for a kitchen, dining and sitting-room, the back-room being just large enough for the rude bedstead, occupied by two of the President's young wives, Margaret Alley and Emmeline Free. In their front room, Lucy made down at night her scanty bed. . . . Both Margaret and Emmeline had been married to President Young in the Nauvoo Temple, and were really his wives, both bearing children. . . .

Lucy lived in this house until her husband built the Log Row, as it was called . . . with seven or eight bedrooms, with doors opening on the south situated about where, a few years later, the school house was built. Here lived a number of the young wives, and Lucy shared the bedroom of Clara D., who became one of her truest and best loved friends. . . .²

Lucy was not a wife indeed until 1850, when she was settled in the Valley. . . . after the Council House was built in 1850, in Salt Lake City, the upper halls were used as a temporary Endowment House, and here Lucy was sealed over the altar. Always devout by nature, and highly sensitized to spiritual influences, she felt that now indeed she was a wife, sealed for all eternity to her good husband. . . .

Lucy's parents did not come out to Valley till 1849. . . .

. . . Lucy wrote an affectionate letter to her oldest sister Mary who was also married (in name only) to President Young.

. . . I now live with the girls in the house of Lorenzo Young's but we expect to move shortly in to the Row. Mr. Young is having the kitchen finished today. . . . I am in Claracy's (Aunt Clara Chase) and my bedroom which will be Brigham's this summer. He was just in here writing a note for Lorenzo, and he sends a part of his best love to you and a lock of his hair. . . .²

¹ Clara or Clarissa Decker was one of three women in the pioneer company of 1847.

² Lucy was at the home of Brigham's brother Lorenzo Dow Young. Susa followed the common Mormon practice of referring to a father's other wives as "aunt" as in her parenthetical note identifying Claracy—Clara Chase Ross.

(Mary Jane did not really become a wife of Brigham Young.)³

When the Bigelow family finally reached the Valley, they found a warm welcome from Lucy and her husband Brigham Young; the Bigelow family located temporarily in Davis County. . . .

Father (Brigham Young) built the Log Row to make his young wives comfortable, but he could not give them surcease from hard manual labor. Not then, at least. . . .

. . . Candle-dipping, for twenty bed-rooms, was real labor, and it took the time of several of the wives. Then there was washing, starch-making from potatoes, ironing, meals-serving, quilt-patching and quilting, darning, and knitting stockings and socks, and neck-comforters. Yes, and weaving cloth which involved wool-plucking, wool-carding, wool-coloring and spinning.

Besides all these, for quite some time, there was milking to do, night and morning. Milk for a great family with babies coming along frequently was not light work. Of course there was churning and cheese making. Women did this, as all the men and boys were building homes and putting out gardens and planting grain, going into the distant canyons for wood. . . .

Again there was soap-boiling, which was usually done in the fall, after the animals were butchered and hung up for the winter. . . .

The days hurried into weeks and weeks into months in this busy Log Row and on May 12th, 1852, Mother gave birth to her first child, a beautiful, blue eyed girl which was named Eudora Lovina. . . .

Mother's restless spirit could not lie content in bed while the other girl wives were so crowdingly busy, even if she had a new-born babe on her pillow. So when the child was five days old, up got Mother. Her bed, like all the others, was a cotton "tick" filled with straw and over it a feather-bed. The bedstead was a primitive affair with ropes stretched across on pegs in the side bars from both sides and both ends, in a double cross. This rope had sagged considerably during her occupancy, so about the first thing the foolish girl-mother did was . . . to "cord up" her bed. A task that taxed the strength of a man. . . .

The girl wives had arranged their tasks so that there was sequence and order about their daily lives. One day and one task for each hour. . . . Two of the wives showed actual organizing genius in housekeeping on this large scale, Aunt Lucy Decker and Aunt Twiss.⁴ They were later put in very responsible positions.

Meanwhile father had finished the White House on the hill where several of the wives lived at first. "Mother Young" (we called her) finally moved up there and spent the rest of her life in that fine house.⁵

Then the Beehive House was finished and at first Mother Young lived there, then moved up to the White House while that marvellous house-manager and home maker, Aunt Lucy D. went into the White House to make father a com-

³ One source claims that Mary Jane Bigelow was sent back to her parents by Brigham Young who accused her of infidelity, a charge she denied. See Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 205-6.

⁴ Lucy Ann Decker was a sister of Clarissa Decker, another of Brigham's wives. Aunt Twiss was Naamah Kendel Jenkins Carter Twiss Young, the widow of John Saunders Twiss.

⁵ Mother Young was Mary Ann Angell who married Brigham in 1834, two years after the death of his first wife, Miriam Works.



The Lion and Beehive houses with Brigham Young's office in between as they looked in the 1860s. Utah State Historical Society collections.

fortable home and a peaceful retreat. He divided his home-making time between the Beehive and Lion House.

The Lion House was a little longer in building. It was to be conducted on the communal plan, as the Log Row had been. And this Lion House was to be the home of ten girl-wives, some of them already with one or two children. . . .

The Lion House was building in 1855–6, during the so-called “grasshopper war” when the crops were badly ravaged. . . . Women and children went out with their husbands and fathers to fight these pests with brush fires and flails. All the young wives of my father gladly joined in this primitive warfare and mother was among them.

. . . The last year's grain crops (1855) were few and hoarded and grain would have to be stretched out to cover this shortage which would follow in the wake of the pioneer's new affliction. . . .

Mother's heart bled for the hungry workmen who were crowding the completion of the Lion House, and many days she carried over her share of the scanty rations of bread and skim milk, to the weakened carpenters and painters who labored all winter to finish this unique dwelling-place. . . .

Now during those earlier years, mother milked the cows for the family—eleven of them. The wives divided up their work and mother chose milking, for she loved cows, and had been raised on a farm; and cows certainly did “give down” their milk at mother's careful, skillful manipulation; she had acquired that domestic art as a little girl.

During this grasshopper war period, butter was a prized luxury, given only to invalids and small children. Mother milked, skinned the cream, and churned the butter, allowing only in her extreme conscientiousness, the skimmed milk for her personal consumption. How she yearned at times during that severe winter for just one satisfying glass of whole milk, cream and all, But she never took it!

Father knew that mother was approaching the time of her second delivery and he arranged for the boards to be laid on the floor of one of the sitting-rooms

in the Lion House, which mother chose as her bedroom on the east side of the main floor; the floor to be laid hurriedly in the first weeks of March, 1856. Here then, she moved in, just in time to be delivered of her second child, Susa or Susannah, or Susan, born March 18th, 1856. . . .

. . . When word came in the spring of 1858 that the family were to join in the Move South, as that wonderful exodus to the southern Utah Valley was called, mother was the first one of the wives ready. She found that her true and beloved sister-wife, Aunt Zina, had been advised by their husband to lead out in this family removal, in April 1858, and when the day for the start came Mother was all ready. Father had her accompany Aunt Zina. The two were packed, straw beds, feather-beds, bedding, chests, clothes, food, temporary supplies, babies and selves into one roomy wagon box—the team driven probably by Aunt Zina's son Zebulon. . . .⁶

Aunt Zina was a born leader and one may well imagine she took charge of the situation. The Bishop of Provo, then only a small village a few miles east of the Lake Utah, was full of distress when he announced to this vanguard of President Young's family that every home itself was crowded with the refugees, every barn had been commandeered while cattle found themselves also crowded in coralls and yards.

"Was there no sheltering roof, no where to go?" . . .

"Well, there's that tame bear's den, that little hut down on such and such a block."

"Let's try it." And try it they did! With the Bishop to lead, the two boys to drive the bear out and to clean out the stable refuse and the two-mother wives to cleanse and purify—with cakes of home-made soap and plenty of lye made by the wood ashes—they soon scrubbed out and cleaned everything that was scrubbable; and by nightfall, a few boards were made into a hasty bed frame, supporting the straw ticks and feather beds. . . .

It was not long before father came down and with all his family—leaving the Lion House boarded up. He himself built a long, many-roomed lumber, shanty row, where all his dear wives gathered in and made themselves cosy and comfortable. There was plenty of good corn meal, flour, potatoes, and summer vegetables and occasional fish fresh from Utah Lake. . . .

Finally, Brigham Young settled the difficulties with the United States officials, and he counselled the people to return to their homes, as he led the way with his large family. . . . Mother's brothers, Hiram and Asa, who had been located at first in Davis County, came down during the move South and they all settled in Provo. And here her own dear widowed mother Mary Gibbs Bigelow, lived around with her married children, as elderly mothers were wont to do in those pioneer days. Mother herself [Lucy] returned in the fall, to the city, but she had worked so hard plunging into the primitive tasks with her youthful dynamic energy during that hard year and especially the winter following, that she was flat on her back in the early part of the spring of 1859. She had many premature

⁶ Aunt Zina was Zina Diantha Huntington. Zebulon was a son of her first marriage to Henry B. Jacobs.



The Big Ten—the older daughters of Brigham Young's plural wives, all with similar hair styles done, perhaps, by Lucy Bigelow. Back row: Zina, Eva (Evaline), Nett (Jenette), Maime (Mary), Maria; front row: Marinda, Carlie (Caroline), Ellie, Emily, Fannie. Utah State Historical Society collections.

birth-mishaps and yet could not satisfy her noble desire to bear her share of the domestic burdens; indeed she too often overdid her share. . . .

Mother's joyous spirit responded eagerly to every invitation to help prepare clothes or to assist in arrangements for picnics in spring and summer times, or for parties and theatres in the winters; and she was often requisitioned by organizers of these frequent, but thoroughly well-regulated breaks in the dulling, gruelling round of hard pioneer labor. She loved to sew, to make clothes beautiful—measured by those primitive standards of beauty—and to add her skillful touches to personal decoration. Naturally artistic she had the artist's restraint in line, color and form, as applied to domestic or personal fittings and furnishings. She could make a dress fit the wearer's waist like a glove. She was wont to refer with some pride to her tailor's training in St. Louis before coming to the Valley.

It was because of this that she became an informal assistant to Sister Bowring,⁷ who was the excellent official costumer for the dramatic activities carried on in the winter time, twice a week in the Social Hall first and then taken over to the classic and splendid Salt Lake Theatre. . . .

Not only did Mother help with the making of costumes, but she was the domestic hair-dresser for all of father's lovely "Ten Big Girls" both for the few times they appeared in some spectacular musical dramas, in Fourth of July

⁷ Probably Mrs. Henry E. Bowring. She and her husband were very active in pioneer theatre.

processions and for parties and picnics. Not all of the girls were blessed with curly locks—father's hair was a little curly, so was mother's—but they all had long, thick, healthy hair. . . . Mother could wind those pliant strands . . . around twisted papers for the night-drying effects, and then . . . beginning long before daylight . . . Mother unrolled the separate curls, twisted and brushed them skillfully around the long slender round stick, brushing carefully each tangled recalcitrant hair into neat array, so that each girl emerged with . . . hair curled so nearly alike that one girl could not crow over another because of superior pulchritude. . . .

Mother loved dancing, and she was a graceful, stately figure on the floor, with her dainty ruffled skirts billowing about her as she danced the cotillion with father or with the boys or friends present. I have since wondered if there were not many aching, jealous hearts, under all those floating sash-ribbons, for all these leaders had numerous wives. There must have been sadness and longing! But no echoes of the inner sorrows or tragedies ever floated out into our social or domestic intercourse. . . .

Sabbath meetings, twice in the day at the Tabernacle and the evening Ward meetings, found Mother there, eager and early. While the Thursday Fast meeting was pure spiritual delight. For there, the saints poured out their testimonies, of healings, of answers to prayers and of heavenly dreams and manifestations. Mother seldom took part in these meetings, but when she did she was certainly inspired. . . .

She always took her little children with her, and tried to keep them quiet and satisfied. Her own comfortable arms could fold the little ones in her lap while the drowsy head of the older one found rest against her shoulder. If sleep did not come, the rare lump of sugar, or the bit of cracker would satisfy the restless child for some time. . . .

Morning family prayers were offered by the wives in their own sitting rooms, and always Mother observed this simple prayer-ceremony.

At times, in stress of sickness, or threatened sorrows, various of her sister-wives would invite each other into their sitting-rooms to have a little "prayer-meeting". Mother was always happy in these gatherings, for she and they saw deep into each others' hearts at such times, and their domestic crises would be averted, misunderstandings dispelled while the spirit of true charity and patience with each other and with life's cruel blows came over them like a benediction after prayer. Aunt Eliza R. Snow was the acknowledged spiritual leader of the household and Mother almost worshipped her. . . .

In 1862, mother went down to father's farm house which was later called the Forest Farm, to take care of the men who worked there and to make cheese and butter for the family in the Lion House. Mother was a splendid milker. . . . That might have been one reason why father arranged for her to go to the farm. She loved churning and cheese-making, yet by this time, men did the milking.

Dora, who was ten years old was left with Aunt Twiss in the Lion House, so as to keep on with her school, during the year and half mother was on the farm. But she took little Susa with her. She was six. . . .



Forest Farm in Salt Lake City. Utah State Historical Society collections.

There were two log houses, one the cook house and dining room, separated by a roofed-in passage way from the milk and cheese house, and there was a chamber above which was mother's bed-room. The men slept in tents and wagon boxes. . . .

Chariton Jacobs, Aunt Zina's "broth of a boy", lived there during the summers, and his constant practical jokes, his brilliant wit and gay turns for every labor of the day, made life one laughing delight. . . .⁸

One day he came up to the house, half-grown boy that he was, without anything on, apparently, but his shirt, making frantic efforts to pull his shirt tail down to cover the upper part of his bare legs. He ran about in great apparent distress while mother scolded him for his indecency and insisted upon his going and putting on his pants. Of course his pants were on and rolled up under his shirt, as she subsequently learned when he chose to pull them down. . . .

One of the men engaged at work down there was Charlie ———, a six foot German soldier whose iron will would master anything, either human or animal, or destroy the opposer if he could. One day, there was a tremendous uproar in the corall of horses. Too frightened to go near the awful scene Mother could yet see between the boards that Charlie was whipping a horse with brutal ferocity. The horse screamed and pawed the air in vicious protest. Mother was wretchedly upset over the whole affair and she must have said something to father for Charlie left the Farm and he certainly never handled horses for father again.

⁸ Chariton Jacobs was another of Zina D. Young's sons by her first husband.

. . . Mother, who found herself pregnant in the Winter of 1863, came back to the Lion House and Aunt Susan Snively went down to care for the farm house. . . .⁹

. . . Mother named her [new baby born February 22, 1863] Rhoda Mabel. Rhoda after father's sister, Rhoda Young, and Mabel to please Dora who always had a romantic taste. . . .

Mother was completely absorbed for the next year or two, 1863-65 with her baby Mabel and little girls. . . .

Meanwhile, mother was very desirous to give her children all the educational advantages so generously offered by father to all his family. There was the regular school, of course, but father had also engaged the services of a good French teacher, Mons. Bellereve, as well as a shorthand professor, Bro. David Evans, and music teachers, several of them, to give lessons to any and all of his children who cared to avail themselves of this privilege.

When the school house was built in about 1862, the large school room on the northwest side of the basement floor of the Lion House was turned over to Mother's care. Here the young people gathered occasionally to parch or pop corn and to make molasses candy. Mother took excellent care of this room, and she sometimes utilized the small room cut off from it as a temporary bedroom for her mother or her other relatives who often visited her.

Music was a very [important] part of all the Young family life. . . . It was, therefore, not surprising that Mother, who loved music in all its forms of expression, should take advantage of the many opportunities offered and should take music lessons. . . .

Mother's ambition for higher educational opportunities here found an outlet. She not only took music lessons, she began to teach music to some of the children in the associated families of the Kimballs, Whitneys and Wells. Dora followed suit. . . . Father discovered what they were doing, trying to earn and save money to buy an organ of their own and so he at once came to their assistance, not robbing them of the eagerly sought joy of an earned possession, but just adding enough to their savings to put the organ at once within their reach. . . .

Every available hour for some months thereafter saw mother or Dora at the organ practicing or giving lessons. Among mother's pupils was the handsome and brilliant Orson Whitney, young son of mother's dearest . . . friends outside the family, Helen Mar Whitney, the poetess, author and wife of Horace Whitney, himself a musician and a member of the Salt Lake Theater orchestra. . . .

Another great domestic pleasure entered into Mother's life at this period—she and her sister-wives each came into possession of a Wheeler and Wilcox sewing machine. Oh, the joy of that magic supplanter of the needle and thimble. . . .

Mother had her regular seats at the Salt Lake Theatre, her own seat down in the two center benches in the parquet which were reserved for father's wives, her little daughters' seats on the east side just outside and below the first gallery. Mother sewed the first big stage carpet and made the curtains for the roomy comfortable Green Room.

⁹Brigham's wife Susan Snively lived at Forest Farm in the Sugar House area of Salt Lake City for many years.

She went frequently to the Theatre, witnessing the first nights, usually Mondays, of the play, which sometimes ran through the week; occasionally she went twice or three times a week. She still helped Sister Bowring with costumes and helped make dresses for the star performers, especially if it should be one of father's daughters, in our home companies. . . .

Father was always solicitous to save his wives extra steps, unnecessary labor. Every new machine, domestic gadget . . . father bought. . . . About the year 1868, knitting machines found their way west and father bought a number of them and installed them in one of the Lion House rooms. He thought his dear wives would be glad to throw away their knitting-needles. . . .

Who wanted to tinker with the complicated popping keys and threads on those treadle contraptions? One after another refused; but when he asked Mother, she flew to the task, and he allowed her to hire three emigrant sisters, Fannie, Carrie, and Sarah Linnell, who helped her to set up a real domestic knitting factory in the Lion House. . . . Stockings were whizzed off, socks ticked on, comforters slid through the noisy machines, and the foundation stones of our present Utah knitting factories were laid in that happy, busy sitting-room.

How Mother enjoyed it all. For she made father happy, helped her dear sister-wives with one serious domestic problem, and she rejoiced in her triumph over one of life's small obstacles. . . .

About the year 1867 or 8, Mother undertook a new responsibility; she adopted a quarter-cast East Indian child, who was the same age as Mabel. The child was a grand-daughter of Sister MacMahon, a full-blooded East Indian woman of the upper classes who had married a British officer. . . .

. . . After her grandmother's death, Ina came up to the Lion House and Mabel and she were raised like twin sisters. . . . Ina . . . married a son of James Jack, father's trusted private clerk, and she died at the early age of nineteen years old. . . .

Dora began to be a problem. She fell in love with a handsome young man, Frank Morely Dunford, industrious he was, with a sunny disposition—whose parents and people were converts to the Gospel—but he too inherited or developed a deadly weakness of will and lack of self-control. He drank.¹⁰

Father tried to break up the affair by sending Dora down to the Utah University branch school in Provo. . . . No use! She returned more in love than ever. . . .

Father finally suggested to mother that he would move her and her family down to St. George, where he wished to spend his winter, as he purposed building a Temple in this far-away town in the semi-tropical vallies below the Rim of the Rocky Mountain Basin. This, then, would also remove Dora from temptation. No use!

On October 3rd, 1870, Mother's birthday, just before time to start for St. George, Dora slipped out of a party in the school house, met the young man, Morely Dunford, and was secretly married.

¹⁰ Dora and Frank Morley Dunford were married by a Presbyterian minister, according to Gates, "Lucy Bigelow Young," p. 72. Dora's second husband, Judge Albert Hagen, was a Catholic. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 158.



Brigham Young's home in St. George where Lucy Bigelow lived is no longer standing. Utah State Historical Society collections.

Dora had two fine, gifted sons by that marriage. She married [again] afterwards—Morely died. . . .

Knowing that Mother was about to open a new home in St. George, father arranged for her and Susa to take practical instruction in bread and cake-making, and in candy-making at the newly established Golightly Bakery. . . .

. . . When we arrived in St. George, Mother found she had a charming house, in old New England style with a wide front porch, long windows in the front opening right onto the porch, a parlor, dining-room, roomy pantry and kitchen, with back porch, one down-stairs bedroom, and three upstairs. Big barn, corrals, a fine garden, fruit trees, grape vines. . . .

Mother, shut off from personal household problems for fifteen years, gladly took up her new domestic responsibilities and made father and his friends, both comfortable and happy. She was a natural born cook, and father had supplied her with every pioneer luxury, as he did all his families. . . .

Father bought the house and large lot from Brother Joseph Birch, and Mother was delighted with everything about the place except the water-soaked cellar. Father also secured the services of a fine English gardener, Brother Samuel Gould, to take charge of the flowers, and fruit trees and vines. But Mother insisted on milking her own cows and attending to the chickens and turkeys. . . .

During that winter, the children slept on the floor, as the house was crowded. Brigham Jr. and wife, Lizzie Fenten Young had the large upper bed-room, father and mother the lower one, the hired girls and hired men occupied the other two. . . .

Then when spring time came, Mother went out and helped Sammy Gould in the garden. She had no need to do that, but she loved growing things. And out of the store-house of her memory she drew all the New England traditions—and superstitions—about when to plant so as to catch the right time of the moon—



Lucy Bigelow Young's three daughters: Dora, Susa, and Mabel. Utah State Historical Society collections.

as well as the exact spaces apart for carrot seeds to be planted, and onion sprouts to be set. . . .

. . . Father decided to relieve Mother—whose health became uncertain at her age—of the strenuous load of toil which himself, his drivers, clerks and many friends and visitors imposed upon her willing yet unequal shoulders.

He would build another house. Larger, with an office and extra large barn, garden and vineyard. He bought a lot one block north, opposite Dr. [Israel] Ivins[s]'s home, and here he set workmen to erect a new house. Mother must not be deprived of her home, but he would bring Aunt Amelia¹¹ next winter and some good help with her, to care for him in the new House when he came, and there to entertain his many guests. . . .

It would be impossible to deny that mother's heart twisted with sorrow at the thought of her dear husband coming down to spend his winters in another wife's home. She was human—she was a woman—and what have you? But she was also a saint, and a converted Latter-day Saint, so she knew the principle of celestial and of plural marriage was true, and she had long ago learned her lessons. So, she just quietly made up her mind to meet the situation with her customary sweet patience and faith. . . .

Susa was married in December, 1872 to a cousin of Dora's husband, and he too drank and the marriage was a most unfortunate one, only that it gave Susa two fine children. . . .¹²

¹¹ Harriet Amelia Folsom.

¹² Susa's first husband was Alma Dunford, a dentist.

Both her married daughters settled in Salt Lake City. . . .

. . . Grandmother [Bigelow] spend that winter [1874-75] with Mother. Father was very solicitous over his children, especially his daughters. In June [1875] father wrote Mother as follows:

Dora and Susa expect to be sick in August, and if you would like to come here and bring Mabel with you and stay during their sickness, I will be much pleased to have you do so.

Please look out and make arrangements for coming up with some of the brethren who are coming here after goods or on business.

Leave your Mother to take charge of the house and things. . . .

Mother came up to the City, and nursed both her daughters in their confinement, remaining till fall with them. Susa moved to St. George that fall. . . .

Father's birthday came on the 1st of June [1876], and he was 75 yrs. old that day. Consequently, the good people of St. George arranged a public celebration in the new Tabernacle, with music, speeches and remarks by father. Susa gave an original address, much to Mother's delight. A dinner followed at the home of a very good and very stupid leading man . . . to which only men over seventy were invited. None of father's family had been included, and when father found that out he looked quizzically over the table full of old men, and remarked: "You will excuse me. I am going home to my family. You have invited all the living tombstones in the country to remind me that I have one foot in the grave; so let them enjoy themselves. I'm going home."

For Mother and Aunt Eliza B.¹³ had entered into a little conspiracy. They had cooked a bounteous chicken dinner for all the family and the associate helpers, which father may have suspected. Anyway, when he drove up to the gate, he was met by a procession of six little girls headed by . . . twelve year old Mabel; the girls all had baskets of roses, which they strewed in his path as they sang an original song composed for the occasion. There were tears in Father's eyes as he patted the children's heads. And what a gorgeous dinner Mother had cooked. That was a birthday Mother never forgot. It was the last one of father's in which she ever shared. For his end was approaching. . . .

The month of December was spent by Mother in assisting the other appointed sisters in arranging the inner drapes and curtains for the various rooms and halls of the great [temple] building. It was to be dedicated on New Years' Day, 1877.

Dora had left her husband, and was now in St. George with Mother and her sisters Susa and Mabel, so that the blessing of restored peace rested over Mother's home. Now the great spiritual climax of Mother's life was upon her.

. . . Mother was appointed to act as President of the Sister-Workers in the Temple. Imagine if you can, the joy and divine gratitude which sang in her soul!

Then, too, both Dora and Susa were chosen to act among the corps of ordinance workers. Susa was both Assistant Recorder and ordinance worker. No wonder Mother felt as if she were having a foretaste of heaven! She had never been a public worker, much less a leader, among the Latter Day Saint women,

¹³ Eliza Burgess.



An early photograph of the St. George Temple by Charles R. Savage. Utah State Historical Society collections.

such as were her sister-wives, the great-souled Eliza R. Snow, and the noble Zina D. H. Young. Nor had she ever aspired to leadership. But she was qualified for her new position as subsequent events proved.

Early on New Years day, 1877, a great concourse of people, over ten thousand it was estimated, filled the great square in the center of which rose the beautiful white Temple, ready for its preliminary dedication. Mother drove down with father, in early time, and the people made a pathway for them to pass from the outer gates of the grounds, and they entered the Temple together. Father went into his office, and Mother went to attend to her especial duties. . . .

The general April Conference of the Church was appointed to be held in St. George, April 6, 7, and 8th, in connection with the formal dedication of the Temple. . . .

Here Mother partook of the "feast" of spiritual gifts which was poured out to the Saints on that occasion. Her future life on the earth, for she was then just forty-seven years old, lay along true spiritual lines. This was emphasized for her when she had her last—her very last—visit with father, in St. George. . . . He was to start for Salt Lake the next morning and he was solicitous to learn if she had everything for her comfort and well being. . . .

Suddenly, in the last week in August the telegraph brought word . . . that President Brigham Young was stricken with mortal illness. . . .

Mother and Mabel—Susa was in the north—left St. George . . . traveling under President Woodruff's direction and care. They left Wednesday morning in a buckboard, wired ahead for change of conveyance, horses and drivers, travelled all night, reached Milford and the railroad Saturday night, and Salt Lake City Sunday morning just one hour before the services. . . .

The will left Mother, (as well as all her sister wives) amply provided for, each with a home of her own, and a comfortable income. . . .¹⁴

Dora married again. Susa became a grass-widow [divorced] in 1878, and then she married Jacob F. Gates, their neighbor's son, in January 1st, 1880. That indeed was a blessed union! And Mabel married. . . .¹⁵

. . . Finally, encouraged by Susa, who then lived near her in St. George, and whose interest in all phases of Temple work was almost comparable with Mother's—Mother decided to go east in the summer of 1880, and meet her relatives to get help from them and from their records. She was always thrifty, and had quite a sum she had set aside from her liberal income for the past three years. . . .

Never had she been out of the territory since she crossed the Plains in 1848. . . . She reached her destination, got considerable genealogical information, visited with her relatives, saw great cities for the first time in her life—she was then fifty years old. . . .

The remainder of Lucy Bigelow Young's life was filled by her family and church obligations and travel. She stayed with her daughters when their children were born and when illness or domestic difficulties required her care and counsel.¹⁶ The dedication of the temples in Manti, Logan, and Salt Lake City found her among the prominent participants. She traveled with her daughters and grandchildren to Hawaii and to Europe. And she supervised the building of her home in Salt Lake City. During her seventy-fifth year, on February 3, 1905, she died of pneumonia.



Lucy Bigelow Young by a New York photographer. Utah State Historical Society collections.

¹⁴ Twenty years after her husband's death, Lucy Bigelow, in a long letter to Susa, said that of Brigham Young's seventeen wives she had been left in the worst circumstances, with no property in Salt Lake City, "and my only home in that far-off Dixie land of heat and sand with only that tumbling down old house . . . got off onto your father for a debt . . . with water pouring into the cellars . . . ruining the already good-for-nothing foundation. . . ." Gates, "Lucy Bigelow Young," p. 167.

¹⁵ Mabel married Dan MacAllister, and later, Joseph A. Sanborn who was not a Mormon. Gates, "Lucy Bigelow Young," pp. 124, 160.

¹⁶ At times Lucy's cares weighed heavily on her as she revealed in her letter of November 8, 1897, in Gates, "Lucy Bigelow Young," pp. 166–68. She did not like her home in St. George, she had had to go underground for a time when federal deputies sought her as a witness in the John H. Miles polygamy case, and she felt responsible for two of her daughters' marrying outside the Mormon faith. In a moving closing thought, she wrote: "Therefore, with a broken heart I resolved to double my diligence in doing all the good that I possibly could, both for the living and the dead, also for Jew, or Gentile, black or white, bound or free, Saint or Apostate. As I could see now, that I had been, altogether too exclusive in my feelings. . . ."



Promoting Railroads and Statehood: John W. Young

BY CHARLES L. KELLER

*John W. Young. Utah State Historical
Society collections.*

UTAH TERRITORY TRAVELED a long, cobblestone road in its quest for statehood. Sometimes the road meandered, but in retrospect its goal was predestined and all deviations served some useful, if not obvious, purpose. Similarly, each cobblestone represented an individual, a group of indi-

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John W. Young's home in Salt Lake City, lower left, was on First South between State Street and Second East. The church is Saint Mary Magdalene, the first Catholic church in Utah. Utah State Historical Society collections.

viduals, or an organization that somehow contributed a part, however small, toward the final goal. One such organization was a small railroad company in Salt Lake City, a company whose purpose was far removed from the lofty ideal of statehood but whose existence, however nebulous, gave one man the impetus to make his significant contribution.

The railroad was the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway Company, formed in September 1883 to provide its parent company, the Salt Lake Rock Company, with a means of transporting building stone from the company's sandstone quarries in Red Butte and Emigration canyons to Salt Lake City. The latter company had been formed one year earlier when the brothers LeGrand and Seymour B. Young, nephews of Brigham Young, pooled their accumulated land holdings east of the city and gathered a small group of associates into the enterprise. LeGrand Young became president of the new company while his law partner, Parley L. Williams, became vice-president and his cousin, Brigham Young's son Alfales, was elected secretary and treasurer. The board of directors consisted of these three officers and Seymour B. Young, William W. Riter, and James Sharp. These same men, joined by John Sharp, Jr., J. Fewson

Smith, and James T. Little, appeared as incorporators of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway Company when its articles of association were filed on September 15, 1883. W. W. Riter was elected president, probably in recognition of his past experience in railroad building and management. During the summer preceding the incorporation, Smith and his partner, Abram F. Doremus, had surveyed both the rock lands and the route of the proposed railroad from the city to the quarries. That route was disclosed on December 10 when the city council was petitioned for a right-of-way over city streets. The narrow gauge railroad was to start at the Utah Central depot on the west side of the city and run east on North Temple, up City Creek Canyon, by switchback along the steep eastern slope of that canyon, and along present Fourth Avenue toward the eastern limits of the city and the Fort Douglas Military Reservation.

In 1883 Salt Lake City was not heavily populated, but the right-of-way requested ran through some of the more popular residential sections. The reaction was immediate. Within a few days of the city council meeting residents of the Eighteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first wards rallied to oppose the petition. On the day after Christmas a formal protest, signed by five hundred residents and headed by LDS Apostle Albert Carrington, was submitted to the city council. At a time when there was little separation between church and state and when the city council was little more than an extension of church rule, the opposition of Apostle Carrington to the railroad company's petition, the five hundred additional names notwithstanding, was as good as a formal rejection. William W. Riter found himself in an embarrassing position; not only was he one of the railroad company's incorporators and its president, but he was also a member of the city council. When faced with the protest he immediately withdrew the petition and moved that the wishes of the protestors be granted. The blow was crippling. The company lost its surveyed route, and the incorporators were so disheartened that the organization crumbled.

On May 6, 1884, the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway Company was reorganized. All the former directors, save LeGrand Young, resigned and were replaced by a new board headed by John W. Young, a cousin of LeGrand and the third son of Brigham Young and Mary Ann Angell. A veteran railroad builder, he had handled much of the Union Pacific grading contract through Echo and Weber canyons; formed the Salt Lake City Railroad and built the first lines of that mule-powered street railway; served as secretary and, later, treasurer of the Utah Central Railroad; founded and built the Utah Northern Railroad from

Ogden to Franklin, Idaho; and acted as president of the Utah Western Railway, building it from Salt Lake City westward into Tooele County. He had also played various smaller roles in other Utah railroads and most recently had served as a grading contractor for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in Arizona Territory.

Immediately upon taking control of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, John W. Young set out to accomplish what his predecessors had failed to do: secure a right-of-way across the city to Fort Douglas and the rock quarries. He met with little success at first. His request for a route high on the north bench of the city fell into disfavor because it crossed the city cemetery grounds. A proposed route along Second South was rejected because a franchise had already been issued for a cable tramway on that street. When residents objected to his steam railroad on city streets, he proposed to run a horse-drawn railway through the city and a steam-powered railway on both the east and west sides of the population center, with connections between the two around the south side of the city. Perhaps out of admiration for his untiring determination, the city council helped him outline a route that would be acceptable to all sides. In the face of minor public opposition, the council drafted a franchise that was signed on September 23, 1884. The railway company had finally secured a right-of-way between the city and Fort Douglas.¹

With a right-of-way across the city won, John W., as he was commonly called, needed only to obtain an additional right-of-way across Fort Douglas to reach the quarries. With his goal in sight he approached the military authorities only to find them insisting that such grants had to come from Washington.² Recognizing that a long time might pass before he could build across the reservation, Young looked for an alternate destination to keep his road going. He settled on the farming communities and the meagre lumber, mining, and paper industries in and around Big Cottonwood Canyon.

Young reorganized the railway company with the new articles of association naming not only the Red Butte Canyon rock quarries but also

¹ "Franchise to Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway Company," September 23, 1884, in *The Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City, Utah . . . 1892* (Salt Lake City, 1893), pp. 332-38. The railroad was to begin at the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad tracks where they crossed Eighth South, run east along Eighth South to Seventh East, south one block, and then east again on Ninth South. At Tenth East the route turned north along a loosely defined path to approximately First South and Thirteenth East. From that point it was to go "north, east and south by the most feasible grade to the line of the Fort Douglas Reservation."

² A year earlier, Gen. Joseph McCook had allowed the original incorporators of the company to survey and drive stakes on the reservation but had noted that since the fort's water supply came from Red Butte, Congress was unlikely to allow construction in the canyon. *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 14, 1884.

the mouth of Big Cottonwood Canyon as terminal points. A mortgage and bond issue were prepared to raise money to construct the road, but one week later the council rejected the request for a right-of-way needed for the Cottonwood branch. The year ended with Young traveling east to raise money for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas, a railroad with two destinations but no way to get to either of them.³

In the East, John W. found that the unstable Utah situation made investors reluctant to commit their money in that territory. Those were the years when federal officials were tightening the clamps on Mormon society. Prosecuting under the Edmunds Act of 1882, they quickly filled the penitentiary with presumed polygamists who were found guilty of the lesser charge of unlawful cohabitation. Through a liberal interpretation of the act, they barred not only polygamists but all believing in polygamy or in the doctrine in general from serving on a jury. Avoiding arrest seemed the only course to many polygamists, and soon much of the male population disappeared on missions out of the territory or simply went into hiding. The businesses they left behind began to founder, causing a general economic slump. These matters were, of course, well publicized in the East, and investors became wary of any securities from Utah Territory. Unable to raise the necessary construction funds, John W. returned to Utah in September 1885, bringing with him Mr. and Mrs. William Barclay and a Mr. Finlay, visitors from England and prospective investors in the railroad. Barclay was a member of Parliament and a long-time friend of John W. Young. He looked over the right-of-way and prospects of the new railroad but declined, for the time, to attempt to place the railroad's bonds in England, again because of the Utah situation.

While in Utah, Young felt the pressures placed upon his Mormon brethren. Fearing arrest himself, he moved carefully and often under cover of darkness. He later claimed that "the constant watching and anxiety in evading those hounds who seemed on every corner waiting for us" had affected his health so that he suffered an incapacitating illness for more than a month after returning to New York.⁴ But he had suffered a humiliation that undoubtedly had a greater effect upon his health than

³ Articles of Association, Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway Company, December 2, 1884, in State of Utah, Secretary of State, corporation files, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City. The right-of-way sought for the Cottonwood branch was along the banks of the Salt Lake and Jordan Canal which flowed north from Jordan River Narrows and easterly, meeting the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad's city right-of-way at Eighth South and Tenth East.

⁴ Young to F. D. Richards, February 12, 1886, John W. Young Papers, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Young had five wives.

the need to evade the U.S. marshal. On the evening of November 7, 1885, John W. Young had been called before the Quorum of Twelve Apostles for an investigation of his actions and conduct.

This was not the first such examination; for years church elders had frowned upon his activities. As a son of his famous father, he might have been expected to hold high positions within the Mormon church and to spend his life in works of ecclesiastic calling. This would have been so had his father, who had ordained him an apostle in 1864, had his way, but John W. found the world of business to hold a far greater appeal. He served missions to the eastern United States and Great Britain where he made many business acquaintances that served him well in later years. He was sustained as president of the Salt Lake Stake in 1868, when twenty-four years of age, and held that position for six years. During that time he subcontracted much of the Union Pacific grading and became involved in other major railroad endeavors. His business enterprises left him little time for his stake president's duties. At his own request he was relieved of those responsibilities.⁵

Although his father constantly encouraged him to set aside his businesses and dedicate himself to church work, John W. always seemed to have one more job to finish. In December 1874, for example, his brother Brigham Young, Jr., was sent on a special mission to the East, a mission that had little purpose other than to bring John W. back home.



*Brigham Young at age sixty-five.
Utah State Historical Society
collections.*

⁵ A short biography of John W. Young is found in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1974), pp. 91-95.

He was at that time attempting to place Utah Western Railroad bonds in order to have sufficient money to pay the year-end interest on the remaining outstanding bonds, interest that finally was paid by a loan from his father to speed his return. But still he could not force himself away from business. When George A. Smith, first counselor to Brigham Young, died in 1876, John W. Young was chosen and sustained to replace him as first counselor in the First Presidency. This high appointment was made over the objections of some of the apostles; Joseph F. Smith, for one, thought Brigham, Jr., to be a much better choice and said so. But President Young reportedly shook his finger at Smith and said, "I have got Brigham and I have got you and I want John W."⁶ Although John W. devoted himself to his new church duties, the call of the Utah Western continued to beckon. So Brigham Young took over the railroad, assuming all debts and responsibilities but in reality having no interest in it, only in his son's release from its business pressures. Shortly thereafter Brigham Young died, leaving an estate in which his personal and church affairs were entwined, with both encumbered by the debts of an insolvent railroad.

When the new First Presidency was formed around John Taylor, it had to face the enigma of John W. Young. Although it might have wished to ignore him, it could not. He was sustained as a counselor to the Twelve Apostles and sent on various short missions to southern Utah and northern Arizona. In the winter of 1879 the settlers in northern Arizona faced a critical shortage of flour and other provisions. In an attempt to help them John W. Young and Jesse N. Smith contracted to grade five miles of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad crossing the continental divide not far from the Mormon settlements. This brought welcome relief to the settlers, but it also gave John W. a reminder of the world of business he loved. He fell back into old habits and soon contracted for a hundred miles of A and P grading in his own name, despite orders from Salt Lake City that all work should be managed by a committee including himself and Jesse N. Smith. He employed Mormon settlers when possible, paid them in time checks, and spent much of the money derived from the contract to purchase railroad lands that he then sold back to the settlers if he could. This earned him a call back to Salt Lake City to explain his actions before the Twelve. At that investigation, the apostles satisfied themselves that John W.'s intentions were proper and that "he manifested a desire to magnify his calling." At the April 1883 church conference John Taylor himself remarked about his worldly associate:

⁶ Charles W. Nibley, *Reminiscences, 1849-1931* (Salt Lake City, 1934).

There are many traits in Bro. John W. Young's character that I admire very much, and then again, there are things which exhibit the weakness of human nature. My feelings are, however, akin to the advice given to a certain husband respecting his wife, namely—"Be to her faults a little blind, and to her virtues very kind." That feeling I wish to cherish, and especially so towards our Bro. John W.⁷

Taylor's remarks did not silence disapproval of John W. Some of the brethren were especially critical of his promoting yet another business. Apostle Heber J. Grant wrote, "the minute it turns up that he is selling bonds for 750.00 [*sic*] on a road that has not been built I shall move to drop the gent and nothing short of a direct command from the First Presidency shall cause me to vote to sustain him."⁸

On November 7, 1885, when he was called before the Twelve, his brother Brigham, Jr., himself an apostle, delivered a long and impassioned oration calling on John W. to step into line or he would inevitably lose his standing in the church. A motion was made that he be dropped. This was no mere threat, for only the day before the Twelve had excommunicated one of their number, Apostle Albert Carrington, for lascivious conduct. John W., however, convinced the brethren that "he really did intend in the future to do the will of his Heavenly Father," and the motion to drop him was withdrawn.⁹

That John W. Young chose to make his contribution to the church in the arena where he felt most comfortable and best equipped is not surprising. Even before he was called before the Twelve he had decided on a course of action. Since he was unable to place his Salt Lake and Fort Douglas securities because of the situation in Utah, he wanted to work toward improving that situation, either through gaining relief from the prosecutions of federal authorities or by obtaining self-rule for Utah through statehood.

⁷ *Millennial Star*, May 28, 1883.

⁸ Grant to Lt. R. W. Young, June 15, 1885, Heber J. Grant Papers, LDS Archives.

⁹ Grant to J. F. Smith, November 6, 1885; Grant to Lt. R. W. Young, November 12, 1885, LDS Archives.



Brigham Young, Jr. Utah State Historical Society collections.

The idea of securing relief from prosecutions under the Edmunds Act by gaining statehood was not original with John W. Many attempts at statehood had been made in the past, the most recent in 1882, but all had been unsuccessful. Never before, however, had the need and desire for the benefits of statehood been so critical. When Grover Cleveland was elected president in 1884, Brigham Young, Jr., and Charles W. Penrose were sent east to visit the president-elect and to explore the statehood possibilities. They managed to gain an interview, but in the hectic days preceding the new president's inauguration they accomplished little. Other prominent Utahns in Washington lacked the time to devote to the statehood drive. Delegate John T. Caine's commitments in Congress precluded his active lobbying for statehood, and church attorney Franklin S. Richards had to devote his primary energies toward arguing cases before the Supreme Court. With no one actively covering the Washington scene it was inevitable that John W. Young's suggestions for his personal involvement would be accepted by the First Presidency. He was, after all, at home in New York and Washington, knew many influential men, had a flair for meeting and impressing people, and was able to convince others to do things, often against their better judgment, as many investors in his railroads well knew.

When John W. returned to New York he began working toward his new goal. He helped to get suitable men appointed to congressional committees on the judiciary and the territories, winning praise from Delegate Caine who told George Q. Cannon that John W. was "doing all the good [he] could in the circles in which [he] moved, among leading business men."¹⁰ On another front, John W. attempted to counter newspaper sensationalism by speaking to his business acquaintances, refuting charges brought against the Mormons and explaining what he thought to be the facts. In this latter endeavor he worked as a businessman and a railroad builder rather than as a missionary or lobbyist. "Business," he wrote to Apostle Franklin D. Richards, "only forms the veil to cover my real objects, which, if left too open, would scare away those to whom I now apply. . . ."¹¹

John W. was well known among businessmen; they recognized him as a Utah Mormon, and most of them knew him to be a polygamist, but his personality was such that that remained secondary. To keep matters that way, he continued to promote the railroad. And so the Salt Lake

¹⁰ Caine to Young, December 28, 1885, John W. Young Papers.

¹¹ February 12, 1886, John W. Young Papers.

and Fort Douglas Railway began to make its contribution toward Utah statehood, not, however, without some little benefit to itself.

In 1885 Young attempted without success to obtain permission from the War Department to cross Fort Douglas with his railroad. As Gen. Joseph McCook had insisted years before, such permission had to come from Congress. Young then set his sights on Congress, and on the first day of March 1886 Republican Lewis E. Payson of Illinois introduced a bill in the House granting the right-of-way the railroad needed.¹²

John W.'s new role in the statehood struggle was not too apparent back in Salt Lake City where citizens were protesting the impassable roads created by tracklaying for the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas. In reaction the city council ordered the marshal to enforce the terms of the franchise that called for the railway company to grade the streets along its track. When company secretary Arthur Stayner pleaded a lack of funds, the city council adopted a resolution giving the company another sixty days to repair the streets or forfeit the franchise. Then on the motion of Councilman John W. Taylor, an apostle and son of President John Taylor, the resolution was reconsidered and tabled. Complaints continued but no further action was taken.¹³

John W. spent most of 1886 trying to prevent the new Edmunds bill, which had passed the Senate in January, from coming up in the House. It was generally conceded that if it came to a vote the House would pass it. The bill was delayed many months in the House Judiciary Committee where Chairman John Randolph Tucker rewrote it and held hearings on it. The Tucker version turned out to be even more severe than the Edmunds bill it modified, and suddenly it became obvious that the time for stalling had ended.

Franklin S. Richards later wrote of these events that "having entertained in some degree what would be acceptable to the Administration before the Tucker Bill came up in the House, as a last resort, I formulated at the request of Bro. John W. Young, the Scott amendment. . . ." ¹⁴ Named for Democratic Congressman William L. Scott of

¹² U.S., Congress, House, *Congressional Record*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1885-86, p. 1908.

¹³ The franchise required construction to begin within ninety days of issuance and to be completed within nine months. Work had begun almost immediately on Eighth South but ended after about three miles of grading. Rails had arrived in February 1885 and lay stacked along Eighth South by the Rio Grande tracks until November when tracklaying began. With two and one-half miles of track down, all construction had stopped, leaving the streets nearly impassable. Reports of the city council actions, or lack of, were published in *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 31, 1886; *Salt Lake Herald*, March 31, 1886.

¹⁴ Richards to J. F. Smith, May 3, 1887, Franklin S. Richards Letterbook, 1886-90, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.



An active member of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, John W. Young was one of the instigators of the Utah Palace Exposition Car that traveled to dozens of cities outside Utah in the late 1880s to present a more positive image of Utah. Utah State Historical Society collections.

Pennsylvania who attempted to introduce it, the amendment provided for a six-month delay between passage and enforcement of the Tucker Act during which time the people of Utah were to adopt a constitution prohibiting polygamy. The move came too late. Richards carried the amendment to Salt Lake City to allow church authorities to approve its measures, but the debate it precipitated dragged on for many weeks.

Meanwhile, Congressman Tucker had set aside January 12 for the consideration of bills and resolutions presented by the House Judiciary Committee.¹⁵ Two days later, after intensive debate, the bill was passed. Before the vote was called Scott attempted to introduce his amendment without success. When the Senate refused to accept the Tucker bill, it went into a conference committee where it was modified to become the Edmunds-Tucker bill that was quickly passed by both the Senate and the House.

Five days before the conference committee produced the compromise bill, John W. Young had a thirty-minute interview with President Cleveland during which he reviewed the situation in Utah and suggested that the president formulate a plan that his party leaders would support and then give the people of Utah the choice of accepting or rejecting it. Young further suggested that the Scott amendment might

¹⁵ U.S., Congress, House, *Congressional Globe*, 49th Cong., 2d sess., 1887, p. 503.

provide such a plan and added, "I could not vote for such a proposition but we might consider it good policy not to raise our voices against it."¹⁶

John W. was a polygamist, the president knew, and as such he made an important point: after having passed laws and forced them upon the Mormon people, it was time for the administration to give them a choice, a chance to yield with honor. And even if they could not, in conscience, openly accept the proposition offered, they might quietly accept it as a compromise. At that time the Scott amendment had not been approved by John Taylor, although George Q. Cannon was in favor of it or any other measure that would end the struggle with federal authorities. Cannon had drafted a telegram to John W. Young stating exactly that, but failing to receive Taylor's approval he did not send it.¹⁷ Cannon had also canvassed some of the brethren and found the prevailing opinion to be that they should try the amendment even if they could not personally vote in favor of it. The consensus was that they had nothing to lose and might buy a little time.

Following the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker bill, John W. again visited President Cleveland to urge him to veto it. Although he failed in that attempt, he came away convinced that the president favored the wording of the Scott amendment, which was not part of the bill.¹⁸ The effect of this visit when reported in Salt Lake City was that John Taylor agreed to accept the Scott amendment if it were acceptable to Cleveland, a significant step in itself.¹⁹ What effect John W.'s visit had upon Cleveland cannot be known, but the president did not sign the bill, allowing it to become law without his formal approval. A second possible by-product of the Young visit came when Cleveland did sign a bill granting the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas a right-of-way across the military reservation.

With the Edmunds-Tucker battle behind him, John W. entered a new phase of operations, a phase having two objectives. The first was a concerted effort to remove those federal appointees in Utah who had been making life miserable for the Mormons, starting with United States District Attorney William H. Dickson and Third District Court Judge Charles S. Zane. The other objective was to carry out the provisions of the Scott amendment even though it was not part of the new legislation. Toward these ends John W. and his correspondents began a period of

¹⁶ Young to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, February 12, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

¹⁷ Cannon to Taylor, January 15, 1887, George Q. Cannon Papers, LDS Archives.

¹⁸ Young to James Jack, February 25, 1887, James Jack Papers, LDS Archives.

¹⁹ James Jack to Young, February 25, 1887, James Jack Papers.

cloak-and-dagger secrecy that saw them employing code names for the Mormon brethren, numerical designations for government officials and influential friends, and ciphers for important messages.²⁰

The efforts of John W. and others were soon rewarded, for on April 16, 1887, Dickson was removed from office and replaced by George S. Peters, a former mayor of Columbus, Ohio. Peters was much more tolerant than his predecessor, and under his authority Dickson's former associates became less feared. With Dickson gone, Judge Zane became the next target. Although Washington authorities had agreed to remove Zane, they were slow to find a suitable man to replace him. Young kept pressuring Col. Daniel S. Lamont, Cleveland's personal secretary, and his Justice Department contacts, but the promised action was long in coming. Zane was not removed until the summer of 1888 and was reinstated the following May by the new Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison.

To reach his second objective, John W. asked Solicitor General George A. Jenks to rewrite the Utah constitution drafted by the 1882 convention, incorporating the provisions of the Scott amendment. The revised document became the object of the 1887 Utah Constitutional Convention. Jenks traveled to Utah when the convention was held, over the Fourth of July, and spent several days conferring with those most active in the statehood movement.

It was during Jenks's Utah visit that John W. achieved a goal he had worked toward for some time—that of obtaining amnesty for some of the elders of the church who were in exile. Young had mentioned this matter to Colonel Lamont on several occasions, and the word had been duly passed to the president. Young had also discussed it with his friends in the Justice Department. Given the apparent support of the Scott amendment provisions by the Mormons and their representatives, President Cleveland appeared willing to make concessions and to work with the Mormons toward a compromise solution to the Utah problem. Recognizing Young's role in this effort, the president directed the attorney general to instruct the new federal attorney for Utah, George S. Peters, not to interfere with Young's movements should he return to Utah.²¹

²⁰ For example, number 1 was William H. Barnum, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, certainly one of the most important people Young knew. He had met the Barnums of Connecticut, iron industrialists, when he was building the Utah Western Railroad in the 1870s. He enjoyed a close association with William Barnum and kept him advised on Utah matters. Number 2 was Col. Daniel S. Lamont, Grover Cleveland's personal secretary, through whom Young had access to the president. Number 4 was President Cleveland, number 5 Solicitor General George A. Jenks, and number 8 Attorney General Augustus H. Garland.

²¹ Young to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, June 2, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

John W. pressed for similar relief for the older men of Utah. "Those aged men who are so persecuted," he wrote to Colonel Lamont, "are in feeble health and relief should come to them that they can accept honorably."²² Especially did he work for relief for John Taylor who had been in exile since February 1885. His goal was realized on July 1, 1887, when he received a note from Lamont: "The Attorney General has by direction of The President telegraphed Mr. Jenks in the matter which you mentioned."²³ Jenks, then in Utah, told Franklin S. Richards to do something about relieving Taylor and Wilford Woodruff from prosecution, implying that his efforts would meet with success. However, Richards was instructed by George Q. Cannon to reject the offer and to tell Jenks "that I [Cannon] thought it imprudent at present, as it would expose him and his friends, and ourselves also, to attacks from those who are watching every movement and who would not fail to endeavor to arouse the country against us and the government for this action."²⁴ The true reason for this turn of events was given to John W. Young in a letter from Cannon several days later:

President Taylor is failing very fast; he may not live many weeks, and perhaps not many days. He has been a very sick man for upwards of four months; but his condition has been concealed from the public. The bullets of the assassins at Carthage Jail failed to kill him; but the diabolical persecution and cruelty of Dickson, Zane and Co. have shortened his life, and he falls a martyr to their hate. I do not wish to see him released now. I desire that he shall have the full credit of this martyrdom. . . .²⁵

Two weeks later, on July 25, 1887, Taylor died and became a martyr for his faith.²⁶

Shortly after the church president's death the people of Utah—those who had not been disfranchised—voted overwhelmingly in favor of the new constitution. A memorial to Congress requesting Utah's admission into the Union was prepared and a committee organized to present

²² June 25, 1887, John W. Young Letterbook, typescript, Utah State Historical Society.

²³ July 1, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

²⁴ Cannon to Young, July 11, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

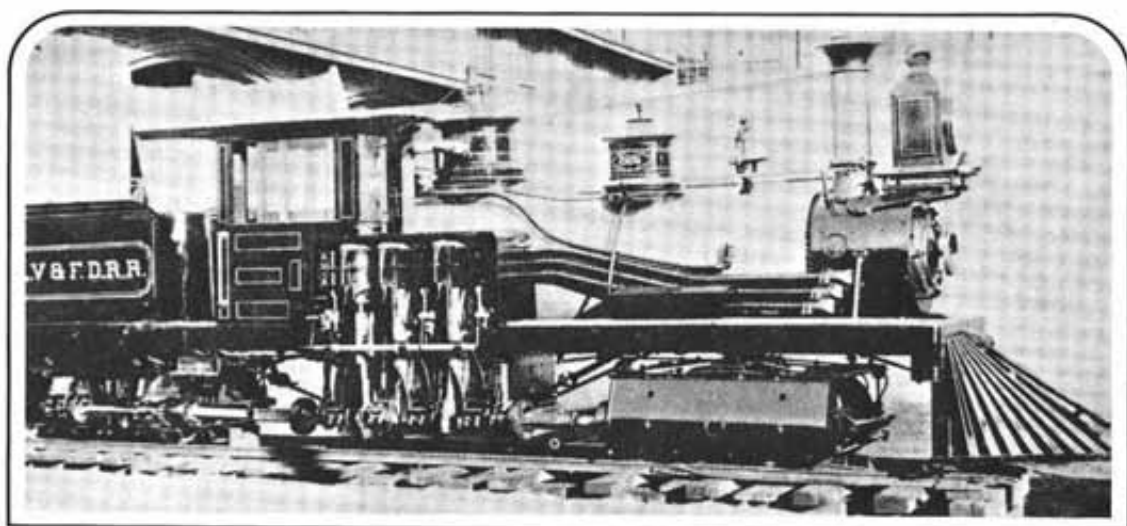
²⁶ Young's efforts to gain amnesty for John Taylor and others were marked by confusion and misunderstanding. Franklin S. Richards had been working for the same end through Judge George Ticknor Curtis but halted his effort in mid-June 1887, certainly on George Q. Cannon's instruction. Young was apparently not told of this. As a result Jenks, who had talked with Richards, felt that Young was "working a little at cross purposes," and Young felt that Jenks was not following instructions. When Taylor died, Young attempted to gain a pardon for Wilford Woodruff in time for the church president's funeral. It was then that Young learned of Jenks's misunderstanding. It took weeks to repair the damage done in the Justice Department, and by then Taylor's funeral had been held without his successor's presence. See Richards to Curtis, Franklin S. Richards Letterbook; Young to Woodruff and the Council of Twelve, August 13, 1887, and Young to Jenks, July 14, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

it. In the East plans were made for the statehood campaign. John W. believed that if statehood were to be achieved it would have to be "regarded as paramount and every effort financial, commercial and religious be made to combine together in pushing forward a thorough plan." He understood the need for a concerted, systematic approach involving everyone in Utah pushing toward the common goal. Therefore, he criticized *Salt Lake Herald* editorials that castigated "Stanford, Crocker, Huntington and associates" for their misdeeds as builders of the Central Pacific Railroad, when Stanford was at that time in Washington as senator from California and very friendly toward Utah. Young also suggested that commercial establishments, especially Zion's Bank and ZCMI, use their influence by patronizing only those eastern markets where friendly feelings and influence prevailed.²⁷

Although the adoption of the new constitution did not ensure admission to the Union, John W. used it to advantage in his railroad business. As soon as word of the election was sent to his friend James W. Barclay in London, he was able to convince British investors that the future of Utah was brightening. Within several weeks Barclay had placed 137 bonds, and early in October he transferred 15,500 pounds (\$75,000) to Young's account. John W. immediately left the East for Utah where he pushed construction on the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway. The track, which had been laid to Ninth South and Ninth East nearly two years before, was extended to the Fort Douglas boundary at South Temple. He went before the city council and placed \$2,000 on deposit to guarantee that the railway company would grade and gravel the streets over which it ran. He then requested a right-of-way along the banks of the Salt Lake and Jordan Canal, the same request that had been denied two years earlier. This time the right-of-way was granted within a week, and in another three weeks tracks were laid to Sugar House. The railway continued toward Big Cottonwood Canyon but stopped when it reached Mill Creek stream. A branch line was graded from Sugar House to Parley's Canyon. And three locomotives and a number of cars were purchased from the Utah Northern Railroad whose conversion from narrow to standard gauge was being completed.

The sudden prosperity of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas did not go unnoticed. When John W. returned to the East in mid-November 1887, many things had changed. Prior to John Taylor's death in July, Young had addressed his letters to Taylor and Cannon, although it was George Q. Cannon who was handling matters at home. When Taylor's

²⁷ Young to Woodruff and the Council of Twelve, August 13, 1887.



Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad engine. Utah State Historical Society collections.

death seemed imminent, Joseph F. Smith, the second counselor, returned from Hawaii and “for the first time since December 1884 the First Presidency [was] together.”²⁸ With Smith taking part in First Presidency activities, John W. began to feel pressed to account for his expenditures. He had never been known as a frugal man, and his work in the East did little to change his reputation. He drove hard toward his goals, and he may have prayed hard, too, but when all else failed he used money.

Before the Edmunds-Tucker Act was passed early in 1887, John W. reported that the bill could be killed for forty thousand dollars more than they had on hand in Washington. Bishop John Sharp was sent to Washington with the money. Young’s expenditures were never documented, but if he actually spent the money to kill the bill, it was spent in vain. His requests for funds were never denied, but in July when he asked for ten thousand dollars, George Q. Cannon wanted an accounting “as President Taylor will naturally be desirous to know how the amount previously sent has been disposed of.”²⁹ Young’s answer was vague, but he did say that “the house I occupy is expensive” and that “with the greatest economy this campaign is going to cost us a great deal of money.”³⁰ He later explained that his negotiations had been of such a nature that those involved would have disliked giving anything like a voucher or receipt. He expressed a willingness to explain the accounts personally but declined to do so in writing.³¹ A twelve thousand dollar

²⁸ Cannon and Smith to Young, July 18, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

²⁹ Cannon to Young, July 1, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

³⁰ Young to Taylor and Cannon, July 11, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

³¹ Young to Wilford Woodruff, August 20, 1887, John W. Young Papers.

request was granted late in August, and again an explanation was requested. When John W. subsequently returned to Utah with funds to build his railroad after nearly three years of dormancy, suspicions were aroused. Many meetings were held, and presumably the accountings he gave were satisfactory. However, when Young returned to the East he began addressing his letters to "The Committee" consisting of the new First Presidency: Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith.

In Washington again, John W. visited his many acquaintances, including President Cleveland, to discuss the statehood possibilities. On December 16, 1887, after the members of the memorial committee—Franklin S. Richards, W. W. Riter, and E. G. Woolley—had arrived, a formal presentation of the constitution and memorial was made to the president of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. Although John W. was not part of the committee, because of his polygamous status, he supplemented Richards's remarks with "a happy endorsement of the movement on behalf of the People of Utah who were in favor of the Constitution but were not permitted to vote for it," alluding to the disfranchisement of many Mormons by the 1882 Edmunds Act.³²

Young and Richards introduced Riter and Woolley to Washington, and together and separately they canvassed senators and representatives, posting them on the Utah situation as they saw it. Young appeared to head this delegation as Richards wrote, "I try to carry out whatever is suggested by Bro. Young. . . ." ³³ However, late in January 1888 there were signs of unrest and dissension within this group. Richards attempted to contact every senator and representative, but he claimed "Bro. Young does not seem to appreciate the importance of this branch of the work as fully as I could wish. . . ." ³⁴

Young's own activities involved ever increasing sums of money. He talked about large contributions to the Democratic party for the forthcoming election and suggested buying the *New York Star* and making it a Democratic paper to aid in the election and in Utah's statehood campaign. When his request for twenty-five thousand dollars to finance those ideas was turned down, he started a newspaper himself, the *Saturday Evening Globe*, which he used for promoting his objectives. Then, when the Senate opened committee hearings on statehood for Utah,

³² Franklin S. Richards to Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, December 17, 1887, Franklin S. Richards Letterbook.

³³ *Ibid.*, January 23, 1888.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

John W. suggested that five thousand dollars could be placed to turn things to their favor. A week later he suggested that "we could get favorable report from Committee soon or delay it, as best policy demands, for 25 thousand."³⁵ Two days later he wanted fifteen thousand dollars to silence an outspoken senator.

Dissatisfied with the way the hearings were going and with the church's position of allowing only monogamists to appear before Washington officialdom, John W. prepared a document purporting to be an expression of the polygamist's acceptance of the proposed Utah constitution in its legal aspect and hoped to submit it to the Senate committee.³⁶ He had shown the first draft of this document to Franklin S. Richards and wanted Richards and their coworkers to sign it with him. Richards called it "a pathetic appeal" and advised against using it, especially since it was contrary to instructions from home. John W. then rewrote it, signed it, and showed it to Richards again. When Richards continued to oppose it, Young claimed that the attorney had, with others, "tried to prevent his labors from receiving public recognition." John W. asserted his "right to appear publicly in the matter that the people might know what he was doing."³⁷ He must have felt insecure about his document, for he seemed unwilling to assume sole responsibility for it as he had done for so many other actions in the past. When Richards refused to back him, he wired the First Presidency through James Jack for permission to submit it. He was told to await the arrival of "friends" who were en route to Washington before doing anything about his document or about placing money among senators to influence the committee hearings.³⁸ The "friends" were headed by Joseph F. Smith. Disturbed by reports of unrest among the Washington delegation, the repeated requests for large sums of money, the fashionable house Young rented in Washington,³⁹ and the document he proposed to submit, church leaders had sent Smith to Washington to take over the delegation under the name of J. Mack.

³⁵ Young to James Jack, February 11, 1888, John W. Young Papers.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1888.

³⁷ Richards to J. Mack (Joseph F. Smith), May 1, 1888, Franklin S. Richards Letterbook.

³⁸ Committee (First Presidency) to Young, February 13, 1888, John W. Young Papers.

³⁹ Young had rented a large house at 1808 Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, D.C. for \$300 a month. He considered it "respectable enough to ask the prominent individual to come to, and yet not sufficiently conspicuous as to give the impression that we sought to flaunt ourselves before the Washington public." He claimed to be paying all the expenses connected with the house himself, yet he remained sensitive to accusations of extravagance. Although Franklin S. Richards and his family lived in the house with Young for some time, it never became the center of their Washington activities as Young had hoped. See Young to Committee, January 17, 1888, John W. Young Papers.



Railroad pass signed by John W. Young. Note Beehive House and Eagle Gate in corner. Utah State Historical Society collections.

Following Joseph F. Smith's arrival in Washington, Young restated his position and renewed his demands for money to influence the statehood hearings. When Smith asked for an accounting of how the money was to be spent, Young "got mad and vowed he would never ask the Church for another dollar." Realizing that Smith would be unlikely to follow his plan, John W. withdrew, believing the statehood movement would fail.⁴⁰

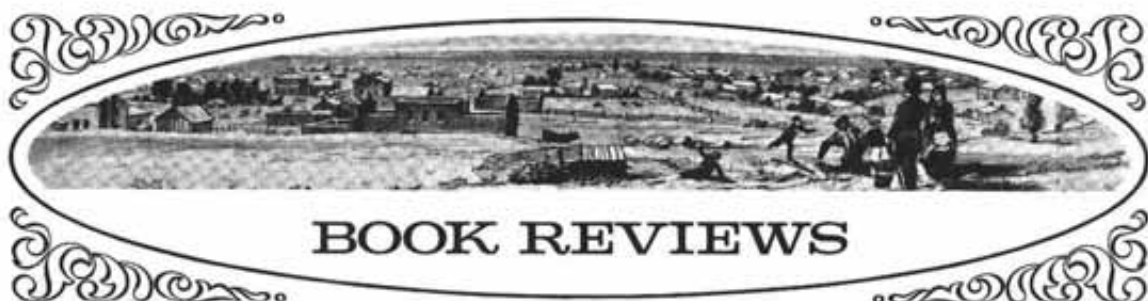
His official association with the statehood movement ended, Young returned to his railroad business. He did not abandon his lobbying activities, however. The *Globe* continued to be published for several years as a Democratic paper promoting Mormon thought and Utah statehood. When the Republicans took office in 1889 he spent considerable time attempting to influence the territorial appointments, even securing a private interview with President Benjamin Harrison. But his major contribution to the statehood movement lay in the past. Through his efforts the people of Utah Territory agreed to a constitution prohibiting polygamy for the first time in the history of the territory. He had also convinced some government officials, including the president,

⁴⁰ Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1969), p. 289; J. Mack to James Jack, May 14, 1888, John W. Young Papers.

that the people of Utah might actually accept such a constitutional measure as a compromise. It was not enough, however, and the 1888 statehood campaign was destined to fail. Nevertheless, a significant step had been taken on the cobblestone road toward statehood.⁴¹

In the spring of 1888 the track of the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway was extended onto Fort Douglas, up to the Red Butte Canyon quarries, and to the mouth of Emigration Canyon. The Big Cottonwood branch never went beyond its Mill Creek terminus, but the Parley's Canyon branch was extended over the Wasatch Mountains and finally found Park City as its goal. This line was reorganized as the Salt Lake and Eastern Railway, running from Sugar House to Park City, with additional lines planned over Wolf Creek Pass into the Duchesne Valley and on to the Uintah Indian Reservation. At the insistence of investors, it was merged with the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railway, the two becoming the Utah Central Railway, although the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas continued to hold the right-of-way and track from Ninth South and Tenth East to Fort Douglas. Government suits over Fort Douglas water rights in Red Butte Canyon eventually closed that branch, and later civil suits by residents along the route closed the remaining Salt Lake and Fort Douglas line. John W. Young's association with the Utah Central ended when the railroad went into receivership in 1893. The tireless promoter tried several times to reestablish himself financially, but the magic touch was gone. He died in obscurity in New York City in 1924.

⁴¹ More than two years elapsed before the LDS church formally abandoned its practice of polygamy with the Woodruff Manifesto of September 1890. For an interesting discussion of events leading to the Manifesto, see Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Reexamination of the Woodruff Manifesto in the Light of Utah Constitutional History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971): 328-49.



BOOK REVIEWS

Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years. Edited by ERNEST L. WILKINSON, LEONARD J. ARRINGTON, and BRUCE C. HAFEN. 4 Volumes (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975-76. \$35.00.)

When Brigham Young commissioned Karl Maeser to establish an academy at Provo in 1876, he told him he wanted the education conducted there to be under the influence of the "Spirit"—the lowly "times-table" should not be taught, he told Maeser, without the guidance of the "Holy Ghost." In the intervening century, it is doubtful that the "times-table" is still part of Brigham Young University's curriculum, but the institution is still firmly committed to the spirit, and sometimes even to the letter, of Brigham Young's original injunction. Unlike numerous nineteenth-century colleges established to promote the values of a particular denomination, but now completely secular in orientation, Brigham Young University has kept faith with its founder's interest and has developed into the nation's largest denominational university. As well as promoting particular Mormon values among its faculty and students, it has achieved a large measure of respect in the secular academic community.

To celebrate the laying down of Brigham Young University's foundation (the Brigham Young Academy), this four-volume account takes the reader from the original idea conceived by Brigham Young to have an educational institution in which the particular religious perspectives of Mormonism could be taught, through the early struggles to keep the institution alive and in face of opposition on the part of some church leaders, during periods of economic depression, through the expansion of the

1950s and 1960s under Ernest L. Wilkinson. The last volume deals with the current Oaks administration. Emphasis throughout is on the important accomplishment of each of the administrations and the role they played in the "upward" development of Brigham Young University.

A major contribution that the volumes give is insight into the decision-making process at a university controlled by a board of trustees comprised of the leaders of the LDS church. In spite of the predominance of "authority" as a motif of LDS organization, one gets the impression that "a man's a man for a' that" and that the process of day-to-day decision-making is not really so different at "the Lord's university" than it is at secular institutions. Not that arbitrary authority and fiat have never been exercised, but there has developed over the years a remarkable restraint on the part of most General Authorities to keep from interfering in the internal affairs of the institution. This has been a gradual achievement and much of the credit for it must go to the institution's third president, Franklin S. Harris, a man of wide-ranging vision and universal humanism who believed that a Mormon institution was fully capable of becoming a "real university." In the words of Parley A. Christensen, Harris helped the faculty "preserve the essential integrity of our minds and spirits."

Early in the "Y's" development, Karl Maeser commented that physical buildings are not the essential ingredients of

an institution of higher education. In the 1960s, however, Brigham Young University underwent a dramatic expansion, and to many, building the university became synonymous with building the physical plant. The man behind this brick-and-mortar expansion was Ernest Wilkinson who succeeded Howard McDonald in 1949 and who devoted the next two decades to making Brigham Young University a major instrument for promoting the Mormon interpretation of Christianity. For Wilkinson, the prime emphasis at Brigham Young University "[should be] upon a comprehensive indoctrination of Mormon theology." As a practicing attorney, Wilkinson had little patience with the traditional meaning of a university, and he was determined to make Brigham Young University unique among other institutions of higher education. Before becoming president he suggested that a major thrust at Brigham Young University should be the Mormon belief in the Constitution as a divine document, the Mormon concept of government, and the "Mormon explanation of the rise and fall of governments." In the concluding chapter of volume 3, the authors (one of whom is Cleon Skousen) note that one of Wilkinson's greatest disappointments was the failure to set up a Brigham Young University "institute of government for the purpose of teaching correct political principles." Attention is also drawn to President David O. McKay's blessing of Wilkinson in 1960 to be a fighter against communism and a defender of capitalism.

Now, a university president has every right to hold personal views in politics and economics. One must wonder though, why the official history of Brigham Young University should become a sounding board for these personal views. Indeed, Wilkinson's campaign for the Senate in 1964 is given rather detailed and biased coverage. The inclusion of Wilkinson's explanation of his defeat as being partly due to the "er-

roneous" charge that he removed the director of the Salt Lake Institute of Religion (Lowell L. Bennion) because of his views on the Negro-priesthood controversy is of questionable merit. Indeed, the inclusion of such detailed treatment of Wilkinson's political views and campaign in this history at all, seems unwarranted and unfortunate and constitutes a major weakness of the history. Surely, the role Ernest Wilkinson played in putting Brigham Young University on the map would not have been diminished if his political views had been left for inclusion and critical examination in a biographical study of this fiery, hard-driving administrator.

Like Brigham Young, Wilkinson made heavy demands on his followers; and like the "Y" founder, he is a man of action, not theory, and his actions and aggressive manner often provoked criticism and alienated some people as he sought to mold the "Y" to his concept of *the* church university. Wilkinson believed he had a mandate (divine?) to make Brigham Young University a power in private higher education. In some measure he succeeded, and these volumes bear witness to his success. The accomplishments are real, even though at times the motif of "we're the biggest/we're the best/we're ahead of all the rest" gives the work a booster character.

Like poems produced by laureates at the command of monarchs, celebration histories suffer from a number of endemic weaknesses. By their very nature they are designed to celebrate an event rather than promote inquiry into the event. Growing as they do out of a public relations need to say something for a specific occasion (in this case the 100th anniversary of the founding of Brigham Young University) rather than out of a scholarly need of having something to say, they are often reduced to a chronicle whose main aim is boosterism. This frame of reference and the fact that the senior editor (Wilkinson) was also the dynamic and often controversial

leader of Brigham Young University for almost one-fourth of its first century of existence, must be kept in mind to avoid expecting more than such a work can realistically deliver. However, in spite of some tendency to proselyte (politically and economically as well as religiously) the volumes do reveal from time to time a genuine effort on the part of Brigham Young University's administration and faculty to integrate a Mormon value orientation with secular learning. Leonard Arrington refers to this process in his introductory essay in volume 1, but instead of dismissing it with a cavalier "true religion and true science (politics, economics, history) never conflict" he sees it as a creative tension that has positive ramifications for a university. Given the current emphasis on the study of values in many institutions (from elementary to graduate schools), the creative response of Brigham Young University to the competing demands of faith and reason might indeed provide valuable new insights into this age-old issue. Perhaps attempting to ride the twin horses of faith and reason makes for some discomfort, especially when one draws ahead of the other, but no institution that claims allegiance to both ideals can entirely divest itself of such discomfort. It comes with the territory!

Volume 2 of this history deals in some detail with the most celebrated incident involving this creative conflict at Brigham Young University. In 1912 four faculty were dismissed (over student protests) for their too zealous teaching of evolutionary theory and its religious and social as well as its biological implications. The affair is given rather objective treatment, but the conclusion is reached that it was not so much evolution and modernism per se that led to the dismissals but their refusal to obey ecclesiastical authority. As volume 1 reports the conclusion of the incident: "Thereafter [Brimhall] made certain

that all new teachers knew they were required to submit to Church authority. . . ." No doubt a private institution has a legal right to call the tune which its paid pipers must play, but one has to ask whether a university can be fearless in its pursuit of truth if such submission to ecclesiastical (or political) authority is a requirement for employment of faculty. Hopefully this is not the kind of creativity Arrington had in mind as a model for the future. Whether Brigham Young University (or for that matter any other institution of higher education) can promote serious, unbiased inquiry into all areas of life in the spirit of Arrington's creativity is an important determinant of its status as a real university.

Wide use of original documents (including the diaries of David O. McKay) suggest that in-depth studies of particular aspects of Mormon educational policies and activities can now be undertaken in a systematic, reflective manner with full access to pertinent sources. Volume 4, to this reviewer, is the best of the four because of its examination of significant issues during a relatively short period (1970-76), although its recentness prevents it from being examined in historical perspective. Nevertheless, the treatment of persistent questions is an approach to the study of history that can yield a deepened understanding of how institutions develop and modify over the years. Such an approach must go beyond mere chronology, however; it involves interpretation, critical appraisal, and frequent questioning of assumptions. These four volumes add to our understanding of Mormon ideas on education, but the history of higher education among the Mormons is still a fertile field for investigation.

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Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah. Edited by CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN. (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press Limited, 1976. Xxxiv + 283 pp. Paper, \$4.95.)

Here is a thoroughly researched collection of essays by twelve writers, each dealing with some aspect of the history of women in the early Mormon church. Topics include medicine, education, polygamy, outstanding persons, politics, publishing, charity work, and literature. Each article is footnoted. The book features twenty-three halftones, an eight-page reading list partially annotated, an index, comparative chronologies, and lists of women leaders in the church. All this at such a reasonable price makes the volume most attractive.

To read *Mormon Sisters* linearly is to learn much that is interesting about women in the early church. Some materials are repeated and the book is so arranged that later pieces presuppose a familiarity with earlier ones. The complexity of ideas and implications gathers, so that to read the book holistically rather than linearly is to be convinced that the history of LDS women is not merely "interesting." It is a long and continuing devolution of female status within the church, apparently occurring in direct proportion to the evolution of power of the church itself.

Examples of the process abound, some of them not well known. Many Mormons are probably not aware, for instance, that for quite a number of years women had the authority to anoint, administer, and bless—a privilege that was taken away from them in 1914. Better known is the fact that the *Woman's Exponent*, a journal founded with Brigham Young's approval in 1872, was discontinued by decree of church authorities in 1914. Similarly, the *Young Woman's Journal*, founded in 1891 as the organ of the YWMIA, was merged with the *Improvement Era* in 1929 (the *Journal's* founder and editor, Susa Young Gates, worried that young women writers might not receive equal at-

tention in the pages of the *Era*, but she conceded that the merger was inspired).

It is in the history of the Relief Society, however, that we become most strongly aware of the decline of female status in the Mormon church. For sixty years the Society was "the most independent of the Church auxiliary organizations," but gradually the scope of its autonomy has been narrowed greatly. Today the Relief Society depends entirely upon the church for its budget, where it used to be self-funded through membership dues. The *Relief Society Magazine* no longer exists, having suspended publication in 1970 at the direction of the First Presidency. And the weekly lessons of the Relief Society, backbone of its educational program, have undergone a major change in both content and function. For content, we may compare lesson offerings of the 1920s with those of the 1960s. Under the rubric "Social Relations" such early topics as "Personality Study" match up with the later "Teaching the Gospel in the Home." Under "Cultural Refinement" we compare "American Literature, the New England Period" with "Ideals of Womanhood in Relation to Home and Family." In both cases, the content of the lessons of the 1960s—if their titles are any indication—marks their function, which seems to be to lower the intellectual horizons of Mormon women and to make them increasingly devoted to staying at home.

The women who produced this book are devout LDS women. They are not dissidents. They, like Eliza R. Snow, have "maintained that balance between initiative and obedience" that typifies the church's expectation of its members. But maintaining balance in such an environment proves difficult and invites ambivalence, logical inconsistency and plain double-talk. Eliza, like other women in the early church, defended

polygamy with all the resources she could muster, but it required her to utter such inanities as, "I truly believe that a congress composed of polygamic men who are true to their wives, would confer a far higher honor upon a nation . . . than a congress of monogamic, unreliable husbands." The same difficulty obtains for contributors to the present volume. In her introduction, for example, Claudia L. Bushman offers the following:

A consideration of today's proscriptive literature would indicate that fewer activities were possible for current women. Actually, while mothering has been the primary activity for adult women in both eras, and women of the past participated in a broad range of the world's activities, women are freer now than ever before to pursue their other interests.

This is unsupported by any evidence and in fact seems at odds with what is contained in the volume she has edited. Ambiguity of this sort is found in a

number of places in the book. But if it is a weakness, it's also a strength: By understatement and circumlocution, by burying harsh facts in the middle of otherwise innocuous paragraphs, by not including too much about Emmeline B. Wells, by not editorializing, indeed, by scarcely commenting on their materials at all, the writers have made a powerful case for reexamining the present condition of LDS women.

Mormon Sisters was conceived by groups of Mormon women who had gathered to share their experience and to seek female "models who combined a dedication to the faith with a spirit of individual action." They now offer the book to other women in the church, to continue the study and the search. It is difficult to express strongly enough the importance of this modestly presented book, much less to venture to assess its impact upon the lives of those to whom it is addressed.

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Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons. By LEONARD J. ARRINGTON, FERAMORZ Y. FOX, and DEAN L. MAY. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976. Xiv + 497 pp. \$7.95.)

Leonard Arrington, LDS church historian, and Dean May, a senior associate in the church's Historical Department, have collaborated to produce the most comprehensive record to date of Mormon experiments in social and economic communitarianism. Much of their work is based on an extensive study by Feramorz Young Fox, completed in 1937 but never published, of consecration and stewardship and the United Order. The pivotal role of Fox's manuscript is acknowledged in the preface to the present work and by the inclusion of Dr. Fox, who died in 1957, as a coauthor.

The following topics receive primary focus: consecration and stewardship in

Ohio and Missouri under Joseph Smith, the predominantly noncommunal period spanning the Nauvoo years and the first decade in Utah, the consecration movement of the 1850s, the cooperative enterprises of the 1860s, the United Order under Brigham Young, and the boards of trade organized by John Taylor. Individual chapters contain considerable detail on United Orders in St. George, Richfield, Kanab, and Orderville. A penultimate chapter attempts to fit the LDS welfare plan into the matrix of these earlier experiments.

The nine appendixes and fifty-three pages of footnotes are particularly useful. One appendix lists all extant deeds

of consecration and stewardship and all known schedules of consecrated property from the Missouri period, with complete texts and photocopies of some; others contain statutes, rules, and instructions relative to various cooperatives and United Orders, and list all known cooperative stores and United Orders. The footnotes refer mainly to primary sources such as journals, stake record books, account books of individual cooperatives and orders, and directives from general authorities.

The narrative itself deals more with the social and religious aspects of the experiments described than with their economic implications, although the distinction is arguably tenuous in Mormon theology. In particular, the present work lacks the more rigorously economic formulation of questions and analysis that accompanied the less extensive corresponding data in Professor Arrington's seminal *Great Basin Kingdom*. The breadth and nature of the authors' information does, however, suggest a number of inescapably economic topics for further research.

To begin with, the authors sketch the Mormons' economic practices against a nineteenth-century background of "excesses of individualism . . . pluralism . . . and liberty" (p. 2), "evils of grasping individualism" (p. 140), and "excesses of free competitive enterprise" (p. 325). These tendencies were viewed as evil and excessive by the Mormon leadership because they threatened to break down the social and institutional bulwarks of Mormon economic separatism. Assuming, however, that there had been an earlier acquiescence by the Great Basin Mormon economy in laissez-faire capitalism, would the strictly economic effects of that decision have been more beneficial, or less so, than those of the policies actually followed? A satisfactory answer would require attention to the allocative efficiency and subjective dis-

tributional equity of both alternatives: market or arbitrary determination of wages and prices, trade based on comparative advantage or centrally directed industrialization for self-sufficiency, commerce with Gentile merchants or boycotts, and so on. The proto-Galbraithian mistrust of the marketplace in favor of its circumvention by large aggregations of labor, capital, and popular institutions of moral suasion that informed much of Mormon history until the death of Brigham Young contrasts with the conservative, free-market view of the economy taken by most LDS members and leaders today. They, like the church itself, have found success by individual participation in a mixed integrated economy, and there is a nice irony in the struggles of a century ago to establish a very different kind of system.

A second issue concerns the question of moral as opposed to material incentives. The authors find it paradoxical that "where the [United] Order brought the greatest economic benefit it seemed to lift men's spirits least" (p. 220). Why is this so, and to what extent were purely economic objectives promised, pursued, and obtained?

Finally, the conflict of personal freedom with the discipline and sacrifice necessary for the success of any collective enterprise poses a philosophical question. This tension in Mormon theology and institutions has often been creative and fruitful, and one wonders about its resolution in communitarian settings.

The authors offer a rich and provocative body of information that will be essential in stimulating the kind of social and economic research needed to address questions like these.

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A Governor's Wife on the Mining Frontier: The Letters of Mary Edgerton from Montana, 1863-1865. Edited by JAMES L. THANE, JR. Utah, the Mormons, and the West Series, no. 7 (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1976. 148 pp. \$8.50.)

One is immediately suspicious—or ought to be. Here is a young historian whose calculation is transparently clever. 1) He will produce a book which appeals to women and fits neatly into the pattern of a veritable spate of feminine zealotry about the neglect of women in history. 2) He will appeal also to a new interest in the place of the woman who stood behind the (stalwartly, usually) notable male politician. 3) He will use as a setting the violent cutting edge of the far western frontier.

If he can pull that off, of course, he will not only find a publisher and an audience—he may end up in Hollywood. So much for James Thane's *A Governor's Wife on the Mining Frontier*. So much, also, for neat preconceptions.

Thane has, indeed, mixed those ingredients and it is clever; I suspect (or hope) calculatedly so. The fact is that this small, splendidly made book also exhibits some very solid virtues, and in the midst of them gimmickry disappears.

Thane has a very detailed knowledge of the Montana frontier in 1863-65. The book is solidly grounded and meticulously documented. He writes felicitously and edits with restraint—a rather exceptional talent, since, with material like this, an editor's voracious appetite for his own prolixity often overwhelms the material. It is most gratifying that Thane lets the lady speak when she has something to say—and very tactfully

fills in for her when she does not. This is a first rate job by Thane: carefully and sensitively edited, and, again, his writing is tight and his background knowledge obviously substantial.

The problem, if there is one, certainly does not lie with Thane. It lies with one's inevitable expectations. Those expectations involve the lady herself. Perhaps *because* of Thane's skillful introduction and his handling of chapter 1, "Across the Plains to Bannack," one is led to expect considerable acumen (politically) from the good lady. There isn't much. One feels, rather, let down by a kind of dreary pedestrianism.

But Thane does not really miss the point. That, indeed, *is* the point—which he does not belabor. The absence of drama in her life (in her own opinion) stands in contrast to the real drama which she neither felt nor really heard nor saw. Thane lets her miss it. In doing so, he lets her be herself. It is a rather splendid and strong self.

Lest the book seem excessively expensive for its length, \$8.50 for 148 pages, let it be remarked that it is a veritable gem of bookmaking: paper, typeface, binding, and general excellence of workmanship. We are rapidly getting careless about well-made books. This one is beautifully made.

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Blacks in the West. By W. SHERMAN SAVAGE. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976. Xviii + 230 pp. \$14.95.)

At first glance, it would seem that this book-length study on the history of Blacks in the West by the distinguished historian W. Sherman Savage would be a major contribution. But unfortunately, that is not the case. Even though this

book attempts to go beyond previous works on this same subject, namely William Loren Katz's *The Black West* and Kenneth W. Porter's *The Negro on the American Frontier*, it is not as informative or scholarly as these two

earlier books. In fact, Savage's historical synthesis on Blacks in the trans-Mississippi West during the period 1830-90 is vastly inferior to his own earlier scholarly articles in this same area.

The shortcomings of Savage's work are particularly glaring in his error-ridden discussion of slavery and Blacks in Utah. In describing Black slavery in Utah the author states that "there was no law in Utah which authorized slavery" and that "the Mormon Church recognized the right of the slave to self-determination in his claim of freedom" (p. 27). On the same page, however, the author admits that slavery was legalized in Utah. Savage compounds his error by stating that Utah slavery existed "solely for the purpose of allowing the Saints to purchase slave children" in order to prevent them from being abandoned or destroyed by their parents. These parents, explains Savage, were willing to sacrifice their children rather than see them enslaved. Savage arrives at this completely erroneous conclusion because he overlooks the fact that there were *two* Utah slave statutes after 1852—one legalizing Black slavery and the other allowing for the white purchase and enslavement of Indian children from cruel Mexican slave traders. Savage also has trouble with statistics. He states that "from 1850 to 1880" Utah's Black population "increased by only nine" (p. 26). But according to a table in his appendix (p. 201), it increased by 173 during this thirty-year period. Savage is also confused as to the names of certain Utah Blacks, e.g. "Hank" instead of Hark Lay and "Griff" rather than Grief Embers. The author is confounded in his discussion of the activities of "Herbert" (Heber C.?) Kimball who as a Mormon slaveholder took his servant Martha with him "to California where he remained . . . before returning to South Carolina." Back in Utah, Savage describes the activities of a Black blacksmith at Corinne in 1850 (p. 126) and the Black operation of a hotel in this

same community in 1860 (p. 123) which would have been impossible since this Utah railroad town was not even founded until 1869!

In his discussions of Utah's Black population, Savage is also guilty of some serious omissions. In describing Blacks in the military, the author fails to point out that the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry regiments and the Ninth Cavalry served in Utah during the late nineteenth century. In the field of education, Blacks, according to Savage, "had little trouble" in Utah public schools (p. 181). But it is clear that Blacks encountered difficulties in the schools of at least two Utah mining camps—Park City and Mercur. In assessing the role of Blacks in religion, Savage fails even to mention, let alone discuss, Elijah Abel—the Black Mormon priesthood holder who migrated west with the Latter-day Saints in 1847. In discussing the antimiscegenation laws enacted in various western states and territories, the author fails to mention Utah's adoption of similar legislation or the Mormons' almost paranoid fear of any and all Black-Caucasian racial intermixture.

On a more fundamental level, the author seems completely oblivious to the more recent secondary scholarly works on Utah Black history. The author's failure to cite Ronald Coleman's excellent article on Utah Blacks in *The Peoples of Utah* is understandable since it was published in 1976. But Savage's failure to utilize, or even cite, the earlier relevant works of J.B. Christensen, Jan Shipps, Kate B. Carter, Dennis L. Lythgoe, Lester E. Bush, Jr., or Henry J. Wolfinger is baffling to say the least.

Such weaknesses in Savage's work diminish its usefulness to students of Utah-Great Basin history. But Savage's work also suffers from more fundamental problems, making it of questionable use in the study of western Black American history. The book is poorly organized. Despite the author's intended

focus on the period 1830-90, he continually drops back before 1830 and jumps beyond 1890 in presenting his arguments. Savage also focuses too much of his narrative on California at the expense of other regions, particularly Kansas and Oklahoma, both of which had more Blacks than California by 1890. The book also fails to analyze critically the impact of Black Americans—both collectively and individually—on various western economic, political, and social institutions. Despite claims to the contrary in the foreword, Savage's work is essentially "a collection of black success stories." In fact, Savage's work lacks any clear interpretive focus.

Although the author suggests in a number of places that Blacks found more opportunities and less discrimination in the West than in other parts of the country, he fails to support this Turnerian assumption with concrete comparative examples or statistics.

In summary, what Savage's book indicates more than anything else is the need for a good scholarly synthesis on the role, contributions, and impact of Black Americans on the development of the trans-Mississippi West during the nineteenth century.

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Aspects of the American West: Three Essays. By JOE B. FRANTZ. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1976. 82 pp. \$5.00.)

This volume is a collection of three sparkling essays by Joe B. Frantz, the noted historian of the American West. All were originally delivered as addresses to distinguished academic or professional bodies, and they are compiled in this slim book as volume one of *Essays on the American West*, sponsored by the Elma Dill Russell Spencer Foundation. Described in the foreword by W. Eugene Hollon and Frank Wardlow as "vintage Frantz," these essays certainly stand as a testament to the author's knowledge and appreciation of the American West.

The first essay, "Yellowstone National Park: Genesis of an Urban Solution," deals with the early exploration and founding of our nation's first National Park in 1872. Written in the centennial year of the park, this essay also deals with policy and problems encountered by the National Park Service in its formative years. For Frantz, Yellowstone started something; from 1872 the nation began "groping toward cooperating with our environment instead of forever and inflexibly demanding its unconditional surrender to our short-tempered and temporary needs and

demands." The author does not view Yellowstone as a geographic wonder but rather as the point of origin for a galvanic movement of wilderness preservation.

The second essay, "Western Impact on the Nation," spans a period from the Whiskey Rebellion to the oil boom in Alaska. Stressing particularly the political impact of the West on the country, Frantz points out isolationist sentiment, rugged individualism, constitutional interpretation, and populist furor. Also, the penchant for violence in the West is well illustrated. But to Frantz the *real* impact of the West has been philosophical. Because the West gave us unanticipated riches (gold, silver, oil, copper, uranium, etc.), we have believed in progress with a sort of blind optimism. By Frantz's interpretation, the West has been a beacon not only to the nation but also to the world, "illuminating the belief that progress is accidental and miraculous and unplanned." One can certainly see how this attitude has shaped many of our nation's wasteful habits.

"The American West: Child of Federal Subsidy," the final essay, is the author's most widely known speech.

Originally delivered to the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1963, it attracted a great deal of attention and provoked much criticism. He agrees that the pioneers who tamed the West did indeed "triumph over monumental obstacles," but his thesis is that the westerners were subsidized from start to finish by a federal government "which was sometimes benign, sometimes misdirected, sometimes wasteful, and sometimes dictatorial, but which always, like a watching parent, was there." This was a slap at the traditional self-reliant image of the West, and many of his colleagues took him to task on the matter. However, some recent

studies have shown an even greater governmental involvement than Frantz saw in western settlement.

The common theme running through these three brilliant essays is the importance of the American West in the shaping of this nation's thought patterns. Provocative and well-written, this volume will be particularly rewarding to the uninitiated students of western history. The essays are brief, well-researched, tightly reasoned, readable, and full of historical and contemporary relevance.

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BOOK NOTICES



Pioneer Steelmaker in the West: The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1872-1903. By H. LEE SCAMEHORN. (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976. Ix + 231 pp. \$19.95.)

The Ludlow Massacre immediately comes to mind in association with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, for much has been written about that tragic event. But the story of the company's development from a regional producer to a manufacturer of national importance has been largely neglected.

Although Colorado Fuel and Iron funded the research for this book, the author is no mere apologist but a historian given access to corporate records

and other resources to detail the story of a major western enterprise and the men who made it. Proxy fights and corporate manipulations lack the tense drama of labor confrontations, but they make fascinating reading nonetheless. More histories of western companies need to be written, and Professor Scamehorn's work could well serve as a model.

Hugh B. Brown: His Life and Thought. By EUGENE E. CAMPBELL and RICHARD D. POLL. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1975. Xii + 331 pp. \$5.95.)

The authors, two well-known historians, have geared their biography of

the late Hugh B. Brown to the general LDS reader, with most chapters detailing aspects of his various church assignments. However, chapters 8 and 9 treat his brief political career as an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1934 and an unhappy chairman of the Liquor Control Commission following the repeal of Prohibition. An ardent Democrat, President Brown was a strong advocate of the individual's right to choose his political affiliation freely, without church direction. This was especially significant in the 1960s "when some Latter-day Saints were striving to establish an institutional identification with right-wing politics" (p. 111).

Colorado Mining: A Photographic History. By DUANE A. SMITH. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977. Xii + 176 pp. \$13.50.)

Although the Spaniards mined in Colorado in the eighteenth century, the exploitation of the state's mineral wealth did not begin in earnest until the gold rush of 1859. Whether the search was for gold or silver, coal or oil, the effect of mineral development on the state—including its politics, agriculture, urban growth, and transportation—has been tremendous. The book gives a good overview of mining from the "Pike's Peak or Bust" days to the energy-conscious 1970s.

Colorado River Ghost Towns. By STANLEY W. PAHER. (Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1976. 80 pp. \$9.95.)

This guide to lower Colorado River ghost towns contains seventy historic photographs plus full-color illustrations by Roy E. Purcell.

Cyclical Maintenance for Historic Buildings. By J. HENRY CHAMBERS. (Washington, D. C.: Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Na-

tional Park Service, 1976. Viii + 125 pp. Paper, \$2.00.)

Building maintenance typically receives a low budget priority, yet proper routine care is especially critical to historic buildings and when carefully planned and carried out preserves the structure and proves economical as well.

Indian Dances of North America. By REGINALD LAUBIN and GLADYS LAUBIN. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Xxxviii + 538 pp. \$25.00.)

Adopted Sioux Indians, the authors have spent years studying the history, ceremonies, and traditions of American Indian dances and performing them for appreciative audiences. In this they have succeeded in pleasing both Indians and dance critics, receiving the 1972 Capezio Dance Award, the first ethnic dancers so honored, and the Catlin Peace Pipe Award from the Red Dawn Sioux. The book, a veritable encyclopedia of dance, is well illustrated with paintings, drawings, and photographs.

Magnificent Derelicts: A Celebration of Older Buildings. By RONALD WOODALL. (Vancouver, B. C.: J. J. Douglas Ltd., 1975. 152 pp. \$29.95.)

This handsome and very personal book contains seventy-six finely detailed paintings of abandoned structures scattered throughout the Canadian and American West. Although regrettably prettified in some instances, the paintings are technically proficient in the style of Andrew Wyeth and eerily successful in capturing the sad dignity of what many idly dismiss as rural eyesores. Although the subjects are drawn from two countries and from a wide geographic area, they suggest a common vocabulary for rural folk architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the western states and provinces.

The Rancheria, Ute, and Southern Paiute Peoples. By BERTHA P. DUTTON. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976. Xix + 124 pp. Paper, \$3.95.)

A useful reference containing history, culture, present conditions, population statistics, a calendar of annual events and ceremonies, and a suggested reading list.

Serbs in the United States and Canada: A Comprehensive Bibliography. Compiled by ROBERT P. GAKOVICH and MILAN M. RADOVICH. (Minneapolis: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1977. Xii + 129 pp. Paper, \$6.00.)

Includes books, pamphlets, archives, selected articles, and newspapers and other periodicals.

To the West in 1894: Travel Journal of Dr. James Douglass English of Worthington, Indiana. Edited by GAYLE THORNBROUGH. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1977. X + 98 pp. Paper, \$2.00.)

Some of the doctor's Utah entries leave one wishing for more detail. For example, he was shown through part of the Salt Lake Temple "as far as a non-Mormon is permitted to go." Since the temple had been dedicated a year and a half earlier, what parts did he see and when and why were such partial tours discontinued? Also, preservationists will wish he had said more about

Samuel P. and Oliver P. Warren, contracting carpenters from Indiana who had built "several fine residences" in Salt Lake City.

Tour Guide to the Old West. By ALICE CROMIE. (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company, 1977. Xii + 464 pp. \$12.50.)

This guide to nineteen western states contains more historical data on places and the people associated with them than most guide books and, therefore, makes a more interesting traveling companion. Many sites not found in other tour guides are found here, although some entries might mislead travelers. For example, the site of Fort Rawlins in Provo, Utah, would scarcely be worth the time to locate as none of the fort remains, the area being covered by tract homes. Also, the status of some sites has changed: Brigham Young's Forest Farm house and Pioneer Village have been moved to new locations. Out-of-state writers and publishers would do well to double-check data of this kind with local historical societies.

Underfoot: An Everyday Guide to Exploring the American Past. By DAVID WEITZMAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976. 192 pp. \$12.95.)

A layman's guide to family and town history, including directions for recording the history of old buildings, making genealogical tables, collecting oral history, etc.

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