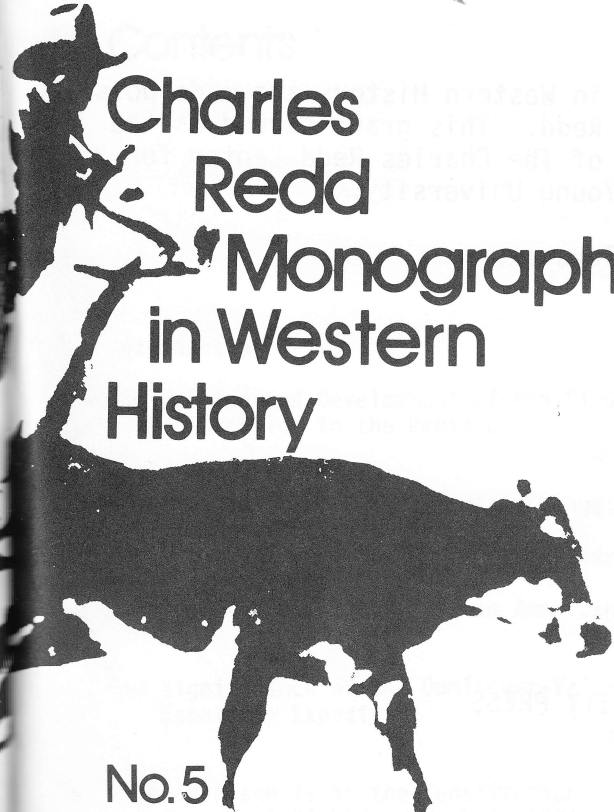
A black silhouette of a cowboy riding a bucking horse, positioned on the left side of the cover. The cowboy is wearing a hat and is leaning forward, holding onto the horse. The horse is in a dynamic, bucking pose, with its front legs tucked and its body arched.

Charles  
Redd  
Monographs  
in Western  
History

No.5

Thomas G. Alexander, editor

Essays on  
the American West,  
1973-1974



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Introduction

# Essays on the American West, 1973-1974

The essays in this collection were originally published in the *Journal of American Studies* between 1973 and 1974. During this period, the journal was edited by the late Professor J. H. Stovall. The articles cover a wide range of subjects in the various disciplines, including literature, history, anthropology, and geography. Because they were first published in a journal devoted to the study of the American West, they are particularly relevant to the study of the American West.



# The Opening and Development of the First Route from the Rockies to the Pacific

LeRoy R. Hafen

A son of the nineteenth-century Mormon frontier, LeRoy Hafen was born in Bunkerville, Nevada. As he has said himself, this was "not the Nevada of famous Virginia City," nor "of alluring Las Vegas." It was rather the Nevada of a "sleepy little farming village . . . beside the roily, rampant river, inappropriately called . . . Rio Virgin." From a lifetime of research and interest in the frontier, Professor Hafen has produced an impressive shelf of books and articles. In the present work, he has traced the development of the routes which led through the Mountain West to the Pacific Coast. His interest has centered on the corridor which led through the area near his home in southeastern Nevada. Added to the historical narrative is a personal note about his efforts to cross the same route during the first decades of this century.

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As background for study of the opening of a route from the Rocky Mountains to California, one should turn back the pages of history to the early explorations which occurred soon after the discovery of America.

After the conquest of Mexico by Cortez and the discovery of much gold there in the 1520s, Spain pushed southward under Pizarro and obtained the rich gold supplies of the Incas of Peru in the 1530s. In the next decade she sought furiously for another Mexico and another Peru in the land to the north. Three expeditions went in pursuit of the Seven Cities of Cibola, Quivira, and other mythical lands of gold. One of these was led by Hernando de Soto, who willingly gambled the wealth he had acquired in Peru on a great venture into Florida and southeastern United States. He found some caches of pearls, but after three years of futile search found no gold--only discouragement and death. Francisco Coronado, at the same time, led an equally splendid caravan northward into Arizona, New Mexico, and even to faraway Kansas, but he was equally unsuccessful.

A third expedition of the 1540s was led by Juan Cabrillo up the West Coast of America to California and even to Oregon. He too met discouragement and death. These three expeditions failed to gain wealth, but they did reveal much of the geography of southern and western United States.

Despite the failure of the Spaniards to find gold in the northland, they gradually pushed their farming and cattle-raising frontier northward in Mexico, and at the end of the sixteenth century they established under Oñate the far-inland colony of New Mexico in 1598. This remained Spain's northernmost settlement for 150 years.

Then, when Russia threatened to extend her Alaskan outposts southward into Spanish California, Spain exerted herself and established missions and settlements there under the leadership of Father Serra. These outposts, begun at San Diego in 1769, survived with difficulty. The Indians were unfriendly, agriculture developed slowly, and it was difficult to bring cattle and supplies in the small boats over stormy seas from distant Mexico City. Supply routes by land were needed. One was developed from Sonora and Arizona to California, and it was suggested that supplies might also be brought from the old and well-established settlements of New Mexico. In this situation the attempt was made to tie these two far-northern Spanish colonies together. Both New Mexico and California were isolated from the settled areas of Mexico by several hundred miles of arid and hostile land. The two outpost colonies, New Mexico and California, were themselves about a thousand miles apart, and no one knew how barren and forbidding the land between them might be.

But there were daring spirits who were willing to face the unknown and find out--to see if a land route could be opened from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. No one was more enthusiastic for such a project than Silvestre Escalante. He had traveled in Sonora and Arizona, and from his post at the Indian town of Zuni on the western New Mexico border, he had explored farther west and north. He learned of the hostility of the Hopi to the west and of the rugged Grand Canyon country to the north, so he concluded that the most feasible route toward California would be north of the Grand Canyon and through the country of the friendly Utes. Accordingly, a project was planned. It was to be under the direction of two Franciscan fathers, Domínguez and Escalante. Domínguez was the superior in rank, but since the moving spirit, the major enthusiast, and the diarist of the expedition was Escalante, the expedition has taken his name.<sup>1</sup>

The little party of ten mounted men set out from Santa Fe in July 1776. They left the frontier town of Abiquiu, moved up the Chama River valley, and pushed across the southwestern corner of present Colorado to the south of the high San Juan



Mountains. After passing near the site of present Durango, Colorado, they crossed to the north of Mesa Verde. (In checking my diary a short time ago, I found that I first visited Mesa Verde and tramped a part of the Escalante Trail in 1927--forty-six years ago. My wife Mary and I visited the area about two months ago. Near here a big forest of Utah cedars, noted in 1927, is now replaced by vast stretches of pinto beans, and the town of Dove Creek claims to be the pinto bean capital of the world.)

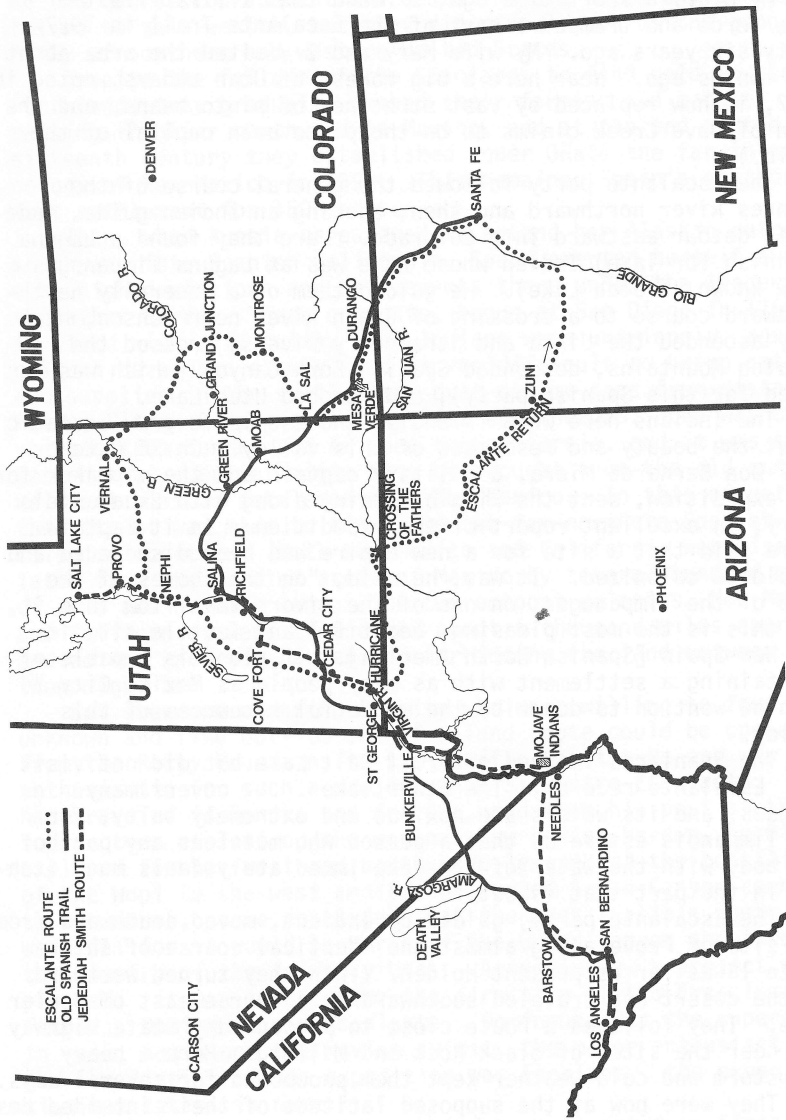
The Escalante party followed the general course of the Dolores River northward and then, seeking an Indian guide, made a big detour eastward into Colorado. Here they found a Laguna (Spanish for lake) Indian whose home was at Laguna Timpanogos (now known as Utah Lake). He guided them on a generally north-westward course to a crossing of Green River near Jenson, Utah. They ascended the Uinta and Strawberry rivers, crossed the Wasatch Mountains, descended Spanish Fork Canyon (which was named for this Spanish party), and reached Utah Lake.

The Indians here were friendly, and Escalante grew ecstatic about the beauty and resources of this valley. On 26 October 1777 Don Bernardo Miera, a military captain and the mapmaker for the expedition, sent the king of Spain, along with Escalante's diary, an excellent report of the expedition. In it Captain Miera said that a site for a new empire had been discovered and should be colonized. It was, he said, "on the shores of the lake of the Timpanogos, on one of the rivers that flow into it, for this is the most pleasing, beautiful and fertile site in all New Spain [Spanish North America]. It alone is capable of maintaining a settlement with as many people as Mexico City."<sup>2</sup> Then he went on to describe the wonderful resources of this valley.

The Spaniards learned of Great Salt Lake but did not visit it. Escalante records, "The other lake . . . covers many leagues, and its waters are noxious and extremely salty, for the Timpanois assure us that a person who moistens any part of his body with the water of the lake immediately feels much itching in the part that is wet."<sup>3</sup>

The Escalante party, guided by Indians, moved southward from the site of Provo along almost the identical course of Interstate 15 as far as present Holden. Then they turned westward to the desert and traveled southward on a course east of Sevier Lake. They followed a route close to present-day State Highway 257 near the sites of Black Rock and Milford. Here a heavy snowstorm and cold weather kept them snowbound for several days.

They were now at the supposed latitude of their intended destination at Monterey, California. But to the west was a bleak desert, and they didn't know how far it extended. The fathers decided to give up the further journey and return to Santa Fe. But Captain Miera and some others of the party were so



Trails to the Pacific, 1776-1826

dissatisfied with this decision that the fathers finally, as Escalante records, "decided to inquire anew the will of God by means of casting lots." After repeating psalms and prayers the lots were cast, and the decision was to turn back to New Mexico. They continued southward to the Virgin River near Hurricane, then traveled eastward along the Kaibab Plateau, forded the Colorado River at what was later to be called the "Crossing of the Fathers," a little above the site of Glen Canyon Dam, and proceeded back to Santa Fe.

Escalante had failed in his main objective, which was to open a route to California, but he did open the eastern end of such a route before he turned back. He had achieved one of the notable explorations of western America--through the great interior of present-day Utah and Colorado.

Correlated with the Escalante expedition was a tour by the Spanish padre Francisco Garcés in the same famous year, 1776. He pioneered a trail from Los Angeles over Cajon Pass and across the desert to the Colorado River at the Mojave Indian villages.<sup>4</sup> He thus opened a trail some distance eastward from the West Coast and traversed the western end of the first route between the Rockies and California.

There now remained to be discovered a route connecting the explorations of Escalante from the east with those of Garcés from the west. It was not until 1826, fifty years after the journeys of the two Spanish padres, that this feat was to be accomplished. It was done, in the main, by Jedediah Smith, a Yankee American. He was not only one of the greatest of our far-western explorers, but also a high-caliber and well-respected man--a real Christian gentleman. He carried the Bible along with his rifle on his many far-flung adventures and has sometimes been called the "knight in buckskin."

Jedediah had entered the fur trade of the West in 1822, going first with the Ashley men up the Missouri River to the northern Rockies.<sup>5</sup> In 1824 he and Thomas Fitzpatrick pioneered a route over the continental divide at South Pass, the gateway to the Far West. He pursued the fur trade in the central Rockies during the next two years and in 1826, with David Jackson and William Sublette, bought out Ashley. The Smith, Jackson, and Sublette partners now began a vigorous search for furs. While Jackson and Sublette headed trapper bands into the known fur-rich areas of the central Rockies, Jedediah Smith led a brigade to seek out new fur fields to exploit. Leading fifteen men, he left Great Salt Lake in August 1826, their pack animals loaded with goods to trade to the Indians.

From Utah Lake he followed the route of Escalante to the Sevier River, then turned left from the padre's trail and opened a new one up the Sevier River, going past the sites of Gunnison and Salina. A little below Richfield he left the Sevier to avoid its difficult canyon and, following Clear Creek westward,

by the very important Las Vegas Spring east of Spring Mountain. These two shortcuts established a good practical route that became part of the western end of the Old Spanish Trail<sup>10</sup> and later of the Mormon Trail.

Commerce over the Old Spanish Trail continued regularly from 1831 to 1848. The trail extended from New Mexico, the land of sheep, to California, the land of horses. Each autumn the pack-mule caravan set out from Santa Fe, its mules and burros laden with bulging packs of woolen blankets and serapes. After an arduous journey of twelve hundred miles over mountains and deserts, the caravan reached southern California. During the winter the traders bartered their woolen goods for horses and mules and in the spring assembled the animals near San Bernardino, then drove them eastward over the Old Spanish Trail. The desert stretches from Cajon Pass to Mountain Meadows, near Enterprise, could not be traversed in midsummer, and even in the spring they took a large toll of livestock, for there were thirty- to sixty-mile stretches between some of the watering places. The trail from Las Vegas to the Muddy River was fifty-five long, desolate miles.

This trail also became a route for horse thieves, who rounded up animals from California ranches and missions and drove them to the Rockies for sale to the mountain fur men. In 1840 about three thousand horses and mules were gathered up in California by American mountain men, who drove them through Cajon Pass and across the desert. Spanish soldiers and armed civilians gave pursuit. The thieves--led by Pegleg Smith, Old Bill Williams, and Philip Thompson--divided their forces, and some of their party pushed on with the stolen horses as the remainder hid near one of the desert springs. While the Spaniards rested at this water hole the American freebooters attacked the pursuing expedition and ran off their mounts. The surprised Spaniards were left to make their way back to their California homes on foot. There were numerous other forays carried on with more or less success. Chief Wakara of the Utes also joined in raiding the California ranches for horses and mules.<sup>11</sup>

The trail saw a profitable trade in Indian slaves as well. Piute Indian children obtained in southern Nevada and Utah were taken to New Mexico, where a ready market was found. They were sold for about two hundred dollars apiece. One of the earliest laws passed in Utah forbade this traffic in Indian children, and some New Mexico traders were arrested, tried, and convicted at Provo in Utah County.<sup>12</sup> Chief Wakara complained when the Mormons interfered with his profitable slave trade. He said that if the Mormons would not let the New Mexicans buy the children, then the Mormons should buy them. To emphasize their argument Wakara's men said that if the Mormons would not buy the children then they would kill them. After they dashed one child to the ground, the Mormons bought a few children to save their

lives.

In 1844 Colonel John C. Fremont led the first government expedition over most of the route from southern California to Utah. He wrote a detailed description and prepared a good map of the trail.<sup>13</sup>

With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, however, the regular traffic over the Old Spanish Trail came to an end. The Oregon-California Trail along the Humboldt River of northern Nevada, as well as the Gila River route across southern Arizona, replaced the older trade route.

Then the entry of the Mormon pioneers into Salt Lake Valley in 1847 introduced other remarkable changes. In the summer of that year most of the Mormon Battalion, who had tramped a southern Arizona route to California in 1846, returned eastward after release from their year of military service. They journeyed by way of the Humboldt River and crossed northern Nevada to Salt Lake Valley.

In the fall of 1847 a small party of Mormons was sent from Salt Lake City over the Jedediah Smith route and Old Spanish Trail to southern California to obtain cattle, seed grain, fruit pits, and fruit cuttings for Utah. They came back in the spring of 1848. John Hunt reports:

We started out with about 200 cows, for which we gave him [Colonel Williams of Chino Ranch] \$6. each, and a few pack animals and mares, also about 40 bulls. He told us he would give us all the bulls we wanted to drive off. They all died but one from thirst, while about 100 cows also perished.<sup>14</sup>

Following them came the remnant of the Mormon Battalion that had served another six months in the military. These Battalion boys brought with them the first wagon to rut a track from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City.<sup>15</sup> This introduced wagon transportation over the trail that had heretofore seen only packhorse traffic.

The first large wagon caravan trekked over this trail in 1849--a party of one hundred wagons guided by Jefferson Hunt, a former captain in the Mormon Battalion. At ten dollars per wagon he agreed to lead the gold seekers from Provo southward and over the Old Spanish Trail to the coast. En route south some members of the party reported that they had been told by Barney Ward, a mountain man turned Mormon, of a shortcut to the northern California mines that would save them several hundred miles of travel.<sup>16</sup> This route reportedly left the regular trail near the site of Enterprise, Utah, and went westward. Hunt said he knew no such shortcut; he had agreed to take them over the Old Spanish Trail and would not take chances on a supposed

shorter route. The result was a split in the party. A large number of the wagons left the known road a little east of famous Mountain Meadows. A number of the members of this party ended up in a valley that because of their suffering came to be called Death Valley. The other wagons followed Jefferson Hunt and reached California in safety.<sup>17</sup>

In 1850 a group of California-bound gold seekers, after recruiting in Salt Lake City, decided to take the southern route to the coast. This party of ninety wagons arranged with Barney Ward to pilot them and agreed to pay him ten dollars per wagon. But Ward was called off to Ogden because of an Indian murder, so the emigrants went on without him. An excellent account of the journey, written by David Cheesman, was published by the Historical Society of Southern California in 1930.<sup>18</sup>

A Mormon colony of about five hundred settlers went from Salt Lake City to found San Bernardino, California, arriving there in June 1851. Thereafter there was considerable travel between San Bernardino and Salt Lake. Among the emigrants in 1852 were numbers of so-called "free will" Mormons, who departed Zion without permission. During the 1850s there was so much travel over the Salt Lake-to-Los Angeles route that it came to be called the Mormon Trail, or the southern route to California. A sequence of arrivals to and departures from San Bernardino, 1851-67, is given by Ray M. Reeder in his 1966 Ph.D. dissertation, the first written in history at Brigham Young University.<sup>19</sup>

A mail route between California and Utah was first established on the Humboldt River route in 1851. When the contractor, George Chorpensing, was unable to use this northern route because of winter weather or Indian troubles, he took the mail by water from San Francisco to San Pedro and thence over the southern route to Salt Lake City. This occurred first in March 1852.<sup>20</sup> In the midfifties a monthly service was established on the southern route; a weekly service from Salt Lake south as far as Cedar City was to be established in the 1860s. Then in 1867 a telegraph line was extended from Salt Lake City to St. George.<sup>21</sup>

Official explorations over some or all of the route were made by John W. Gunnison and Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith and by J. C. Fremont in 1853 and one by E. F. Beale and G. W. Heap in 1854.<sup>22</sup> Other travelers over the trail wrote important descriptions of the road and conditions along it.<sup>23</sup>

Pioneer settlers along the road south of Salt Lake City built bridges and otherwise improved the road, and some meager appropriations were made by the territorial legislature. Then in 1853 Congress appropriated \$25,000 for the southern road from Salt Lake,<sup>24</sup> but this was too small a sum to effect much improvement.

In 1855 the Mormons established a mission to the Indians at Las Vegas. It was also a little colony and a way station on the

Mormon Trail to southern California. The proselyting effort met with discouragement, and the mission was abandoned after about two years. Today one adobe building, the so-called fort, remains as a reminder of the early mission. The meadow of grass and mesquite bush became the Stewart Ranch and continued as a station on the trail.

Large and important freighting activity developed over the Salt Lake-to-Los Angeles route. The first freight train was led by John and Enoch Reese. It left Salt Lake City in December 1853 with twenty-four wagons and one hundred head of stock. It procured dry goods, groceries, and other items in California and returned to Utah in the spring of 1854. (En route, Indians stole \$10,000 worth of their goods.)<sup>25</sup> Amasa Lyman, C. C. Rich and other prominent Mormons engaged in freighting in the middle 1850s. Los Angeles merchants also took up the freighting of goods to Salt Lake.<sup>26</sup> In 1855 George Banning and others sent from Los Angeles a train of fifteen wagons drawn by 150 miles.

The Utah War of 1857-58 interfered with freighting between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. Some of the liquor freighted to Utah from California in earlier years had found little market, but after Johnston's Army was stationed at Camp Floyd in 1858 there was a great demand for liquid refreshment, and much was shipped in. Soon many saloons dotted what Gustive Larson has referred to as "Whiskey Street" in Salt Lake City.<sup>27</sup> In early 1859, 210 wagons hauled freight to Salt Lake City.<sup>28</sup>

Hundreds of tons of goods were freighted from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City every year during the 1860s, and freight charges ran about twenty cents per pound.<sup>29</sup> By this time most of the freighting had been taken over by professional freighters. They had big teams and drove with a jerk line. Some of the bull-whackers and mule skiners were pretty rough characters and were noted for their picturesque and violent swearing; in fact, some of them contended that such strings of expletives were the only language mules understood. (Before the railroad came to Ogden in 1869, much freight was carried in wagon trains from Los Angeles, not only to Salt Lake City, but also on to the mines of Montana.)<sup>30</sup>

After the railroad reached Utah from the East there was a marked reduction in wagon freighting, but much traffic continued over the southern route to the settlements along what Milton Hunter calls the Mormon Corridor. Some travel and transportation continued over the entire route between Salt Lake and Los Angeles. When the Salt Lake and Los Angeles railroad was being built after the turn of the century, it eliminated most of the wagon transportation as the railroad moved southward. (I remember that at different stages we in Bunkerville drove to the end of track at Milford and later at Modena to get our freight--trips of one hundred to two hundred miles by wagon.)

When the railroad reached the choice site of Las Vegas, the company laid out a town in about 1906. It quickly became an important railroad station with a considerable forwarding business in serving the mines of Bullfrog, Goldfield, and Tonapah in southern Nevada.

(A personal note: In 1913 I spent the longest summer of my life working on a ranch near Las Vegas to earn money to take me to college. Operating a three-horse fresno, I spent much of my time leveling mesquite-rooted sand knolls to make an alfalfa field. This area would later become a city subdivision adjoining present McCarran Airfield at Las Vegas.)

An entirely new era came with the automobile, and the Old Spanish and Mormon trails obtained new importance. I saw something of the beginning of that development. In 1916, after graduation from Brigham Young University, I went back to my home town of Bunkerville as a high school teacher. That fall three road enthusiasts in an automobile performed the difficult feat of traveling from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City. On their stop in Bunkerville, the townspeople gave them a public dinner and made an attentive audience for their meeting, which had been arranged to promote what they called the "Arrow Head Trail." My late wife, Ann, wrote a poem entitled "The Arrow Head Trail," which she read at the meeting. The Los Angeles men were thrilled with it. "It's just what we want," they said. "Let's take the girl along to read it at other meetings en route." However, the chairman of the meeting threw a monkey wrench into the automobile by saying, "I don't think she can go. She's got a baby."

In 1918 Ann and I took the stagecoach from Bunkerville to Moapa, the train from there to Las Vegas, and attended a county teachers' convention. Then we bought a model T Ford--I think the price was \$695. By refilling the radiator a few times I made it safely across the ninety miles back to our home in one day.

The subsequent development of this road into U. S. Highway 91 and then into Interstate 15 is too well known and recent to require telling here. Suffice it to say that a route was opened and developed which has become one of the important thoroughfares of modern America. In under a century and a half, this route has witnessed the passage of habited friars, Spanish traders, mountain men, mule skinnners, and automobilists. Today, it has become an important highway, but if sand and mesquite could talk, what a tale they could tell!



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# Righteousness and Environmental Change: The Mormons and the Environment

Richard H. Jackson

In what will undoubtedly become one of the significant pieces of revisionist writing in the field of Mormon historical geography, Richard Jackson, assistant professor of geography at Brigham Young University, has dealt with the first perceptions of nineteenth-century Utah. Based on an extensive survey of contemporary diaries and journals, this study goes beyond the popular stereotype to determine the contemporary views of the first groups to enter the valley. Contrary to the usual image, Professor Jackson found that the Mormon immigrants perceived a fertile valley which required only their efforts to produce bounteously. Although they recognized their duty to husband and irrigate the land, they believed that God would modify the cold climate since they could not themselves.

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The settlers of North America were constantly attempting to change the climate and general environment of their new home. Initially, this took the form of clearing the woodland of the humid eastern seaboard. The innocent tree was blamed for a climate which was colder and more humid than lands lying at a similar latitude in Europe. The cold wet winters were particularly annoying, and the cause was ascribed to

The air and the earth, overloaded with humid and noxious vapours, . . . unable either to purify themselves, or to profit by the influences of the sun, who darts in vain his most enlivening rays upon this frigid mass [forest], which is not in a condition to make suitable return to his ardour. Its powers are limited to the production of moist plants, reptiles, and insects, and can afford nourishment only to cold men and feeble animals.<sup>1</sup>

The solution to such cold wet areas was rather straightforward in the view of some colonists. One noted:

Let us set fire to this cumbersome load of vegetables, . . . to those superannuated forests, which are already half consumed; let us finish the work, by destroying with iron what could not be dissipated by fire.<sup>2</sup>

The net result of so doing would result in a warmer and drier climate, and destruction of the forest remained a major theme in climatic change until the advancing settlers reached the subhumid plains. On the plains there occurred a rather logical transformation of the idea that the forests of the East caused it to be too cold and wet. If trees caused rain, planting trees in the plain would remove the aridity and at the same time cool the climate. The salutary effect of trees in arid areas would be so great that one observer was prompted to remark that, if trees were to be planted even in the "burning sands" of Arabia,

A single forest . . . in the midst of these parched deserts, would be sufficient to render them more temperate, to attract the waters from the atmosphere, to restore all the principles of fertility to the earth, and, of course, to make man, in these barren regions, enjoy all the sweets of a temperate climate.<sup>3</sup>

The innocent tree had regained respectability; instead of destroying it, man should now cultivate it. The outgrowth of this changing perception of the tree was the Timber Culture Act of 1873, which allowed homesteaders an extra quarter section of 160 acres if they would only plant 40 acres of it with trees to make the plains cooler and moister.<sup>4</sup> The plains still suffered from lack of moisture, but the dream of rainmaking continued in the western United States.

A senator from Texas petitioned Congress to fund a project in rainmaking in the late 1800s. Congress appropriated \$14,000 for equipment, and Major R. G. Dyrenforth was assigned to make rain for west Texas.<sup>5</sup> Without cataloging his attempts, suffice it to say that west Texas remains dry. For his endeavor, however, Major Dyrenforth received the sobriquet of Major Dryhenceforth, a name which presumably dogged him until he gratefully left this vale of sorrows. Examples of rainmaking attempts and other attempts to change the environment are too numerous to catalog, but they occurred in every state.

Against this background of environmental manipulation in the United States, the Mormon pioneers arrived in their promised

land in the West. Even the most optimistic of the Saints recognized that the Salt Lake Valley was in an area with inadequate precipitation, and attempts to modify the Great Basin environment by remedying this deficiency were to occupy a significant proportion of their time in the months and years to come. Before examining their efforts to do this, however, it is necessary--in order to understand the effect of their environmental modification--to have a clear and accurate understanding of how they viewed the environment.

#### REACTIONS TO THE FIRST VIEW OF THE VALLEY

The Mormon response to the environment of the Salt Lake Valley is widely accepted by member and nonmember alike as being one of disappointment at finding a dry and desert place. In the words of Orson Whitney in his history of Utah:

It was no Garden of the Hesperides upon which the Pioneers gazed that memorable July morning. Aside from its scenic splendor, which was indeed glorious, magnificent, there was little to invite and much to repel in the prospect presented to their view. A broad and barren plain hemmed in by mountains, blistering in the burning rays of the mid-summer sun. No waving fields, no swaying forests, no verdant meadows to refresh the weary eye, but on all sides a seemingly interminable waste of sagebrush bespangled with sunflowers--the paradise of the lizard, the cricket, and the rattlesnake. Less than half way across the baked and burning valley, dividing it in twain--as if the vast bowl, in the intense heat of the Master Potter's fires, in process of formation had cracked asunder--a narrow river, turbid and shallow, from south to north in many a serpentine curve, sweeps on its sinous way.  
.....

Silence and desolation reign. A silence unbroken, save by the cricket's ceaseless chirp, the roar of the mountain torrent, or the whir and twitter of the passing bird. A desolation of centuries, where earth seems heaven-forsaken, where hermit Nature, watching, waiting, weeps, and worships God amid eternal solitudes.<sup>6</sup>

The main elements of this view are familiar to any who have read the story of the Mormon pioneers. The "interminable wastes of sagebrush," the "paradise of the lizard . . . and the

rattlesnake," and the "baked and burning valley" are common themes in nearly all accounts detailing the settlement of the Salt Lake Valley. Contemporary records of the reaction of the pioneer company do not provide the same view of the Salt Lake Valley. Orson Pratt and Lorenzo Snow were the first to enter the valley on 21 July 1847. Pratt recorded in his diary his initial reaction to the view before them:

Mr. Snow and myself ascended this hill, from the top of which a broad open valley, about twenty miles wide and thirty long, lay stretched out before us, at the north end of which the broad waters of the Great Salt Lake glistened in the sunbeams, containing high mountainous islands from 25 to 30 miles in extent. After issuing from the mountains among which we had been shut up for many days, and beholding in a moment such an extensive scenery open before us, we could not refrain from a shout of joy which almost involuntarily escaped from our lips the moment this grand and lovely scenery was within our view.<sup>7</sup>

The other leaders concurred in this favorable reaction to their first view of the valley. Wilford Woodruff was even more ecstatic in his reaction to the panorama unfolded before him as they emerged from the mountains:

This the 24th day of July, 1847, was an important day in the history of my life, and in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After traveling from our encampment six miles through the deep ravine valley ending with the canyon, we came in full view of the valley of the Great Salt Lake, or the Great Basin--the Land of Promise, held in reserve by the hand of God as a resting place for the Saints.

We gazed with wonder and admiration upon the most fertile valley spread out before us for about twenty-five miles in length and sixteen miles in width, clothed with a heavy garment of vegetation, and in the midst of which glistened the waters of the Great Salt Lake, with mountains all around towering to the skies, and streams, rivulets and creeks of pure water running through the beautiful valley.

After a hard journey from Winter Quarters of more than one thousand miles, through flats of the Platte River, and plateaus of the Black Hills and Rocky Mountains and over the burning sands, and

eternal sage regions, willow swales and rocky regions, to gaze upon a valley of such a vast extent surrounded with a perfect chain of everlasting mountains covered with eternal snow, with their innumerable peaks like pyramids towering towards heaven, presented at one view to us the grandest scenery and prospect that we could have obtained on earth.

Thoughts of pleasant meditation ran in rapid succession through our minds at the anticipation that not many years hence the House of God would be established in the mountains and exalted above the hills, while the valleys would be converted into orchards, vineyards, fields, etc., planted with cities, and the standard of Zion be unfurled, unto which the nations would gather.<sup>8</sup>

Brigham Young, perhaps because of his illness, recorded only that he entered the valley and traveled to where the advance group had set up camp and commenced planting their crops.<sup>9</sup>

These views by the leaders, while dwelling on the scenic beauty of the valley, also indicate that the leaders did not regard it as a desert. Woodruff indicates that it was "clothed with vegetation," that it "was the most fertile valley" and promised a "prospect" better than any they could "have obtained on earth." The majority of the members echoed the view of the leaders when they gazed upon their anticipated home.

The members of the pioneer party were overwhelmed at the first sight of the Salt Lake Valley. When the company issued forth from the canyon and the valley appeared before them, the diarists record that "at the view of the valley the Saints shouted halleluah [sic]."<sup>10</sup> Other diarists recorded the appearance of the valley as well as their reaction to it. William Clayton, the most articulate diarist, noted:

While the brethren were cutting the road, I followed the old one [the Donner-Reed trail of 1846] to the top of the hill and on arriving there was much cheered by a handsome view of the Great Salt Lake lying, as I should judge, from twenty-five to thirty miles to the west of us; and at eleven o'clock I sat down to contemplate and view the surrounding scenery. There is an extensive, beautiful, level looking valley from here to the lake which I should judge from the numerous deep green patches must be fertile and rich. The valley extends to the south probably fifty miles where it is again surrounded by high mountains. To the southwest across the valley at



about twenty to twenty-five miles distance is a high mountain, extending from the south end of the valley to about opposite this place where it ceases abruptly leaving a pleasant view of the dark waters of the lake. Standing on the lake and about due west there are two mountains and far in the distance another one which I suppose is on the other side of the lake probably from sixty to eighty miles distance. To the northwest is another mountain at the base of which is a lone ridge of what I should consider to be rock salt from its white and shining appearance. The lake does not show at this distance a very extensive surface, but its dark blue shade resembling the calm sea looks very handsome. The intervening valley appears to be well supplied with streams, creeks and lakes, some of the latter are evidently salt. There is but little timber in sight anywhere, and that is mostly on the banks of creeks and streams of water which is almost the only objection which could be raised in my estimation to this being one of the most beautiful valleys and pleasant places for home for the Saints which can be found.<sup>11</sup>

The foregoing statement is typical of the other extended entries by Clayton throughout the trip across the plains. The following overview is by a member of the pioneer party who had assignments to fulfill about the camp, and who previously had limited his journal entries to terse comments. As such, this passage is a more important indication of the reaction of the members as they overlooked their new home. After struggling through the narrow canyon they succeeded in getting through and

when we turned round the hill to the right and came in full view of the Salt Lake in the distance, with its blue hills on its islands towering up in bold relief behind the silvery lake--a very exclusive [sic] valley burst forth upon our view, dotted 3 or 4 places with timber--I should expect the valley to be about 30 miles long and 20 miles wide--I could not help shouting "hurra, hurra, hurra, heres my home at last"--the sky is very clear the air delightful and all together looks glorious.<sup>12</sup>

As the journals indicate, the pioneers were pleased with the appearance of their new home. Although it lacked timber, the valley was "one of the most beautiful" and provided a "pleasant place" in which the Saints could dwell. These positive

impressions were made when the pioneers were some miles from the valley proper. Proximity to the settlement site, however, did not dim their optimistic appraisal.

## REACTIONS TO THE VALLEY AFTER ENTRY

### Vegetation

A pioneer reported of their journey across the valley to the camping site that "the Wheat grass grows 6 or 7 feet high, many different kinds of grass appear, some being 10 or 12 feet high."<sup>13</sup> The pioneers, "after wading thro' thick grass for some distance," found "a place bare enough for a camping ground, the grass being only knee deep, but very thick."<sup>14</sup> At the site where the pioneers encamped in the valley they found the land was "black" and looked "rich" and was "sandy enough to make it good to work." The grass grew "high and thick on the ground" and was "well mixed with nice green rushes."<sup>15</sup>

Timber was limited. There was little to be seen, and that primarily along the streams. There were some trees, however. In speaking of the lack of timber, the diarists were comparing it to the lands they had come from, not making absolute statements that there were "no trees" or "only two or three cottonwoods" along the streams. To a group used to constructing their homes and buildings from logs, the sparseness of the timber was magnified. Numerous comments on the timber in Salt Lake Valley could be provided, but the following ones should suffice to lay to rest the idea that there was only one tree in the valley when the pioneers arrived.

Brigham Young cautioned the Saints before leaving to return to Winter Quarters on 9 September 1847, that

selecting your firewood, it will be wisdom to choose that which is dry and not suitable for timber of any kind, and we wish all the green timber and shrubbery in and about the city to remain as it is.<sup>16</sup>

Henry Bigler noted in his diary the following year that he built a house in a grove of trees on City Creek, stating in October that

I began to make preparations to build me a house on a city lot . . . situated in a very nice part of the city on City Creek, a nice little grove of Box-Elder and Cottonwood on it.<sup>17</sup>

## Climate

The climate of the Salt Lake Valley was of particular concern because it directly affected the agrarian society of the Mormons. Some indications of the concern of the Mormon pioneers over the climate is indicated by the journal entries reporting a thundershower on the day the entire company arrived. The diarists all reported it, and in the words of one leader, "We felt thankful for this, as it was the general opinion that it never rained in the valley during the summer season."<sup>18</sup> As noted by another leader, however, the shower did not yield "enough rain to benefit the ground."<sup>19</sup> While relieved that some rain did fall in the summer months, the Mormons were still well aware that they were in a region with an "excessive dry climate"<sup>20</sup> which "lacks rain."<sup>21</sup>

The dryness of the atmosphere, however, made the "sky very clear and the air delightful."<sup>22</sup> The canyon breezes at night resulted in evenings that were pleasantly cool after the hot days. "The northeast winds seem to prevail here at this season and coming from the mountains of snow are cold when the sun is down."<sup>23</sup> The heat during the day was ameliorated by a "regular bracing salt breeze which comes from the north west off the Great Salt Lake."<sup>24</sup>

The general view of the climate is summed up by Levi Jackman, who noted in his diary on 28 July 1847 that

the salt and warm springs in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake . . . makes the wind that reaches us from the north west warm, and what with that and the saline particles that float in the atmosphere, will make the climate mild and salubrious in the winter. . . . Certainly I never was in any place where the heat of mid summer was so temperate as it is here by the salt. Everyone that has come here sick are rapidly becoming strong and healthy.<sup>25</sup>

This favorable view of the healthful aspects of the climate and its suitability is reiterated in many diaries, causing the pioneers to characterize the Salt Lake Valley as being possessed of "a beautiful dry and salubrious climate and exhilarating [sic] atmosphere" which was the "most favored spot for health on the globe," even "surpassing any place that can be found on the coast."<sup>26</sup>

## Soil

The quality of the soil was also of particular interest to the Mormons. The cursory assessment of the soil at their first

encampment showed it to be a rich, black soil with some sand in it. A soil profile revealed "a thin bed of clay--after about a foot depth of rich soil; then rich soil again."<sup>27</sup> A gross analysis revealed that the soil was "fertile friable loam, with fine gravel from quartz, granite, sandstone and hornstone trap."<sup>28</sup> Examination of the soil in other sites in the valley showed that there were other fertile sections but also infertile sections. The land south and east of the Great Salt Lake was "exceedingly rich," but that in the immediate vicinity of the lake was "sterile and barren."<sup>29</sup>

On the western side of the Salt Lake Valley, beyond the Jordan River, the explorers found the sagebrush that was so important to the mental image later authors present of the Salt Lake Valley upon the arrival of the Mormons. "They say the wild sage is very plentiful on the other side of the valley, showing that the land is not so rich there as here," wrote Clayton.<sup>30</sup> However, the general view of the soil in the eastern half of the valley, where the Mormons had located, was positive: "There appears to be unanimous agreement in regard to the richness of the soil."<sup>31</sup>

### Landscape Features

The foregoing descriptions of the Salt Lake Valley are not meant to imply that no one was dissatisfied with the choice of the valley as a location for the Saints. Some of the emigrants of 1847 wanted to move on to California, which even then had a reputation in the East as an idyllic region. The Mormon paper at Nauvoo had printed accounts in 1844 and 1845 which stated that no stoves for heat nor winter clothes were ever needed in California. Apparently the siren call of California affected some people. Levi Jackman noted in his diary in January and February of 1848:

A spirit of dissatisfaction began to show itself as to the country and against our leaders. Sum wanted to go to Call [California] and were determined to go at all hazards [hazards]. Not knowing what influence they might us[e] in that place and for other reasons we passed a law that none should be permitted to go until the Presidency should return next season. Yet sum did start we sent the martial and brought them back.<sup>32</sup>

The people attracted to California later obtained permission and left for California, but their numbers were few. The vast majority of the Saints agreed with George A. Smith, who stated in 1856 of those who were dissatisfied with the general environment of the Mormon settlements:

If those who are disposed to complain will but reflect a little, they will understand that we are actually situated in the best country in the world.

Do any of you recollect when you used to have the ague THIRTEEN months of the year? . . . Can you not recollect that, at times, in Nauvoo, there would not be a house without two or three sick persons in it a great portion of the year? . . . Is it so now? Are nine out of ten of the brethren sick here? Do you go to your houses and find a couple shaking on one bed, another in a fever, and a child on the floor unable to get up, and perhaps not one in the family able to get another a drink of water? You can remember such things in our former locations, but you are now in a country where these things are comparatively unknown.<sup>33</sup>

Brigham Young said essentially the same thing regarding the suitability of the area for agriculture:

How would you feel were you in a country where you could not raise stock, except you provided comfortable shelter and an abundance of fodder for them all?

In a country where I was<sup>34</sup> brought up, could you turn out a calf and have it live through the winter? There never was such a thing done to my knowledge; and no man ever thought of such a thing as wintering a calf, unless he had a shelter prepared for it almost as warm as the rooms for his children.

I mention these things for the benefit of those here to-day, if any, who think that this is not a good country, and who do not really know whether they wish to stay.<sup>34</sup>

The members felt the same way, in general. Many quotations from them support this, the following taken from a letter sent by one member to his brother in England from Salt Lake in 1854:

We have not the least desire to return to any place we have left behind. . . . This is a beautiful place--one of the most healthy places in the world, the air is so pure that we can see objects 25 and 30 miles off as plain as you can see a similar object 5 miles in England this will give you some idea of the clearness of the air this is a wonderful country. . . . the land is fine and

fertile very productive. A thousand, I may say, beautiful things that I cannot tell you off [sic] in this letter.<sup>35</sup>

From the foregoing comments, it appears that the Saints were basically quite satisfied with the general characteristics of climate, soil, grass, and healthful nature of the Wasatch Front in general. There were no references to it as a desert, but there were two specific problems which required remedying. The first of these concerned the need for additional water for successful production of most crops. The solution to this problem was irrigation, and the use of irrigation caused the most notable environmental change in the Great Basin.

#### ORIGIN OF IRRIGATION AMONG THE MORMONS

A common idea among many members of the Latter-day Saint Church is that, when the pioneers arrived and attempted to plow the soil, they broke their plows and were forced to first turn the water upon the ground so they could plow it. Thus through pure happenstance was born irrigation among the Anglo-Saxon settlers of North America.

The earliest histories of irrigation state that the Mormons knew nothing about irrigation upon their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Brough wrote in 1898:

There is little reason to believe that Brigham Young had any previous knowledge of irrigation when he entered Salt Lake Valley. The region around Nauvoo Illinois, from which the Mormons were driven by the U.S. authorities typified the agriculture of the humid region.<sup>36</sup>

Later works by Mormon scholars, however, indicate that the Mormons were aware of the practice of irrigation prior to their arrival in the Great Basin; yet none of these histories offers complete documentation of the process by which the Mormons gained their knowledge of irrigation techniques.

The first definite encounter with irrigation recorded by a Mormon was associated with the eastern margins of the Mediterranean Sea. In April 1840 Orson Hyde was appointed to travel as a missionary to visit "London, Amsterdam, Constantinople and Jerusalem and also other places that he may deem expedient."<sup>37</sup> Hyde arrived at Jerusalem in October of 1841, and his description of the city included a comment on irrigation. In speaking of the pool of Siloam he remarked that the surplus water was "sent off in a limpid stream as a grateful tribute to the thirsty plants of the gardens in the valley."<sup>38</sup> Hyde's

travels included visits to Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. He traveled on the Nile and stopped for a while in Cairo. In his travels he had an opportunity to see irrigation being practiced in several locations. The account mentioned above was printed in the official Church newspaper, the Times and Seasons, and there is little doubt that Hyde gave an even more complete report to the Council of the Twelve and the First Presidency of the Church upon his return to Nauvoo the following year.

While at Nauvoo the Mormons also had the opportunity to learn of the irrigation practices carried on by the Spanish in the Santa Fe area. The Santa Fe trade was an important frontier activity, and accounts of the traders' visits and experiences in Santa Fe were published in many frontier newspapers. Evidence exists that some of the Mormons traveled to Santa Fe on trading missions for the Church. A member of the Mormon Battalion recorded in August of 1846 that the Battalion met one of these Mormon traders who had been sent out by the Church leaders:

This afternoon we met a Brother McKinzy returning from Santa fee [sic], he had left Nauvoo sometime last spring as I understood to go on a mission to trade for the church and is now on his way to Council Bluffs.<sup>39</sup>

Since he had been commissioned by the Church leaders, this man would undoubtedly have reported to them on his journey. Such a report may well have included a description of the system of irrigation used by the Mexicans.

Certainly the agricultural system was vastly different from that with which visitors to the Mexican settlement were familiar. The unfamiliarity of such a system tended to make it more noticeable to visitors. The members of the Mormon Battalion, for example, described these Mexican villages in great detail. The following description was made by one of the Battalion members after passing though several Mexican settlements and arriving at Santa Fe: "In this country, the settlers occupy the vallies [sic], near the streams, so that they can lead the water upon their fields and gardens, thus irrigating the land."<sup>40</sup> Another Battalion member recorded the following concerning this unusual system of agriculture:

There are considerable many Spaniards or rather I may say Mexicans living on this River [north fork of the Rio Grande]. Their mode of living & farming is Singular enough to me but they Seem to get along & Seem to be happy enough. Their land for cultivation is enclosed by ditches, hedges, & adoba [sic] Walls. On account of the dry Seasons in this

country. [sic] they have to irrigate all this farming land all their vineyards & orchards which is done by leading the water from the River through ditches through all their grain & every thing else that is raised or produced.<sup>41</sup>

A part of the Mormon Battalion was sent to the traders' fort on the Pueblo River, arriving from Santa Fe on 17 November 1846. Representatives from this group met the pioneer party of Mormons the following year near Fort Laramie. In their report to Young, they may have given accounts concerning irrigation as practiced by the Mexicans.

Young had access to information about the Mexican settlements prior to his meeting with the Battalion members in 1847. John D. Lee was sent to Santa Fe to collect the pay of the Battalion members to use in buying supplies for the Saints at Winter Quarters in the fall of 1846. His description of the Mexican settlements also includes comments on their practice of irrigation: "They raise some wheat squaw corn onions red pepers squashes & c. . . . they cultivate the valley only and are under the necessity of watering all the stuff they raise."<sup>42</sup> Upon his return to the Mormon encampment at Winter Quarters, Lee reported to Young on his experiences:

At 7 [p.m.] I met in council at Pres. Young's. Present: B. Young, H. C. Kimble [sic], G. A. Smith, W. Woodruff, A. Lyman, O. Pratt, Egan [Howard Egan accompanied Lee on his mission to the Battalion; the others were members of the Council of the Twelve of the Church] and myself. . . . Pres. Young requested me to give a history of my journey to Santafe [sic], which I did. They appeared much interested at the history of the country, manners and customs of the Mexicans.<sup>43</sup>

Lee would hardly have failed to mention the practice of irrigation in his recital of the manners and customs of the Mexicans.

On at least two occasions prior to the departure of the pioneer company in 1847, reference was made to irrigation by the Church leaders. In February 1847 Brigham Young recorded in his journal that he spent the afternoon and evening in council with several of the other leaders: "Conversations ensued relative to the journey westward, the construction of boats, pioneer traveling, location, seeds, irrigation, science, etc."<sup>44</sup> A few weeks later, one of the Church leaders gave a sermon to the Church members that included a comment which proves that the leaders were quite familiar with irrigation. Willard Richards, speaking of the necessity of leaving the majority of the people at Winter Quarters for another winter, gave the following



argument against attempting to move the entire body of the Saints:

If we go 5 or 600 ms [miles] to put in a crop this spring we shall probably be too late as the drought comes on much sooner in that region of the country than it does here, thus you see we will have to be careful and select a location where we can irrigate everything that we put into the ground, which will doubtless require considerable of labour to build a dam, cut races or make troughs sufficient to water a farm of that size.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of the fact that some of the evidence is conjectural, there is little doubt that the Mormons were familiar with the principles of irrigation long before they began their journey to the Salt Lake Valley. The leaders had decided by 1845 that the area around the Great Salt Lake was to be the site of their settlement in the West. Moreover, the Mormons had gained all available information concerning the conditions they could expect to find there. In light of the high degree of planning and foresight which the Mormons exhibited in every aspect of their emigration, it is highly probable that they made plans for irrigating at about the same time they decided on a location. Certainly, the Mormons had ample introduction to the principle of irrigation, commencing with Orson Hyde's description of irrigation in Jerusalem and continuing in their association with the Santa Fe traders and their research into possible locations for settlements in Texas, California, and Oregon.

The actual implementation of irrigation in the Salt Lake Valley is interesting because it suggests a different sequence of events than the commonly accepted order of first irrigating and then plowing. With the arrival of the pioneer company at City Creek on the morning of 23 July 1847, the pioneers, in good Mormon fashion, appointed a committee to make preparations for plowing and planting. The following account by Thomas Bullock relates the subsequent events:

--about 1/2 past 11 committee reported, they had staked off, a piece of fine ground 40 rods by 20 rods for potatoes--also a suitable place for beans, corn & buckwheat--the soil is fertile, pliable loam, with fine gravel--at 12 o'clock the first furrow was plowed by Captain Taft's Company--there were 3 plows and 1 harrow at work most of the afternoon Taft's plow got broke. [Perhaps this is the origin of the idea that the ground was too hard to plow.] at 2 O'clock the brethren began building a dam, and

cutting trenches to convey the water, to irrigate the land--at 4 o'clock other brethren commenced mowing the grass, to prepare a turnip patch.<sup>46</sup>

The only reference to irrigation on this first day is to the fact that they began to build a dam and ditches to convey the water. Also there is no indication that the plowers ceased plowing when one plow broke.

The entry for the following day describes the apparent first use of irrigation:

Sat. July 24, 1847 A warm morning--clouds flying--the brethren very busy, plowing, stocking plows, and cutting ditch to irrigate the land--about noon the 5 acre potatoe patch was plowed, when the brethren commenced planting their seed potatoes--Amasa Lyman's plow got broke--the brethren then planted some early corn--the plowers continued at work; on the South of the potatoe patch when the ditch was completed the water was turned on to irrigate the potatoe patch which answered very well.<sup>47</sup>

From this account it seems that the ground was plowed and planted before it was irrigated. The other diarists support this account. Jacob Norton noted on 24 July 1847 that "a dam was constructed across the creek above the camp so as to irrigate our plowed land,"<sup>48</sup> indicating that the land was plowed before they tried to irrigate it.

In these calm, unemotional words is recounted the first major environmental change of the Mormons. From this five-acre patch of potatoes the concepts of irrigation were diffused throughout the Mormon settlements of the West and to gentiles as well. It should be noted that the Mormons approached irrigation much more pragmatically than did the gentiles who adopted it in some other areas. In the Great Plains, for example, irrigation was viewed as a temporary measure which would eventually make it unnecessary for further irrigation. For example, John Wesley Powell noted in 1888:

In the region practically uninhabited the water now flows from the mountains to the sea; but, when the streams are utilized in irrigation, the water will be evaporated, and the humidity of the climate will be increased thereby, and dry winds will no longer dessicate the soil . . . and the arid region will correspondingly shrink in its proportion.<sup>49</sup>

Similarly, the governor of Wyoming, speaking to the Dry Farming Congress in Denver in 1907, went to great lengths to prove that the reason dry farming of grain was successful in Wyoming, Colorado, and Kansas was that irrigation had made the air more humid in these regions and thus there was no longer the necessity for irrigation.

The Mormons suffered under no such illusions. From the beginning they were aware that irrigation was going to be constantly necessary if sufficient crops were to be produced. In 1856 George A. Smith was in Washington, and in reporting his experience there he indicates the general attitude of the leaders regarding the idea they could eventually do away with irrigation:

When I was at Washington . . . I was asked by Senator Douglas if I did not think that, if skilful farmers were out in Utah, the land might not be made to produce abundantly without irrigation. That showed me how ignorant Congressmen were at Washington in regard to this country.<sup>50</sup>

The Mormons were aware that irrigation as a means of changing the environment was a constant process, one which could only come about through hard work on the part of the settlers. The leaders constantly noted:

When the Lord sees proper to break down the barriers that exist and cause the rain to descend upon the land, he can do it, but until then . . . we shall take the streams of the mountains to irrigate the soil.<sup>51</sup>

If irrigation as an environmental change was the result of hard work, another major environmental change was viewed as a direct result of the righteousness of the Saints. Two environmental problems of concern to the Mormon pioneers were mentioned earlier. The first, aridity, was overcome through irrigation. The second, the perceived cold climate, was not amenable to remedying through the hard work of the pioneers themselves, so they left it to a higher power. The historical record is replete with statements which point out the climate had become warmer--"ameliorated," in the words of the settlers. Heber C. Kimball stated this most succinctly in 1857 in Salt Lake City when discussing various crops:

Do I believe the land [Salt Lake City] will produce cotton? Yes, just as well as the land down in the southern country: God can change

the climate for the benefit and salvation of the Saints.<sup>52</sup>

It might be noted he says only that God can change the climate, not that he will or has.

Statements of other leaders indicate that--to their minds, at least--he did. George Albert Smith summed up the relationship between righteousness and environmental change in 1865 when he stated:

Notwithstanding, however, the many drawbacks and difficulties encountered in the shape of . . . cold, sterile climate, the Spirit of the Lord was hovering over the Great Basin; as linguists tell us the Spirit of the Lord brooded over the face of the waters anciently, so it brooded over the Great Basin and the climate became genial and soft. I never was at the crossing of the Sevier River in summer, for seven years after our settlements in Iron County had been established, without experiencing frost; and now the Sevier valley produced luxuriant fields of grain and vegetables . . . from the mouth of that river to the head of it, nearly nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. Who has done this? God and the Saints have done it! The Saints have had faith and walked over the land with the Holy Priesthood upon them, and blessed and dedicated it to the Lord, and have labored according to the counsels of God, and the work has been accomplished.<sup>53</sup>

President Smith then discussed specific areas in which the problem of frost in the summer months had been alleviated, including the Heber Valley and the Morgan and Summit county areas, to name a few. The net result of divine intervention in modifying the climate was to convince the people, in the words of George Q. Cannon, "that there is scarcely a valley in these mountains, however elevated, in which fruit cannot be raised."<sup>54</sup>

A third environmental change came about incidently to settlement and was basically an undesirable one. The increasing population, with their associated herds of animals, led to major destruction of the vegetation of the valleys the Mormons occupied. In the words of Orson Hyde in 1865:

I find the longer we live in these valleys that the range is becoming more and more destitute of grass; the grass is not only eaten up by the great amount of stock that feed upon it, but

they tramp it out by the very roots; and where grass once grew luxuriantly, there is now nothing but the desert weed, and hardly a spear of grass is to be seen.

Between here [Temple Square] and the mouth of Emigration Canyon, when our brethren, the Pioneers, first landed here in '47, there was an abundance of grass over all those benches; they were covered with it like a meadow. There is now nothing but the desert weed [tumbleweed?], the sage, the rabbit-bush, and such like plants, that make very poor feed for stock.<sup>55</sup>

As a result of the grazing of livestock, the grass which had been noted by the pioneer emigrants had apparently disappeared in only eighteen years, and the face of the valley of Salt Lake had undergone a significant change.

#### CONCLUSION

The concern manifest by Elder Hyde over the destruction of the grasslands is significant, for it illustrates the great difference between the Mormon attitude toward environmental change and that of the majority of other settlers in North America. From the beginning, the Mormons evinced a concern for destructive environmental change and attempted to minimize it. The Saints were counseled to follow the concept of stewardship and to practice wise management as early as September 1847, when Brigham Young left the valley and cautioned them to use its resources wisely. Space does not permit an analysis of all of the examples of such counsel, but examples could be provided of instruction on wise use of irrigation water, farm land, livestock, grazing areas, and all other resources in the environment. Brigham Young perhaps summed up this idea of stewardship and concern for the environment in 1853, when he cautioned, "Never let anything go to waste."<sup>56</sup> The Mormons in the Great Basin, if they had followed their leader's counsel, would have been the first conservationists in North America.

The Mormons were also more pragmatic than other settlers in attempting to modify the environment. If it was in their power to change it for the better through application of common sense and hard work, they did so.

In the words of Brigham Young, commenting on relying on faith alone to change the environment:

Have I any good reason to say to my Father in Heaven, "Fight my battles," when He has given me the sword to wield, the arm and the brain that I

can fight for myself? Can I ask Him to fight my battles and sit quietly down waiting for Him to do so? I cannot. I can pray for the people to hearken to wisdom, to listen to counsel; but to ask God to do that for me which I can do for myself is preposterous to my mind.<sup>57</sup>

When the Saints had done all they could, however, they believed that they had the right to ask for divine intervention between themselves and the environment. Problems which they could not solve through their own efforts were placed in the hands of divine power. Not for the Saints were the esoteric experiments to change the environment found elsewhere in North America. Even that will-o'-the-wisp rainmaking, which has been undertaken by man from the earliest time to the present, was avoided by the Saints. Their pragmatic approach to modifying the environment was based on hard work and righteousness combined with a sense of stewardship. The results are evident in the irrigated and populated valleys of the Great Basin.

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dwellers. Taken together, we have an appreciable percentage of our more than 200 million United States citizens who can legitimately claim to have some Native American blood coursing through their veins.

But let us return to that smaller but considerable group that has continued to identify itself as Indian and that has generally maintained tribal affiliations. Some events of primary importance to these Indians have occurred in recent decades that cannot be charged against, or credited to, the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the social planners. The first was the Depression, which resulted in many Indians being exposed for the first time to work projects using modern machinery: in Indian work relief programs, CCC camps, and other projects. The second event was World War II, which resulted in thousands of Indians, along with family members, participating in a war work experience, usually in an urban area, and in other thousands enlisting in the armed services, where they participated with distinction as soldiers, sailors, and marines in the same units with other U.S. citizens.

Since those events, Indian country has not been the same. More than 100,000 Indians, if we include members of families, were affected directly by either or both of these events. Of those who returned home to the Indian communities, some had developed a different view of the world and the people in it. Respect for tribal leaders was sometimes negatively influenced by experiences shared by Indians away from their homelands.

For Indians who continued to be interested in possibilities away from the reservation after the war, cooperative programs were worked out between Bureau officials and the U.S. Employment Service in order to take advantage of its nationwide coverage of job opportunities. In 1948, largely to meet the urgent needs of the Navajo Indians, the federal government established a program offering job-placement services. Placement officials were provided in Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles, and a few Navajo men moved into these areas largely for seasonal employment.

In the fall of 1950, the Bureau extended this program to other Indians "who wished to seek permanent employment opportunities away from reservations" (*italics added*). An appropriation was specifically requested on 1 July 1951 to help Indians find employment, and a staff was assigned to work the states of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Utah, and Colorado that same summer. A Field Relocation Office was opened in Chicago in November of 1951, and centers in Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and Denver--first established for Navajo placement--became field offices with an assignment to serve all tribes referred to them. The first "permanent" relocatees began the process in February 1952, and the numbers increased from year to year.

In 1956 Congress enacted Public Law 959, which authorized the Bureau of Indian Affairs "to provide vocational training for Indian people, chiefly from 18 to 35 years of age, living on or near reservations." This legislation was used in conjunction with the Relocation Service Program and with the Industrial Service Program, "designed to attract new industries that would employ Indians near their homes."

The number of relocations completed each year declined with the recession of 1957 but, with the help of the Vocational Training Program, increased again thereafter. Relocation Services by then had become so closely identified with the unpopular termination legislation, which would have ended the special relationship between Indian tribes and the United States, that the Bureau eventually redesignated Relocation Services as the Employment Assistance Program.

Attempts to measure the durability of the relocation service have produced conflicting results. A 1953 Bureau study showed that less than a third of those relocated returned to the reservations. Surveys by non-Bureau critics of the program, however, reported as many as 60 percent returning in some areas. A Bureau study covering fiscal year 1956 reported that 74 percent of those relocated remained in the urban area to which they had moved.

A 1961 task force, established by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and headed by mixed-blood Cherokee and Phillips Petroleum executive W. W. Keeler, advised the United States to "make available to Indians a greater range of alternatives which are compatible with the American system, and where necessary, to assist Indians with choosing from among these alternatives." It was further suggested that the government "must mobilize and direct the vast reservoir of good will toward Indians which is found throughout the country."<sup>1</sup>

Members of the task force recognized that Indians then considered relocation "as a primary instrument of the 'termination policy' which they universally fear." However, it was also pointed out that the Indians "unanimously endorsed some kind of placement activity, preferably one which would put emphasis on local (near reservation) employment." It was, therefore, recommended that "increased emphasis should be put on local placement, with a much higher degree of cooperation between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and local agencies."<sup>2</sup> It was also recommended that the name of the program be changed, and in 1962 it was re-named Employment Assistance. This new title was considered more descriptive of the services provided under the program.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, Employment Assistance attempted to achieve the proper balance between institution, on-the-job, and apprenticeship training to meet the needs and expressed desires of the Indian participants.

Indians willing to accept employment at a greater distance from the reservation were usually served by one of seven urban centers operated by the Bureau in Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, Oakland (now Alameda), and San Jose and by the office in Washington, D.C., where institutional and apprenticeship training with direct job placement as the goal were made available.<sup>4</sup> Relocation for employment included financial help and advice to the family during the period of adjustment to the new environment, along with the training and job placement.

From the time Relocation Services began in 1952 until the end of fiscal year 1967, "over 61,500 Indian people had been given help toward direct employment." During the same period, more than 24,300 received the benefits of the Adult Vocational Training Program. The Bureau estimated in 1967-68 that "approximately 200,000 Indians have moved to urban areas in the past 10 years."<sup>5</sup>

The BIA also originated four programs to assist Indians and Indian families with special training or adjustment needs leading to relocation in urban areas. The Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo from Alaska seemed to need some opportunity for adjustment to urban life before being assigned to one of the regular Employment Assistance offices mentioned. For them the Seattle Orientation Center served as a halfway house where they gained experience with shopping in modern stores and visited banks, post offices, and service agencies so much a part of modern community life. They might possibly have exchanged woolen winter clothing from Alaska for apparel appropriate to the "Lower 48" states, where they were to receive further training. For other Indians with special needs, training centers at Philadelphia, Miss.; Madera, Calif.; Roswell, New Mexico; and the University of Montana at Missoula provided experience in urban community living, food marketing, child care, general health care, home and money management, family life, social skills, basic or fundamental education, specific job skills, and preparation to make formal application for employment. These centers provided orientation and adjustment for the entire family from rural reservation living to urban life.

Support for Public Law 959 (1956), enacted to provide vocational training, began with an appropriation of \$3.5 million and gradually increased until in 1968 the authorization for annual appropriations was set at \$25 million. Commissioner Robert L. Bennett expressed the opinion that this was "one of the most helpful pieces of legislation ever approved to assist the Indian people."<sup>6</sup>

Although many problems have been encountered by individual Indians during the process of adjusting from life on the reservation in rural America to life in a modern city,<sup>7</sup> Nancy Lurie and other investigators have concluded that "the option to

assimilate is far more open for Indians than for almost any other minority."<sup>8</sup> In an apparently contrary view, Brigham Young University professor Bruce A. Chadwick has recently concluded, as a result of a survey of Indians in Seattle, Washington, that "Indians are very reluctantly accepted into white, middle-class society."<sup>9</sup>

When an Indian has broken the tie with trust property and is considered to be a permanent resident away from the reservation, he has tended to lose the right to regular services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and certain other federal agencies that normally serve reservation Indians. Voluntarily organized urban centers have therefore been established to fill the gap and help to meet the needs of city-dwelling Indians. From mid-1950 to mid-1960, these Indian centers tended to be sponsored by churches, communities, the Indians themselves, or a combination of these. Here are examples of the kinds of services sometimes made available:

1. Emergency material aid, such as food, lodging, clothing, and limited financial assistance.
2. Lounge and other comfort and convenience facilities, such as shower rooms, reading rooms, nurseries, locks for checking parcels, etc.
3. Social and recreational facilities, such as seasonal parties, group games, jukebox dancing, women's sewing circles, and team competition in local basketball, baseball, and volleyball leagues.
4. Counseling, social welfare, and referral services.
5. Facilities and encouragement in the development of Indian arts and crafts.
6. Educational programs complementing what was available from public schools: usually preschool programs for children or adult education programs.
7. Programs to assist Indians with the problem of alcohol.
8. Programs of either direct or indirect spiritual guidance.

An Indian center in a rather modest facility might have connections with a church or civic center that had a hall adequate for dancing, the traditional feasts, and similar events. When the weather was favorable, typical Indian gatherings included dancing and food and were often held in public parks.

The Indians that had migrated to a particular city usually came from several tribes. In these cities the individual Indian families were often widely scattered, and it was difficult for enough members of a given tribe to get together for a celebration or other recreation. This contributed to the formation of intertribal centers. The tendency has been to place the organization and control of urban Indian centers in the hands of an all-Indian--although intertribal--leadership. It is significant to note that possibly as many as half of the Indians that

migrated to urban areas did so on their own, not using the Employment Assistance services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and not taking advantage of (in some cases not feeling the need for) vocational training. These voluntary relocatees might fall into roughly three categories: (1) the capable, well-adjusted Indians that had the necessary training, had gained experience, may have worked successfully elsewhere, and were capable of making their way under their own power; (2) the migrant worker Indians that followed seasonal labor and could be found one day in the Los Angeles area, the next month in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area, and some time later possibly in Portland or Seattle; and (3) Indians who came from a reservation with friends that had been successful in finding urban employment, had gone home to visit, and had returned to the city.

#### CHANGES AND TRENDS IN NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Significant changes in the location and composition of the Indian ethnic minority within the United States can be understood better if we compare the 1970 census data with information available from previous decades. If we assume that there were about a million Native Americans in what is now the United States, prior to the European conquest, and that this declined to about 250,000 during the period from 1850 to 1900, we can understand why Indians were then referred to as the "vanishing Americans."<sup>10</sup>

A 20 percent increase in Indian population was reported from the 1940 to the 1950 census, an increase of over 40 percent for the 1960 census, and still another 50 percent increase for the decade from 1960 to 1970 (see table 1). New methods of identifying and of gathering census data and a recent new pride in Indianness have been given as partial explanations for these tremendous leaps forward. Whatever the reasons, the preliminary 1970 count for Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos stood at 827,091--compared to 551,669 for 1960.<sup>11</sup> Almost half of the Native Americans lived in five states: Oklahoma, 97,731; Arizona, 95,812; California, 91,018; New Mexico, 72,788; and Alaska, 51,528--for a combined total of 408,877. Four of these five states could be expected to be at the top of the list, but New Mexico was replaced in third position by a new arrival, California. An important factor in the unusual increase in California's Indian population was the urban Indian movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

By adding thirteen more states with an Indian population of over 10,000, it is apparent that approximately 85 percent of the total, or 700,178, lived in eighteen of the fifty states. Every state in the Union, however, had some Indians. Vermont, with 229, had the fewest, but that number represented a dramatic

increase over the 57 included from that state in the 1960 census.

There were several differences between Indians and other ethnic groups. Of the ethnic groups within the population that could be identified from census data, those showing the most rapid rates of increase were American Indians, 51 percent; Chinese, 83 percent; Filipino, 95 percent; and all others (mainly Koreans, Hawaiians, Malayans, and other Polynesians), 130 percent. While the Indians did not show the fastest rate of increase, their 51 percent was more than four times the 12 percent rate of the white race in the United States. Another significant difference was a median age of about seventeen years for Indians, as compared to about twenty-nine years for the total population of the United States. This meant, as one example, that relative to total population there were approximately 10 percent more Indians in the five-to-nineteen (school-age) bracket than in the general population. Also, there were comparatively fewer Indians in the productive years from twenty-five to sixty-five and comparatively fewer senior Indian citizens over age sixty-five.<sup>12</sup> Another new factor involving the relationship of Indians to the general population was that only about 26 percent of approximately 200,000 school-age Indian children that lived on or near reservations in 1970 attended schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Of the remainder, 68 percent attended public schools operated by state and local governments, and 6 percent attended other schools. Children of Indians living in urban areas, possibly another 125,000 not included in the number indicated above, would also attend public schools located in the urban communities where they then resided.

As has been suggested, a significant change in the distribution of the population of the Native American was the recent trend toward greater urbanization. The Bureau reported in 1968 that about 200,000 Indians had moved to urban areas in the previous decade.<sup>13</sup> Estimates projected from the 1970 census indicated that there were then between 350,000 and 400,000 identifiable urban and other Indians not connected with federal reservations, or some 40 to 50 percent of the total population identified as Indians.

The states that showed the largest percentage increases in numbers of Indians tended to be those with cities that had attracted new Indian population: California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas. The number of Indians in New York City, to give one example, increased from the 4,366 counted in the 1960 census to 9,921 for the 1970 census.

An analysis of the Indian population of California (91,018 according to the preliminary 1970 census count) revealed that 71.5 percent of the Indians counted lived in two clusters of counties: in the San Diego-Los Angeles-Santa Barbara cluster, which includes seven counties, there was a population of 42,845

TABLE 1

Preliminary 1970 Census Counts of  
American Indians and Alaska Natives

STATE	1970 <sup>a</sup>	1960
UNITED STATES	827,091 <sup>b</sup>	551,669 <sup>c</sup>
Alabama	2,514	1,276
Alaska	51,528 <sup>c</sup>	42,522
Arizona	95,812	83,387
Arkansas	2,041	580
California	91,018	39,014
Colorado	8,836	4,288
Connecticut	2,222	923
Delaware	656	597
District of Columbia	956	587
Florida	6,719	2,504
Georgia	2,455	749
Hawaii	1,126	472
Idaho	6,687	5,231
Illinois	11,413	4,704
Indiana	3,887	948
Iowa	2,992	1,708
Kansas	8,672	5,069
Kentucky	1,599	391
Louisiana	5,366	3,587
Maine	2,195	1,879
Maryland	4,258	1,538
Massachusetts	4,475	2,118
Michigan	16,854	9,701
Minnesota	23,128	15,496
Mississippi	4,113	3,119

<sup>a</sup>Figures are those of the first count.

<sup>b</sup>Includes total of 35,252 Aleuts and Eskimos, partly estimated.

<sup>c</sup>Includes total of 28,078 Aleuts (5,755) and Eskimos (22,323).

TABLE 1 (continued)

STATE	1970	1960
Missouri	5,405	1,723
Montana	27,130	21,181
Nebraska	6,624	5,545
Nevada	7,933	6,681
New Hampshire	361	135
New Jersey	4,706	1,699
New Mexico	72,788	56,255
New York	28,330	16,491
North Carolina	43,487	38,129
North Dakota	14,369	11,736
Ohio	6,654	1,910
Oklahoma	97,731	64,689
Oregon	13,510	8,026
Pennsylvania	5,533	2,122
Rhode Island	1,390	932
South Carolina	2,241	1,098
South Dakota	32,365	25,794
Tennessee	2,376	638
Texas	18,132	5,750
Utah	11,273	6,961
Vermont	229	57
Virginia	4,904	2,155
Washington	33,386	21,076
West Virginia	808	181
Wisconsin	18,924	14,297
Wyoming	4,980	4,020

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, unpublished data from the 1970 census.



identified as Indians, of which an average of 31.6 percent lived in one major city in each of these seven counties; in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay-Sacramento cluster, which includes nine counties, there was a population of 22,236 identified as Indians, of which an average of 49 percent lived in one major city in each of these nine counties. If 40,000 or more of those Indians on the final rolls in the California Indian claims case live in California, as some have estimated, either many of them did not identify as Indians in the past (the 1960 census showed a total of only 39,014 Indians for California), or the census counts were very inaccurate. This would also suggest either that the in-migration of Indians coming to California to stay in recent decades may not have been as great as we thought or that possibly there has been a continuous movement of considerable numbers, but not necessarily always including the same individuals, from reservation to urban area, then back to the reservation, back to the urban area, and so on indefinitely--with each group continually feeding and enriching the other.

Our analysis of California Indian population figures also suggests that there are still many Indians residing in comparatively smaller cities and towns as well as on or near the reservations, rancherias, and in other rural areas. The large cities, such as Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and Oakland, are--according to the 1970 census count--certainly not the only places in California where Indians reside.<sup>14</sup>

While the number of urban Indians has increased dramatically in the United States, the 1960s have also seen an increase of over 100,000 in the number on or near reservations or in Alaskan villages--this in the face of the Bureau's relocation and termination programs of the 1950s and 1960s. Some 475,000 native Americans probably fit in the reservation-Alaskan village category today. Reservation life will undoubtedly continue for an indefinite period. While the 827,091 identified as Native Americans comprise only 0.4 percent of the total population of the United States, their impact has tended to be disproportionate because they are the first Americans.

Changes in the Indian population in Utah have tended to parallel national trends (see table 2). The 1960 census credited Utah with an Indian population of 6,961; the 1970 census, 11,273. The urban Indian population in Utah is also increasing steadily. Possibly a third of the state's Indian population is located in urban areas along the Wasatch front; perhaps half of that third lives in the Salt Lake City metropolitan area.

TABLE 2

Preliminary 1970 Census Counts of  
 Minority Races in Utah Counties

COUNTY	INDIAN	NEGRO	SPANISH-AMERICAN	OTHER <sup>a</sup>
Beaver	25	...	...	21
Box Elder	614	15	828	431
Cache	73	65	274	525
Carbon	27	42	1,797	129
Daggett	12	...	...	7
Davis	388	1,723	3,437	860
Duchesne	321	...	31	40
Emery	13	9	20	10
Garfield	25	...	9	...
Grand	19	3	249	27
Iron	195	2	65	30
Juab	46	2	3	4
Kane	23	...	34	2
Millard	66	1	15	13
Morgan	5	1	42	1
Piute	15	1	...	2
Rich	3	...	...	2
Salt Lake	1,617	2,473	18,644	4,736
San Juan	4,740	16	459	24
Sanpete	35	5	44	53
Sevier	86	2	12	25
Summit	3	3	30	9
Tooele	283	125	1,923	208
Uintah	1,337	2	90	36
Utah	613	47	1,325	850
Wasatch	10	...	65	6
Washington	167	6	83	26
Wayne	1	1	...	1
Weber	511	2,073	7,442	1,379
TOTALS	11,273	6,617	36,921	9,457

<sup>a</sup>Includes Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, and other races.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, unpublished data from the 1970 census. For comparative purposes, population data is also included for Negroes, taken from the 1970 census, and for Spanish-Americans, taken from a recent survey conducted by the Utah Department of Employment Security. (The U.S. census does not categorize Spanish-Americans as an ethnic group.)

## THE URBAN INDIAN TODAY

On 30 August 1968 Commissioner Bennett reacted to comments and suggestions from urban Indian groups by establishing an ad hoc study committee that included Indian representatives.<sup>15</sup> The committee contacted a number of Indian organizations and urban centers and received written statements from some of them. After hearing Indian concerns expressed, it seemed apparent that the BIA needed to become more broadly involved with urban Indian needs, concerns, and self-help programs. It was suggested that "this involvement can be as limited as establishing local citizens advisory groups or as extensive as by organizing urban Indian groups for contracting with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate portions of the program."<sup>16</sup>

These Indians felt a definite lack of BIA advocacy for the support of Indian interests in relations with private and government agencies encountered in the local urban setting. It was also apparent that the same support was needed for young Indians seeking a college education as had been secured for those interested in vocational training. Better counseling at the high school level was called for to help Indian students make wiser educational choices.<sup>17</sup>

Lacking support from government agencies to meet a wide variety of developing needs, Indians living in centers of population organized community programs on their own initiative in cities such as Chicago, Omaha, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Tulsa, Washington, D.C., Denver, Salt Lake City, Gallup, Phoenix, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Anchorage. Having learned to use self-help routines in establishing independent organizations, Indians also began to exert this new-found initiative on other occasions and for other worthy causes. The urban Indian minority is not silent. Using peaceful but so-called militant methods, young urban Indians recently gained national attention for the Indian cause by a nineteen-month siege of Alcatraz Island and by occupying other abandoned government installations. Sit-ins in government offices have been used to protest such things as discrimination against Indians in employment practices.<sup>18</sup> The recent occupations of the BIA building in Washington, D.C., and of the hamlet of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, have helped to focus public attention on both positive and negative aspects of the peculiar situation of the Indian, which is quite distinct from that of other ethnic minorities.

Education and experience have developed a new group of Indian leaders, with new methods, who are working for changes in the cities, in government agencies that have programs that serve Indians, and on the reservations. These relatively young, frequently college-educated people expect to be heard and are not about to be pushed aside with a shrug.

At the first meeting of the National Council on Indian Opportunity in 1968, a subcommittee was assigned to make a study of conditions prevalent among urban Indians. Hearings were held in urban areas during 1968-69,<sup>19</sup> and a report and recommendations were made to the government on 26 January 1970 through the vice-president as chairman of NCIO.<sup>20</sup> Indians who testified at the hearings expressed the belief and "Indian Council [NCIO] members have concluded that viable economic development on or near present Indian communities is a goal much preferable to the artificial movement of individuals or families."<sup>21</sup>

To assist Indians already residing in urban areas, the National Council on Indian Opportunity encouraged OEO, Labor, HUD, and HEW in the joint funding of urban Indian conferences and model urban centers in Fairbanks, Gallup, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis. These four demonstration centers received funding for a three-year period to show what such urban centers could do to develop needed services for individual Indians that live in those cities.<sup>22</sup> A recent report recommended that these and other centers supported by OEO be continued and that the joint-funding approach be further expanded to include other federal agencies.<sup>23</sup>

In March 1971, as a further experiment in the development of urban Indian leadership, the BIA awarded a contract to the Urban Indian Development Association (UIDA) in Los Angeles (headed by "Beaver" Lester, a graduate of Brigham Young University) to provide orientation, housing, and other relocation assistance for reservation Indians moving to the Los Angeles area. UIDA was incorporated in 1970 to provide business assistance for American Indians.<sup>24</sup>

Away from their reservations in urban areas, Indians continue to find new ways to meet their needs through their own initiative. For example, since the mass delivery of health services to people residing in the great metropolitan areas tends to be strange to Indians, two Indian clinics have been opened in the greater Los Angeles area. These are managed by Indians who secure the donated professional services necessary to provide medical, dental, and some social services to Indian clients. During the summer of 1972 such a clinic also opened in San Francisco to meet the needs of Indian clients in the Bay Area. Urban Indians also work with school districts in areas where their people are numerous enough to encourage the hiring of qualified Indian teachers, the provision of special cultural and language materials, and of tutorial services where this has been desirable. State Fair Employment Practice Commissions have been approached to encourage an increase in the number of Indians employed by state and local government agencies.

The needs of Indians as an urban minority are not necessarily different in kind from those of Indians on the reservations--programs to improve health, housing, social services,

justice, educational opportunity, employment, and possibilities for more meaningful use of spare time in recreational and cultural pursuits--but the agencies available in the urban setting to help meet those needs are different. As Professor Chadwick has suggested, "Government officials should consider more than just skills training when relocating Indians to urban areas. Greater attention should be directed to social integration and psychological well-being."<sup>25</sup>

#### THE QUESTION OF INDIAN ELIGIBILITY FOR FEDERAL SERVICES

The language of the Snyder Act of 2 November 1921 (42 Stat. 208) allows the expenditure of appropriated funds for Indians without regard to degree of Indian blood, to membership in a federally recognized tribe, or to residence, as long as it is in the United States. The legislative history suggests, however, that precedents set by legislative action and by earlier practices should generally be used as guidelines. Based on the language of this act, the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in Ruiz v. Morton (1972) that the BIA had wrongfully denied assistance to Indians because they did not reside on reservations, and that in doing so it acted "in excess of its authority and in contravention of congressional intent."<sup>26</sup> The case has been appealed to the Supreme Court.

A BIA committee recently recommended that the criteria for Bureau service to nonreservation Indians be liberalized, and Commissioner Louis R. Bruce stated 16 June 1972 that there are "many people both in the Bureau and outside who believe that the Federal trust responsibility extends to tribal Indians wherever they are."<sup>27</sup> Similarly, on 24 June 1971 the House Committee on Appropriations reported:

The Committee believes that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should reassess its relationship to off-reservation Indians who now constitute 40% of the country's Indian population. While the Bureau's primary responsibility is to assist Indians living on reservations, the Bureau can and should do more to assist Indians to adjust to city living.<sup>28</sup>

On 8 June 1972 the House Committee on Appropriations added a \$275,000 item to the budget estimate for "Participation by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in providing referral services to urban Indians needing social assistance" and suggested that with these funds the BIA could "establish about five regional referral locations whose primary responsibility will be to assist urban Indians in making proper application for various

social benefits available from Federal, State, and County governments."<sup>29</sup> This item was retained in the Senate version.

The definition of the term "Indian" in the Conference Report, Education Amendments of 1972, is pertinent to the discussion of eligibility:

For the purpose of this title, the term "Indian" means any individual who (1) is a member of a tribe, band, or other organized group of Indians, including those tribes, bands or groups terminated since 1940 and those recognized now or in the future by the State in which they reside, or who is a descendant, in the first or second degree, of any such member, or (2) is considered by the Secretary of the Interior to be an Indian for any purpose, or (3) is an Eskimo or Aleut or other Alaska Native, or (4) is determined to be an Indian under regulations promulgated by the Commissioner, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, which regulations shall further define the term "Indian."<sup>30</sup>

The present mobility of the Indian population--as individuals move from reservation to urban centers to find employment, to pursue an education, and for various other reasons, then return to the reservations--has raised legitimate questions about the differentiation between urban and reservation Indians.<sup>31</sup> The legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government have recently shown tendencies toward the liberalization of programming that could result in a more inclusive definition of the term "Indian" that would be acceptable to Indians generally and to many agencies of the government that are presently involved in a variety of ways with programs for Indians.

#### EFFECTS OF INDIAN CULTURE ON AMERICAN LIFE

Washington Irving characterized an early contact between the white and the red race thus:

The Indians improved daily and wonderfully by their intercourse with the whites. They took to drinking rum, and making bargains. They learned to cheat, to lie, to swear, to gamble, to quarrel, to cut each other's throats, in short to excel in all the accomplishments that had originally marked the superiority of their Christian visitors.

But now the tables are turned and the Euro-Americans are beginning to copy representations of the life, history, and culture of the Indians in a variety of ways, to their own advantage and cultural enrichment. Laws have been passed and other efforts have been made by the federal and state governments to preserve archaeological sites, our only claim to any respectable antiquity in the United States. Museums have been founded to preserve relics that have been removed, with or without permission, from these sites. Ancient and early Indian art has been preserved and copied, and more recently a whole school of Indian artists has developed using a variety of techniques and in some cases developing highly personalized styles and art forms. For almost forty years an Indian Arts and Crafts Board has existed in the Department of the Interior--charged with the promotion of the artistic and cultural achievements of Indian and Eskimo artists and craftsmen. The Institute of American Indian Arts at Santa Fe, New Mexico, exists as a national institution to give art training in the arts directed to the special needs of Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts of the United States. The Smithsonian Institution--through its museums, art galleries, and archives--has maintained and continues to improve upon its collections that are representative of the history, art, culture, and daily life patterns of the Native Americans viewed at different periods in their history. Recently Indian scholars have been invited to participate more in the development of museum programs. Using the whole gamut of modern communications media, writers have portrayed the Indian in series that are run in newspapers, in magazine articles, in a great variety of books--fiction and nonfiction--in drama, in movies, on television, by the use of photographs, paintings, and music, and by the use of Indian motifs in architecture and interior decorating. Some of these are true to Indian life although some, unfortunately, are not.

The most encouraging aspect of all this is that Native Americans are themselves participating as artists, authors, technicians, and critics in the production and distribution of authentic materials that pertain to their ethnic groups. These Native groups are becoming more and more a part of the warp and woof that comprises the rich texture of our total society, but they are doing so as Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos--not as bronzed copies of mainstream white Americans. As participants instead of observers, they are making their influence felt in bringing greater genuineness to the nature and content of these productions, and their fellow Americans appreciate the more genuine article.

Under the BIA Office of Education programs, the Research and Cultural Studies Development Section works directly with tribal leadership to secure documentation for Indian history and culture. Indian scholars, appointed by tribal councils

and using these collected sources, have compiled their traditions, and these have been published in the name of the tribe for use as part of the curriculum in public schools attended by both Indian and other children. The income from the sale of the books, published under tribal contracts, belongs to the particular tribe.<sup>32</sup>

The Education Amendments of 1972 included an "Ethnic Heritage Program" designed to assist school children and adults in the United States "to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group" and "to learn about the nature of their own cultural heritage."<sup>33</sup> This kind of legislation could help to bring a better understanding between Indian communities and their surrounding neighbors.

Styles in jewelry, moccasins, boots; the use of chamois in shirts and boleros; styles in headdresses, shirts, blouses, bodysuits (leotards plus tights); a variety of prints and fabrics for morning, afternoon, and evening wear--all are being influenced by Indian themes. Again, representatives of the Native groups are participating in the styling and production of the basic materials from which many of these articles are manufactured, as well as in the finished product.

From whatever vantage point we view our society, the impact of the Indian will likely be proportionately greater than that of any other element because the Indian is the original and the basic component. It is the energy and imagination of the Indians themselves that will make this prospect possible. The cultural enrichment that the Indians add to American life today is more than a fair trade for the negative traits Washington Irving credits us with having bequeathed to the Indians.

In the words of President Nixon: "American Society can allow many different cultures to flourish in harmony"; for Indians who choose to maintain their culture "we must provide an opportunity . . . to lead a useful and prosperous life in an Indian environment."<sup>34</sup> As a matter of policy, "We must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us. The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions."<sup>35</sup>

Much has been done by the government and by the people of the United States to "mobilize and direct the vast reservoir of good will toward Indians which is found throughout the country."<sup>36</sup> But much remains to be done before Indian leaders in name have the power in fact to become decision makers in all matters that affect the welfare of Indian people, whether they reside in urban or reservation areas.



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# The Significance of the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante Expedition

Ted J. Warner

Chairman of the Department of History at Brigham Young University, Ted J. Warner has worked principally on the northward expansion of New Spain. In the present study, he has concentrated on the unsuccessful efforts of two Franciscan missionaries and their entourage to open a route from Santa Fe to Monterey in 1776-77. As Professor Warner sees it, the significance of the expedition lies, not only in the interest created for Spanish traders in the region, but also in the failure of the Spanish to follow the exploration with the establishment of missions and towns. Utah is thus revealed as a frontier area not thought significant enough to warrant the investment of the resources of an already overextended Spanish Empire.

Beyond this, Professor Warner has attempted to place the entire effort in some perspective. As he points out, Vélez de Escalante was a junior partner in the expedition, and Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez was the senior official. Clearly, historians have been less than fair to Domínguez, and popular folklore and place-naming have slighted him as well. In addition, Professor Warner points out that this may not have been the first Spanish penetration into Utah. Though the Cárdenas story has been discredited, clear evidence of an earlier penetration by Juan Marfa de Rivera awaits further research.

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Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado are planning significant celebrations to commemorate in 1976 the two hundredth anniversary of the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante expedition. A Domínguez-Escalante State-Federal Bicentennial Committee has been organized, and ambitious projects (such as locating and marking the trail, placing a monument at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon, producing pageants, films, and a commemorative

postage stamp) have been proposed and are being actively promoted and pursued. It is gratifying to note, however, that in this effort and promotion some care seems to be taken not to accord to this expedition credit to which it is not due. For example, in all the publicity which has recently been focused on the event, no claim has been made by responsible persons that this was the first penetration of Utah by white men. In fact, there is evidence that the European discovery of Utah occurred some years prior to 1776.

Historians have already found it necessary to correct an earlier interpretation of the first European penetration.<sup>1</sup> In 1889 Hubert Howe Bancroft, following the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, contended that the first white penetration of what is now the state of Utah occurred in 1540. He claimed that Don García López de Cárdenas, a lieutenant of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, after visiting the Hopi villages in north-eastern Arizona, pressed on due north until he reached a gorge of the Colorado River in southeastern Utah.<sup>2</sup> That the description of the great canyon as viewed by Cárdenas does not fit any of the areas along the Colorado in that region did not prevent Bancroft from proclaiming this as the European discovery of Utah. Utah historians such as Orson F. Whitney, Levi Edgar Young, and B. H. Roberts, taking their lead from Bancroft, perpetuated the idea of the Cárdenas discovery, and generations of students were taught this as fact.

This idea should have been dispelled completely in 1940, when Katherine Bartlett of the Museum of Northern Arizona demonstrated that Cárdenas did not in fact proceed northward from Hopi to the Colorado River; rather, Hopi Indians guided him due west following a well-marked trail from waterhole to waterhole until they reached the South Rim of the Grand Canyon.<sup>3</sup> Herbert E. Bolton identified this place as in the vicinity of Grand View.<sup>4</sup> It is still surprising, however, how many Utahns today still cling to the totally discredited version of the Cárdenas discovery of Utah.<sup>5</sup>

Those Utah historians and writers who became aware of Bartlett's and Bolton's work then suggested that the "first European to set foot into what is now the state of Utah was Father Escalante in 1776." This statement is open to question on three significant counts. In the first place, the friar's name was not Escalante. Escalante refers only to the birthplace of Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante's father. His surname was Vélez, and his contemporaries generally referred to him as such. His name was usually written as "Vélez de Escalante." Properly, he should be called "Vélez," but since at this distance in time no one would know of whom we are talking, we should use both names, that is, "Vélez de Escalante." Although awkward and unfamiliar, this is technically correct. In the second place, it was not the "Escalante expedition"--or

even, for that matter, the "Vélez de Escalante Expedition." The actual leader of the enterprise was Fray Francisco Atansio Domínguez, Vélez de Escalante's religious superior and the man who, in fact, ordered the latter to accompany him. It is not my intention to minimize the contributions of Father Vélez de Escalante--which, of course, were substantial--but to give some much-belated measure of recognition to Father Domínguez. The state of Utah has taken very little note of Father Domínguez. There are at least six place names in the state named after Escalante: the Escalante Desert, Escalante Valley, Escalante Mountains, Escalante River, Escalante Petrified Forest, and the town of Escalante. None of these was so named by the explorers themselves. To my knowledge, there is not presently a single place in Utah named after Domínguez. This seems somewhat unfair to Domínguez, given his responsibility as the actual leader of the expedition. Vélez de Escalante always recognized Domínguez as his superior and he would no doubt deplore this slight of his friend. When the journal, which was a joint effort, was submitted to the governor of New Mexico upon completion of the journey, both men signed it, but Father Domínguez signed first--that is, above Vélez de Escalante. On 3 January 1777 the final journal entry states: "We presented this diary . . . and . . . we sign it on this same day, the 3rd of January of the year 1777."<sup>6</sup> Thus, it was not Escalante's expedition or Escalante's journal. Again, to be technically correct it should be considered at least a joint undertaking--the men as partners--but with Vélez de Escalante as definitely the junior partner. In the third place, it is not certain that this was in fact the first European expedition to enter Utah. Scholars have long been aware of Spanish interest and activity northwest of Sante Fe in present southwestern Colorado and possibly in southeastern Utah. Indian legends, reported to the Spaniards when they first arrived in New Mexico, spoke of rich kingdoms located on the shores of a large lake many leagues to the northwest. The location by direction and distance would seem to locate this so-called land of Gran Teguayo in Utah Valley. Numerous Spanish expeditions were actually planned and some executed in searching out this place, but none succeeded in getting very far.<sup>7</sup>

There was considerable Spanish activity, both legal and illegal, in southwestern Colorado. Officials dispatched some expeditions to locate rumored silver mines, and illegal adventurers went there to engage in the horse and slave trade with the Yuta Indians. New Mexican governors issued repeated bandos, or proclamations, prohibiting such trade, apparently to no avail.<sup>8</sup> Profits were apparently great enough to offset the risk involved, and it appears that many different groups pressed northward. It seems very possible that some of these traders penetrated the present state of Utah. Many Spanish place-names dot the area. When Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante were there in 1776, they

seemed to recognize various places and the names attached to them by earlier Spaniards.

There is no doubt that Juan María de Rivera conducted at least two official expeditions into southwestern Colorado. Sent by the governor of New Mexico to check on reports of silver mines, he may have been there in 1761 or 1765. He kept a journal of his travels and Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante had a copy of it with them in 1776 to guide them over the first portion of their expedition.<sup>9</sup> Two of the men who had accompanied Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante, Don Joaquin Laín and Andres Muñiz, had previously accompanied Rivera. The Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante journal mentions a Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval who had earlier reached the Dolores River.<sup>10</sup> They may have descended the Dolores to the Rio de Tizon (Colorado River) about twenty miles above present Moab. If so, then the Rivera expedition should be considered the first European group to penetrate the present boundaries of Utah, although further research in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Mexico, and Spain may yet reveal the names of others who even preceded Rivera.<sup>11</sup>

If Rivera came at the behest of civil authorities, Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante responded to the call of their religious leaders. In 1775, ecclesiastical superiors sent the thirty-five-year-old, Mexican-born Franciscan Fray Francisco Atansio Domínguez to New Mexico on a three-fold assignment. First, he was to conduct an official inspection of all the New Mexican missions and make a complete and detailed report of both their spiritual and economic status. Second, he was to make a survey of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico in Santa Fe to determine their historical value, inasmuch as they had been ravaged and virtually destroyed by the Pueblo Indians in their revolt ninety-six years earlier in 1680. Finally, Domínguez was to search for an overland route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, California, for economic, political, defensive, and missionary reasons.<sup>12</sup> Father Domínguez arrived in Santa Fe in March 1775 and immediately began to carry out his instructions.

The previous year another young Franciscan had arrived in New Mexico for missionary service. From his first assignment at the pueblo of Laguna, he was soon transferred to the Indian village of Zuni, located some forty miles south of present Gallup on the Arizona-New Mexico border. Here, in what he termed "this out of the way place and at the end of Christendom in this New World," Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante administered to the spiritual needs of the Christian Indians at his mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuni. Born in Spain in 1750, he had come to New Spain (Mexico) at an early age, had become a Franciscan at seventeen, and was twenty-four years old when he assumed his duties at Zuni in 1774.<sup>13</sup>

Vélez de Escalante was a brilliant young man, an astute observer, and an able writer; consequently, his reports and opinions were eagerly awaited and widely circulated by the highest governmental, ecclesiastical, and military officials for their usefulness in the search for solutions to the complicated problems of administering and safeguarding the vast interior provinces of New Spain.<sup>14</sup> He wrote numerous letters and reports while at Zuni, although he frequently found himself in difficulty with his religious superiors for not submitting them through established channels. Chastised by the Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, Vélez de Escalante wrote to him on 21 May 1776 that he had received the highly valued communication which his superior had deigned to write to him and said, "I thank your Paternity for the paternal love with which you instruct my simplicity and correct my ignorance, while overlooking my defects as much as possible."<sup>15</sup> He hoped that Father Murillo would not suspect his conduct, and he promised henceforth to go through proper channels. He concluded his letter saying, "Indeed, if I am to speak with due frankness, my youth and lack of talent do not compass the discretion necessary to marry politics with religion."<sup>16</sup>

While serving at Zuni, Vélez de Escalante developed great interest in the Moqui, or Hopi, Indians to the northwest of Zuni. Living on three mesas in northeastern Arizona at Tusayan, these people, who had persistently frustrated Spanish efforts to convert them to Christianity, were referred to as the "obstinate Hopi." They had accepted certain elements of Spanish material culture but had stoutly resisted all efforts of Spanish governors and missionaries to force Spanish authority and Christianity upon them.

In the summer of 1775 Vélez de Escalante visited Hopiland, where he remained a week.<sup>17</sup> He was keenly disappointed in the refusal of what he called the "wicked infidels" to listen to him preach. He had hoped during this visit to learn something of the situation to the west of Hopi in an effort to determine the possibility of opening communication with the Spaniards in the recently settled California. Hopi informants told him that six days west of the Hopi were the Cosnina Indians, that nine days beyond them were the Jomascabas, and that fourteen days beyond the Jomascabas were the Chirumas, cannibals who ate the flesh of those they killed in battle. This information was enough to convince Vélez de Escalante that the way to Monterey was not in that direction but must be sought to the west and northwest of Hopi through the lands of the Yutas.

Meanwhile, Father Domínguez had been making his survey of the Santa Fe Archives and had also completed his sweeping visita, or tour of inspection, of all the twenty-five Franciscan missions in New Mexico. He prepared a report of his investigations and subsequently sent it to the authorities in Mexico City.



Here it was filed away with the following sarcastic notation in the margin:

This report is intended in part to be a description of New Mexico, but its phraseology is obscure, it lacks proportion, and offers little to the discriminating taste. Still it may serve for the information of the Superior Prelate, or Prelates, for the narrator did his best to perform the ministry entrusted to him. It deals with degrees of latitude and longitude, lands, rivers, settlements, churches and their belongings, censuses, religious and secular administration, juridical visitations, etc, etc, etc.<sup>18</sup>

Forgotten for 150 years, it was rediscovered in 1927 in the National Library in Mexico City by France V. Scholes and eventually was published in 1956 as The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez.<sup>19</sup>

It is a gold mine of information about life and society in eighteenth-century New Mexico. The meticulous record of the most commonplace events of everyday life makes this document uniquely valuable, for these are the vital details least often passed on to posterity, being to the man of the time too obvious to mention. This book establishes Father Domínguez as one of the most important historians of eighteenth-century New Mexico.

(His descriptions of the mission churches were so complete that in a published volume an artist was able to prepare line drawings of each mission church, enabling us to see today just what they looked like two hundred years ago!)

By mid-April 1776 Father Domínguez was ready to comply with the instructions to open an overland route between Santa Fe and Monterey. He wrote to Vélez de Escalante and ordered him to come to Santa Fe to discuss the prospects of such an expedition and to discover what Vélez de Escalante had learned about conditions west of Hopi. Vélez de Escalante arrived in Santa Fe on 7 June, and both men quickly decided to commence the expedition within a month. They informed the New Mexico governor, Don Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta,<sup>20</sup> of their plans, and he agreed to support the Franciscans in every way that he possibly could.

However, the explorers could not depart on the original date set (July 4) because the Comanche Indians had attacked the village of La Cienega and killed ten persons. On 20 June Father Domínguez assigned Vélez de Escalante as chaplain to accompany the presidial soldiers on a scouting expedition against the Comanches. This effort lasted ten days. Several days after returning to the capital, Father Domínguez sent Vélez de Escalante to Taos on some urgent business to which

the latter could not himself attend. While there, Vélez de Escalante was stricken with an acute pain in his side which caused him great distress. Domínguez hastened to Taos when informed of his associate's illness but found him out of danger when he arrived. He ordered Vélez de Escalante to remain in Taos for a week to recoup his strength.<sup>21</sup> Apparently this was a kidney ailment which plagued Vélez de Escalante and caused him considerable pain and discomfort while traveling on horseback on the two-thousand-mile expedition.

Finally, on 29 July 1776, the party was ready to depart Santa Fe on the expedition which Father Domínguez hoped would open a new route to Monterey, the Spanish capital of California. Vélez de Escalante was not particularly optimistic that the expedition would succeed, however. He had earlier stated that he believed only a large, well-armed party of twenty or more men might make it. With only ten men in their group, eight civilians and the two Franciscans, he did not think that they were likely to reach California.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the later decision of 11 October to abandon the quest did not come as much of a surprise or disappointment to him.

The documentary history of Utah begins with the journal kept by these two men. It was a joint writing and should not be referred to as Escalante's journal alone. The journal is a day-to-day account of the expedition from 29 July 1776 to 3 January 1777, with the days from 11 September to November covering the Utah portion. There are manuscript copies of the journal in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain; in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; in the Archivo General de Nación in Mexico; and in London, Paris, and the Library of Congress. The journal was first published in Spanish in 1854 in Documentos para la historia de México, segunda serie.

The first attempt at an English translation was made by the Reverend W. R. Harris in The Catholic Church in Utah (1909). Although praiseworthy as a first effort, it was made from a handwritten copy of the Documentos version, and there are many errors. In fact, it is practically worthless to scholars today. In 1942 Herbert S. Auerback published a translation as Father Escalante's Journal, 1776-1777, which, although a good translation with excellent notes, by its very title tends to downgrade Domínguez's role. In 1950 Herbert E. Bolton, the dean of Spanish borderlands historians, published his Pageant in the Wilderness. Unhappily this was the last major work before his death, and it does not meet the high quality which characterized his previous efforts. His introduction is simply a paraphrasing of the journal, and he consistently downgrades the role of Domínguez even though he shows that Domínguez signed it first and in his bibliography cites Domínguez as first author.<sup>23</sup> The subtitle, The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776, shows his bias for Vélez de Escalante. Presently,

I am working on a new translation, in which I plan to have the Spanish text on one page and the English translation on the opposite page, similar to the Jesuit Relations. A translation is only an interpretation of the writer's intentions, and this technique will allow the students to make their own judgments.

As far as the expedition itself is concerned, the padres covered fairly well known territory for the first three weeks, traveling through northwestern New Mexico and the southwestern corner of Colorado.<sup>24</sup> They reached the Gunnison River and then proceeded up the north fork until they came to the villages of the Sabuaganas Yutas. Here they met a Laguna or Timpanogotzie Indian from the Utah Lake region. Realizing that they would be traversing his homeland, the priests employed him as a guide. They called him Silvestre, perhaps after Vélez de Escalante.

The explorers entered the present state of Utah on 11 September 1776 and called their first encampment in Utah Arroyo del Cibola. Proceeding westward, they reached the Rio de San Buenaventura, or Green River. They forded this stream and on 13 September camped at a site called La Vega de Santa Cruz, a short distance above the mouth of Bush Creek, a few miles north of Jensen, Utah, and about one mile south of Dinosaur National Monument. East of the ford they recorded in the journal that here there were six large poplar trees (seis alamos negros grandes) which had grown together in pairs. Near these was one poplar standing alone. On the trunk of this tree, on the side which faced the northwest, Don Joaquin Laín cleared a small space in the form of a rectangular window and then with a chisel carved the following inscription: "The Year of 1776"; lower down in different letters, the word "LAÍN" with two crosses at the sides. Bolton, in 1950, proclaimed that these six "cottonwoods still stand." This would be 186 years after the initials had been carved. Botanists, however, tell us that the life of an average poplar is only slightly more than one hundred years. Inasmuch as the tree was already a large one in 1776, it would seem unlikely that it would still be standing in 1950.

After crossing the Green River, the fathers directed their course to the southwest. They followed roughly the route of Highway 40, past present-day Roosevelt, Duchesne, Fruitland, and Strawberry Reservoir. Thence they turned south and west down Diamond Fork to the Spanish Fork (Rio de Aguas Calientes). Proceeding down the Spanish Fork, they crossed to the south side and climbed a small hill at the mouth of the canyon to look down on Utah Valley. It was a clear September day. Father Domínguez described Utah Valley thus:

At 316 leagues from the Villa of Santa Fe we reached the great valley and lake of the Tympanocuitzis, which we named Nuestra Señora de la Merced because we arrived there on the day of this



advocation of the Most Pure Virgin [September 23]. Here we found the most docile and affable nation of all that have been known in these regions. We proclaimed the Gospel to them with such happy results that they may become Christians. They accepted our proposals with pleasure, and in proof of their sincerity they gave us a sign on a piece of chamois in order that we might show it to the lord governor, and they gave us two Indians to come here with us. One of them returned because of an unexpected contingency, after having traveled with us more than 40 leagues from his land, and the other went on and has come here with us. This has sweetened the inevitable bitter things that so long a journey offers, because we have now assured the safety of his soul.

The said valley is on the west side of an extensive sierra that comes from the northeast and the land of the Yamparicas and in the latitude 40° 49'. Five rivers, which enter a great lake abounding in fish, which is in the center of the valley, water it. Around it dwell the Tympanocuitzis and another nation whom we were unable to see. This valley is so spacious with such good land and beautiful proportions that in it alone a province like New Mexico can be established and can be maintained there well supplied with every kind of grain and cattle, as your Very Reverend Paternity will see at more length in the Diary which I will submit in due course.<sup>25</sup>

They extolled the virtues of the valley and the Indians. They claimed that the Indians begged them to remain among them and tell them more about their God. However, they had another assignment and had to press on, promising that upon completion of their task they would return to them and that padres would come to instruct them and Spaniards would come to live with them--in which case, they would be taught to plant crops and raise cattle and would then have food and clothing like the Spaniards. Father Domínguez preached to the Indians and promised that "if they consented to live as God commands and as the fathers would teach them, everything necessary would be sent by our Captain, who is very grand and rich and whom we call King. For if he saw that they wished to become Christians, he would regard them as his children, and he would care for them just as if they already were his people."<sup>26</sup>

It subsequently proved impossible for the Franciscans to return to Utah as they had promised the Indians. Conditions in New Mexico had deteriorated, and missionary efforts along

the frontier declined. When they requested missions for Utah they were informed by one cynical administrator that "for purposes of the faith the frontier was already sufficiently spread out." The government had effected a retrenchment policy caused by the lack of money and men and aggravated by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World nine years earlier, when their missions had been taken over by Franciscans, Dominicans, and other orders. There simply were not enough missionaries to occupy these and extend the mission frontier at the same time. The promise made by Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante was subsequently forgotten, although there was almost continuous contact with these Laguna Indians by traders throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century and even some time after the coming of the Mormons in 1847.

The failure of the Spaniards to follow up on the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante recommendations for missions in Utah had significant repercussions on the future history of the state. Had the Franciscans returned and established missions in Utah Valley and along the Wasatch Front, a military garrison or presidio would have been located there, and civilian and military pueblos would have been founded by merchants, traders, and families of the soldiers. Spanish institutions, customs, religions, and culture would undoubtedly have been instituted in Utah. Utah would have become another Spanish outpost, a settled and occupied part of the Spanish empire in the New World. In the 1840s, when Brigham Young sought a site for the future home of his exiled Saints, he may not have considered the Great Basin because it would already have been settled and its best lands owned by Catholic missions and Spanish settlers. The Spaniards' retrenchment would also have affected place-names in Utah. Today place-names such as Santa Catarina (Duchesne), Dulce Nombre de Jesus (Mapleton), San Antonio de Padua (Provo), San Nicolás (Springville), San Andrés (Payson), San Bernardino (Levan), Santa Ysabel (Mills), Ojo de Cisneros (Scripto), San Rústico (Milford), Señor San José (Cedar City), and Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Kanarraville), and even a San Juan Capistrano would dot the map instead of the purely Mormon names of Bountiful, Deseret, Ephraim, Lehi, Nephi, Manti, Moroni, and Moab!

The failure of the Spaniards to capitalize on the information brought back by Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante about central Utah was perhaps the most significant and important long-range result of the expedition. It meant, in effect, that Utah would not be permanently settled by white men for another seventy-one years and that, when it was, it would not be by Spanish Catholics, but by American Mormons.

Accompanying the expedition was a retired military captain and cartographer, Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco.<sup>27</sup> He prepared a map of the regions visited which contains some very interesting comments.<sup>28</sup> For example, he depicts the Laguna de Las

Timpanogos as virtually one body of water with only a small neck connecting the two (not the forty-mile-long Jordan River). To the east of the northern and large part of the lake, Miera y Pacheco noted that "the Commanche region reaches as far as here. Preventing their expansion are the very abundant rivers and lakes on the east, north and northeast of their habitations." Flowing west from the Great Salt Lake, a large river is illustrated. Miera noted that this "must be the Rio de Tizon [Colorado] previously discovered by the Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate, which he could not cross on account of its great depth and width. It can be navigated." Obviously he was confused, but the conception of a river flowing westward out of Great Salt Lake was not dispelled until the Joseph Walker expedition of 1833.

Another note by Miera y Pacheco on the south side of the Tizon River states:

They say there are many large tribes of Indians on the other side of the lake, who live in organized communities. The Timpanogos Indians say that the tribes living on the west side of their lake, and on the high ridge of mountains which is seen in that direction from their huts . . . were formerly their friends, and that they make the tips of their arrows, lancas and macanas of a yellow metal, in accordance with ancient traditions.

This yellow metal (metal amarillo) did not seem to excite much Spanish interest. "Yellow metal" usually suggested gold, and such a report would have supported their petition for missions in Utah. Vélez de Escalante, however, put his finger on a practice which had misled Spanish explorers and missionaries from the days of Coronado when he wrote that

long experience has shown that not only the infidel Indians but even the Christians, in order to raise themselves in our esteem, tell us what they know we want to hear, without being embarrassed by the falsity of their tales.

Apparently he discounted this report, concluding that they were talking about copper or that when he returned there would be time enough to check it out more carefully.

The Utah Lake Indians (called in Spanish Lagunas or Come Pescado, meaning "fish eaters") informed the Spaniards that their lake connected with another one to the north which stretched for many leagues. The waters of the second lake were reported to be noxious and extremely salty. The Indians assured the padres that anyone getting a part of his body wet

and using these collected sources, have compiled their traditions, and these have been published in the name of the tribe for use as part of the curriculum in public schools attended by both Indian and other children. The income from the sale of the books, published under tribal contracts, belongs to the particular tribe.<sup>32</sup>

The Education Amendments of 1972 included an "Ethnic Heritage Program" designed to assist school children and adults in the United States "to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group" and "to learn about the nature of their own cultural heritage."<sup>33</sup> This kind of legislation could help to bring a better understanding between Indian communities and their surrounding neighbors.

Styles in jewelry, moccasins, boots; the use of chamois in shirts and boleros; styles in headdresses, shirts, blouses, bodysuits (leotards plus tights); a variety of prints and fabrics for morning, afternoon, and evening wear--all are being influenced by Indian themes. Again, representatives of the Native groups are participating in the styling and production of the basic materials from which many of these articles are manufactured, as well as in the finished product.

From whatever vantage point we view our society, the impact of the Indian will likely be proportionately greater than that of any other element because the Indian is the original and the basic component. It is the energy and imagination of the Indians themselves that will make this prospect possible. The cultural enrichment that the Indians add to American life today is more than a fair trade for the negative traits Washington Irving credits us with having bequeathed to the Indians.

In the words of President Nixon: "American Society can allow many different cultures to flourish in harmony"; for Indians who choose to maintain their culture "we must provide an opportunity . . . to lead a useful and prosperous life in an Indian environment."<sup>34</sup> As a matter of policy, "We must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us. The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions."<sup>35</sup>

Much has been done by the government and by the people of the United States to "mobilize and direct the vast reservoir of good will toward Indians which is found throughout the country."<sup>36</sup> But much remains to be done before Indian leaders in name have the power in fact to become decision makers in all matters that affect the welfare of Indian people, whether they reside in urban or reservation areas.



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# The Significance of the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante Expedition

Ted J. Warner

Chairman of the Department of History at Brigham Young University, Ted J. Warner has worked principally on the northward expansion of New Spain. In the present study, he has concentrated on the unsuccessful efforts of two Franciscan missionaries and their entourage to open a route from Santa Fe to Monterey in 1776-77. As Professor Warner sees it, the significance of the expedition lies, not only in the interest created for Spanish traders in the region, but also in the failure of the Spanish to follow the exploration with the establishment of missions and towns. Utah is thus revealed as a frontier area not thought significant enough to warrant the investment of the resources of an already overextended Spanish empire.

Beyond this, Professor Warner has attempted to place the entire effort in some perspective. As he points out, Vélez de Escalante was a junior partner in the expedition, and Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez was the senior official. Clearly, historians have been less than fair to Domínguez, and popular folklore and place-naming have slighted him as well. In addition, Professor Warner points out that this may not have been the first Spanish penetration into Utah. Though the Cárdenas story has been discredited, clear evidence of an earlier penetration by Juan María de Rivera awaits further research.

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Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado are planning significant celebrations to commemorate in 1976 the two hundredth anniversary of the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante expedition. A Domínguez-Escalante State-Federal Bicentennial Committee has been organized, and ambitious projects (such as locating and marking the trail, placing a monument at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon, producing pageants, films, and a commemorative

postage stamp) have been proposed and are being actively promoted and pursued. It is gratifying to note, however, that in this effort and promotion some care seems to be taken not to accord to this expedition credit to which it is not due. For example, in all the publicity which has recently been focused on the event, no claim has been made by responsible persons that this was the first penetration of Utah by white men. In fact, there is evidence that the European discovery of Utah occurred some years prior to 1776.

Historians have already found it necessary to correct an earlier interpretation of the first European penetration.<sup>1</sup> In 1889 Hubert Howe Bancroft, following the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, contended that the first white penetration of what is now the state of Utah occurred in 1540. He claimed that Don García López de Cárdenas, a lieutenant of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, after visiting the Hopi villages in north-eastern Arizona, pressed on due north until he reached a gorge of the Colorado River in southeastern Utah.<sup>2</sup> That the description of the great canyon as viewed by Cárdenas does not fit any of the areas along the Colorado in that region did not prevent Bancroft from proclaiming this as the European discovery of Utah. Utah historians such as Orson F. Whitney, Levi Edgar Young, and B. H. Roberts, taking their lead from Bancroft, perpetuated the idea of the Cárdenas discovery, and generations of students were taught this as fact.

This idea should have been dispelled completely in 1940, when Katherine Bartlett of the Museum of Northern Arizona demonstrated that Cárdenas did not in fact proceed northward from Hopi to the Colorado River; rather, Hopi Indians guided him due west following a well-marked trail from waterhole to waterhole until they reached the South Rim of the Grand Canyon.<sup>3</sup> Herbert E. Bolton identified this place as in the vicinity of Grand View.<sup>4</sup> It is still surprising, however, how many Utahns today still cling to the totally discredited version of the Cárdenas discovery of Utah.<sup>5</sup>

Those Utah historians and writers who became aware of Bartlett's and Bolton's work then suggested that the "first European to set foot into what is now the state of Utah was Father Escalante in 1776." This statement is open to question on three significant counts. In the first place, the friar's name was not Escalante. Escalante refers only to the birthplace of Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante's father. His surname was Vélez, and his contemporaries generally referred to him as such. His name was usually written as "Vélez de Escalante." Properly, he should be called "Vélez," but since at this distance in time no one would know of whom we are talking, we should use both names, that is, "Vélez de Escalante." Although awkward and unfamiliar, this is technically correct. In the second place, it was not the "Escalante expedition"--or

even, for that matter, the "Vélez de Escalante Expedition." The actual leader of the enterprise was Fray Francisco Atansio Domínguez, Vélez de Escalante's religious superior and the man who, in fact, ordered the latter to accompany him. It is not my intention to minimize the contributions of Father Vélez de Escalante--which, of course, were substantial--but to give some much-belated measure of recognition to Father Domínguez. The state of Utah has taken very little note of Father Domínguez. There are at least six place names in the state named after Escalante: the Escalante Desert, Escalante Valley, Escalante Mountains, Escalante River, Escalante Petrified Forest, and the town of Escalante. None of these was so named by the explorers themselves. To my knowledge, there is not presently a single place in Utah named after Domínguez. This seems somewhat unfair to Domínguez, given his responsibility as the actual leader of the expedition. Vélez de Escalante always recognized Domínguez as his superior and he would no doubt deplore this slight of his friend. When the journal, which was a joint effort, was submitted to the governor of New Mexico upon completion of the journey, both men signed it, but Father Domínguez signed first--that is, above Vélez de Escalante. On 3 January 1777 the final journal entry states: "We presented this diary . . . and . . . we sign it on this same day, the 3rd of January of the year 1777."<sup>6</sup> Thus, it was not Escalante's expedition or Escalante's journal. Again, to be technically correct it should be considered at least a joint undertaking--the men as partners--but with Vélez de Escalante as definitely the junior partner. In the third place, it is not certain that this was in fact the first European expedition to enter Utah. Scholars have long been aware of Spanish interest and activity northwest of Sante Fe in present southwestern Colorado and possibly in southeastern Utah. Indian legends, reported to the Spaniards when they first arrived in New Mexico, spoke of rich kingdoms located on the shores of a large lake many leagues to the northwest. The location by direction and distance would seem to locate this so-called land of Gran Teguayo in Utah Valley. Numerous Spanish expeditions were actually planned and some executed in searching out this place, but none succeeded in getting very far.<sup>7</sup>

There was considerable Spanish activity, both legal and illegal, in southwestern Colorado. Officials dispatched some expeditions to locate rumored silver mines, and illegal adventurers went there to engage in the horse and slave trade with the Yuta Indians. New Mexican governors issued repeated bandos, or proclamations, prohibiting such trade, apparently to no avail.<sup>8</sup> Profits were apparently great enough to offset the risk involved, and it appears that many different groups pressed northward. It seems very possible that some of these traders penetrated the present state of Utah. Many Spanish place-names dot the area. When Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante were there in 1776, they

seemed to recognize various places and the names attached to them by earlier Spaniards.

There is no doubt that Juan María de Rivera conducted at least two official expeditions into southwestern Colorado. Sent by the governor of New Mexico to check on reports of silver mines, he may have been there in 1761 or 1765. He kept a journal of his travels and Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante had a copy of it with them in 1776 to guide them over the first portion of their expedition.<sup>9</sup> Two of the men who had accompanied Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante, Don Joaquin Lafn and Andres Muñiz, had previously accompanied Rivera. The Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante journal mentions a Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval who had earlier reached the Dolores River.<sup>10</sup> They may have descended the Dolores to the Rio de Tizon (Colorado River) about twenty miles above present Moab. If so, then the Rivera expedition should be considered the first European group to penetrate the present boundaries of Utah, although further research in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Mexico, and Spain may yet reveal the names of others who even preceded Rivera.<sup>11</sup>

If Rivera came at the behest of civil authorities, Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante responded to the call of their religious leaders. In 1775, ecclesiastical superiors sent the thirty-five-year-old, Mexican-born Franciscan Fray Francisco Atansio Domínguez to New Mexico on a three-fold assignment. First, he was to conduct an official inspection of all the New Mexican missions and make a complete and detailed report of both their spiritual and economic status. Second, he was to make a survey of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico in Santa Fe to determine their historical value, inasmuch as they had been ravaged and virtually destroyed by the Pueblo Indians in their revolt ninety-six years earlier in 1680. Finally, Domínguez was to search for an overland route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, California, for economic, political, defensive, and missionary reasons.<sup>12</sup> Father Domínguez arrived in Santa Fe in March 1775 and immediately began to carry out his instructions.

The previous year another young Franciscan had arrived in New Mexico for missionary service. From his first assignment at the pueblo of Laguna, he was soon transferred to the Indian village of Zuni, located some forty miles south of present Gallup on the Arizona-New Mexico border. Here, in what he termed "this out of the way place and at the end of Christendom in this New World," Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante administered to the spiritual needs of the Christian Indians at his mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuni. Born in Spain in 1750, he had come to New Spain (Mexico) at an early age, had become a Franciscan at seventeen, and was twenty-four years old when he assumed his duties at Zuni in 1774.<sup>13</sup>

Vélez de Escalante was a brilliant young man, an astute observer, and an able writer; consequently, his reports and opinions were eagerly awaited and widely circulated by the highest governmental, ecclesiastical, and military officials for their usefulness in the search for solutions to the complicated problems of administering and safeguarding the vast interior provinces of New Spain.<sup>14</sup> He wrote numerous letters and reports while at Zuni, although he frequently found himself in difficulty with his religious superiors for not submitting them through established channels. Chastised by the Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, Vélez de Escalante wrote to him on 21 May 1776 that he had received the highly valued communication which his superior had deigned to write to him and said, "I thank your Paternity for the paternal love with which you instruct my simplicity and correct my ignorance, while overlooking my defects as much as possible."<sup>15</sup> He hoped that Father Murillo would not suspect his conduct, and he promised henceforth to go through proper channels. He concluded his letter saying, "Indeed, if I am to speak with due frankness, my youth and lack of talent do not compass the discretion necessary to marry politics with religion."<sup>16</sup>

While serving at Zuni, Vélez de Escalante developed great interest in the Moqui, or Hopi, Indians to the northwest of Zuni. Living on three mesas in northeastern Arizona at Tusayan, these people, who had persistently frustrated Spanish efforts to convert them to Christianity, were referred to as the "obstinate Hopi." They had accepted certain elements of Spanish material culture but had stoutly resisted all efforts of Spanish governors and missionaries to force Spanish authority and Christianity upon them.

In the summer of 1775 Vélez de Escalante visited Hopiland, where he remained a week.<sup>17</sup> He was keenly disappointed in the refusal of what he called the "wicked infidels" to listen to him preach. He had hoped during this visit to learn something of the situation to the west of Hopi in an effort to determine the possibility of opening communication with the Spaniards in the recently settled California. Hopi informants told him that six days west of the Hopi were the Cosnina Indians, that nine days beyond them were the Jomascabas, and that fourteen days beyond the Jomascabas were the Chirumas, cannibals who ate the flesh of those they killed in battle. This information was enough to convince Vélez de Escalante that the way to Monterey was not in that direction but must be sought to the west and northwest of Hopi through the lands of the Yutas.

Meanwhile, Father Domínguez had been making his survey of the Santa Fe Archives and had also completed his sweeping visita, or tour of inspection, of all the twenty-five Franciscan missions in New Mexico. He prepared a report of his investigations and subsequently sent it to the authorities in Mexico City.



Here it was filed away with the following sarcastic notation in the margin:

This report is intended in part to be a description of New Mexico, but its phraseology is obscure, it lacks proportion, and offers little to the discriminating taste. Still it may serve for the information of the Superior Prelate, or Prelates, for the narrator did his best to perform the ministry entrusted to him. It deals with degrees of latitude and longitude, lands, rivers, settlements, churches and their belongings, censuses, religious and secular administration, juridical visitations, etc, etc, etc.<sup>18</sup>

Forgotten for 150 years, it was rediscovered in 1927 in the National Library in Mexico City by France V. Scholes and eventually was published in 1956 as The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez.<sup>19</sup>

It is a gold mine of information about life and society in eighteenth-century New Mexico. The meticulous record of the most commonplace events of everyday life makes this document uniquely valuable, for these are the vital details least often passed on to posterity, being to the man of the time too obvious to mention. This book establishes Father Domínguez as one of the most important historians of eighteenth-century New Mexico. (His descriptions of the mission churches were so complete that in a published volume an artist was able to prepare line drawings of each mission church, enabling us to see today just what they looked like two hundred years ago!)

By mid-April 1776 Father Domínguez was ready to comply with the instructions to open an overland route between Santa Fe and Monterey. He wrote to Vélez de Escalante and ordered him to come to Santa Fe to discuss the prospects of such an expedition and to discover what Vélez de Escalante had learned about conditions west of Hopi. Vélez de Escalante arrived in Santa Fe on 7 June, and both men quickly decided to commence the expedition within a month. They informed the New Mexico governor, Don Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta,<sup>20</sup> of their plans, and he agreed to support the Franciscans in every way that he possibly could.

However, the explorers could not depart on the original date set (July 4) because the Comanche Indians had attacked the village of La Cienega and killed ten persons. On 20 June Father Domínguez assigned Vélez de Escalante as chaplain to accompany the presidial soldiers on a scouting expedition against the Comanches. This effort lasted ten days. Several days after returning to the capital, Father Domínguez sent Vélez de Escalante to Taos on some urgent business to which

the latter could not himself attend. While there, Vélez de Escalante was stricken with an acute pain in his side which caused him great distress. Domínguez hastened to Taos when informed of his associate's illness but found him out of danger when he arrived. He ordered Vélez de Escalante to remain in Taos for a week to recoup his strength.<sup>21</sup> Apparently this was a kidney ailment which plagued Vélez de Escalante and caused him considerable pain and discomfort while traveling on horseback on the two-thousand-mile expedition.

Finally, on 29 July 1776, the party was ready to depart Santa Fe on the expedition which Father Domínguez hoped would open a new route to Monterey, the Spanish capital of California. Vélez de Escalante was not particularly optimistic that the expedition would succeed, however. He had earlier stated that he believed only a large, well-armed party of twenty or more men might make it. With only ten men in their group, eight civilians and the two Franciscans, he did not think that they were likely to reach California.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the later decision of 11 October to abandon the quest did not come as much of a surprise or disappointment to him.

The documentary history of Utah begins with the journal kept by these two men. It was a joint writing and should not be referred to as Escalante's journal alone. The journal is a day-to-day account of the expedition from 29 July 1776 to 3 January 1777, with the days from 11 September to November covering the Utah portion. There are manuscript copies of the journal in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain; in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; in the Archivo General de Nación in Mexico; and in London, Paris, and the Library of Congress. The journal was first published in Spanish in 1854 in Documentos para la historia de México, segunda serie.

The first attempt at an English translation was made by the Reverend W. R. Harris in The Catholic Church in Utah (1909). Although praiseworthy as a first effort, it was made from a handwritten copy of the Documentos version, and there are many errors. In fact, it is practically worthless to scholars today. In 1942 Herbert S. Auerback published a translation as Father Escalante's Journal, 1776-1777, which, although a good translation with excellent notes, by its very title tends to downgrade Domínguez's role. In 1950 Herbert E. Bolton, the dean of Spanish borderlands historians, published his Pageant in the Wilderness. Unhappily this was the last major work before his death, and it does not meet the high quality which characterized his previous efforts. His introduction is simply a paraphrasing of the journal, and he consistently downgrades the role of Domínguez even though he shows that Domínguez signed it first and in his bibliography cites Domínguez as first author.<sup>23</sup> The subtitle, The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776, shows his bias for Vélez de Escalante. Presently,

I am working on a new translation, in which I plan to have the Spanish text on one page and the English translation on the opposite page, similar to the Jesuit Relations. A translation is only an interpretation of the writer's intentions, and this technique will allow the students to make their own judgments.

As far as the expedition itself is concerned, the padres covered fairly well known territory for the first three weeks, traveling through northwestern New Mexico and the southwestern corner of Colorado.<sup>24</sup> They reached the Gunnison River and then proceeded up the north fork until they came to the villages of the Sabuaganas Yutas. Here they met a Laguna or Timpanogotzie Indian from the Utah Lake region. Realizing that they would be traversing his homeland, the priests employed him as a guide. They called him Silvestre, perhaps after Vélez de Escalante.

The explorers entered the present state of Utah on 11 September 1776 and called their first encampment in Utah Arroyo del Cibola. Proceeding westward, they reached the Rio de San Buenaventura, or Green River. They forded this stream and on 13 September camped at a site called La Vega de Santa Cruz, a short distance above the mouth of Bush Creek, a few miles north of Jensen, Utah, and about one mile south of Dinosaur National Monument. East of the ford they recorded in the journal that here there were six large poplar trees (seis alamos negros grandes) which had grown together in pairs. Near these was one poplar standing alone. On the trunk of this tree, on the side which faced the northwest, Don Joaquin Laín cleared a small space in the form of a rectangular window and then with a chisel carved the following inscription: "The Year of 1776"; lower down in different letters, the word "LAÍN" with two crosses at the sides. Bolton, in 1950, proclaimed that these six "cottonwoods still stand." This would be 186 years after the initials had been carved. Botanists, however, tell us that the life of an average poplar is only slightly more than one hundred years. Inasmuch as the tree was already a large one in 1776, it would seem unlikely that it would still be standing in 1950.

After crossing the Green River, the fathers directed their course to the southwest. They followed roughly the route of Highway 40, past present-day Roosevelt, Duchesne, Fruitland, and Strawberry Reservoir. Thence they turned south and west down Diamond Fork to the Spanish Fork (Rio de Aguas Calientes). Proceeding down the Spanish Fork, they crossed to the south side and climbed a small hill at the mouth of the canyon to look down on Utah Valley. It was a clear September day. Father Domínguez described Utah Valley thus:

At 316 leagues from the Villa of Santa Fe we reached the great valley and lake of the Tympanocuitzis, which we named Nuestra Señora de la Merced because we arrived there on the day of this



advocation of the Most Pure Virgin [September 23]. Here we found the most docile and affable nation of all that have been known in these regions. We proclaimed the Gospel to them with such happy results that they may become Christians. They accepted our proposals with pleasure, and in proof of their sincerity they gave us a sign on a piece of chamois in order that we might show it to the lord governor, and they gave us two Indians to come here with us. One of them returned because of an unexpected contingency, after having traveled with us more than 40 leagues from his land, and the other went on and has come here with us. This has sweetened the inevitable bitter things that so long a journey offers, because we have now assured the safety of his soul.

The said valley is on the west side of an extensive sierra that comes from the northeast and the land of the Yamparicas and in the latitude 40° 49'. Five rivers, which enter a great lake abounding in fish, which is in the center of the valley, water it. Around it dwell the Tympanocuitzis and another nation whom we were unable to see. This valley is so spacious with such good land and beautiful proportions that in it alone a province like New Mexico can be established and can be maintained there well supplied with every kind of grain and cattle, as your Very Reverend Paternity will see at more length in the Diary which I will submit in due course.<sup>25</sup>

They extolled the virtues of the valley and the Indians. They claimed that the Indians begged them to remain among them and tell them more about their God. However, they had another assignment and had to press on, promising that upon completion of their task they would return to them and that padres would come to instruct them and Spaniards would come to live with them--in which case, they would be taught to plant crops and raise cattle and would then have food and clothing like the Spaniards. Father Domínguez preached to the Indians and promised that "if they consented to live as God commands and as the fathers would teach them, everything necessary would be sent by our Captain, who is very grand and rich and whom we call King. For if he saw that they wished to become Christians, he would regard them as his children, and he would care for them just as if they already were his people."<sup>26</sup>

It subsequently proved impossible for the Franciscans to return to Utah as they had promised the Indians. Conditions in New Mexico had deteriorated, and missionary efforts along

the frontier declined. When they requested missions for Utah they were informed by one cynical administrator that "for purposes of the faith the frontier was already sufficiently spread out." The government had effected a retrenchment policy caused by the lack of money and men and aggravated by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World nine years earlier, when their missions had been taken over by Franciscans, Dominicans, and other orders. There simply were not enough missionaries to occupy these and extend the mission frontier at the same time. The promise made by Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante was subsequently forgotten, although there was almost continuous contact with these Laguna Indians by traders throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century and even some time after the coming of the Mormons in 1847.

The failure of the Spaniards to follow up on the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante recommendations for missions in Utah had significant repercussions on the future history of the state. Had the Franciscans returned and established missions in Utah Valley and along the Wasatch Front, a military garrison or presidio would have been located there, and civilian and military pueblos would have been founded by merchants, traders, and families of the soldiers. Spanish institutions, customs, religions, and culture would undoubtedly have been instituted in Utah. Utah would have become another Spanish outpost, a settled and occupied part of the Spanish empire in the New World. In the 1840s, when Brigham Young sought a site for the future home of his exiled Saints, he may not have considered the Great Basin because it would already have been settled and its best lands owned by Catholic missions and Spanish settlers. The Spaniards' retrenchment would also have affected place-names in Utah. Today place-names such as Santa Catarina (Duchesne), Dulce Nombre de Jesus (Mapleton), San Antonio de Padua (Provo), San Nicolás (Springville), San Andrés (Payson), San Bernardino (Levan), Santa Ysabel (Mills), Ojo de Cisneros (Scripto), San Rústico (Milford), Señor San José (Cedar City), and Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Kanarraville), and even a San Juan Capistrano would dot the map instead of the purely Mormon names of Bountiful, Deseret, Ephraim, Lehi, Nephi, Manti, Moroni, and Moab!

The failure of the Spaniards to capitalize on the information brought back by Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante about central Utah was perhaps the most significant and important long-range result of the expedition. It meant, in effect, that Utah would not be permanently settled by white men for another seventy-one years and that, when it was, it would not be by Spanish Catholics, but by American Mormons.

Accompanying the expedition was a retired military captain and cartographer, Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco.<sup>27</sup> He prepared a map of the regions visited which contains some very interesting comments.<sup>28</sup> For example, he depicts the Laguna de Las

Timpanogos as virtually one body of water with only a small neck connecting the two (not the forty-mile-long Jordan River). To the east of the northern and large part of the lake, Miera y Pacheco noted that "the Commanche region reaches as far as here. Preventing their expansion are the very abundant rivers and lakes on the east, north and northeast of their habitations." Flowing west from the Great Salt Lake, a large river is illustrated. Miera noted that this "must be the Rio de Tizon [Colorado] previously discovered by the Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate, which he could not cross on account of its great depth and width. It can be navigated." Obviously he was confused, but the conception of a river flowing westward out of Great Salt Lake was not dispelled until the Joseph Walker expedition of 1833.

Another note by Miera y Pacheco on the south side of the Tizon River states:

They say there are many large tribes of Indians on the other side of the lake, who live in organized communities. The Timpanogos Indians say that the tribes living on the west side of their lake, and on the high ridge of mountains which is seen in that direction from their huts . . . were formerly their friends, and that they make the tips of their arrows, lancas and macanas of a yellow metal, in accordance with ancient traditions.

This yellow metal (metal amarillo) did not seem to excite much Spanish interest. "Yellow metal" usually suggested gold, and such a report would have supported their petition for missions in Utah. Vélez de Escalante, however, put his finger on a practice which had misled Spanish explorers and missionaries from the days of Coronado when he wrote that

long experience has shown that not only the infidel Indians but even the Christians, in order to raise themselves in our esteem, tell us what they know we want to hear, without being embarrassed by the falsity of their tales.

Apparently he discounted this report, concluding that they were talking about copper or that when he returned there would be time enough to check it out more carefully.

The Utah Lake Indians (called in Spanish Lagunas or Come Pescado, meaning "fish eaters") informed the Spaniards that their lake connected with another one to the north which stretched for many leagues. The waters of the second lake were reported to be noxious and extremely salty. The Indians assured the padres that anyone getting a part of his body wet

in that water instantly felt a severe itching around the wet part. The Lagunas reported that around this salt lake there lived a populous and peaceful tribe named the Pauguampe, which in Spanish means "Hechiceros" and in English "witch doctors" or "wizards." This tribe reportedly spoke the Comanche languages, ate grasses, and drank from several springs of good water around the lake. Their huts were built of dry grass with roofs of earth, and they were not enemies of the Laguna. This is the first known written description of the Salt Lake Valley and its inhabitants.

From Utah Valley the expedition once again proceeded toward its destination, traveling south and southwest. The travelers met other peaceful Indians, some with thick and dense beards. Unfortunately, they had spent too much time at Utah Lake and had given too many of their provisions to the Yutas. Although they managed to kill two buffalos and to dry some fish, supplies became dangerously low.

On 8 October, just north of present Milford, Utah, a heavy snowstorm struck them. They suffered terribly from the cold and a sharp north wind. They had no information about Spaniards in California, the mountains were covered with snow, and they knew the mountain passes would be filled with snow. Realizing they risked starvation and could become snowbound and unable to return to Santa Fe until June of the next year, they feared that delays in returning to the Yuta Indians would prove harmful to their conversion. In view of these considerations, the two padres determined to abandon their quest for Monterey and to return to Santa Fe. Miera, Laín, and Muñiz, however, vigorously protested this decision and demanded that they press on to their goal. They hoped to profit from opening the trail and believed they were being robbed of this great opportunity. The Franciscans claimed that they had never been inspired by any temporal aims whatsoever and that they had no other destination in mind than the one which God might give to them. After considerable heated debate, the explorers decided to cast lots to determine which route to take. They placed in a hat two slips of paper. On one was marked "Monterey" and on the other "Cosnina." They agreed to draw out one slip and proceed in the direction indicated. Lots were drawn on 11 October at a spot about midway between present Milford and Cedar City. They drew the word "Cosnina," which meant they would return to Santa Fe by way of the Cosnina Indians.

The little party proceeded down through Cedar Valley, Ash Creek, and across the Virgin River and soon reached the high tablelands of the Colorado River. For a month they wandered over extremely difficult trails seeking a crossing of the Colorado. On 26 October they were at the mouth of the Paria River, where Lee's Ferry would be established a century later. They finally forded the Colorado River on 7 November, about



thirty miles below the mouth of the San Juan River and some three miles north of the Utah-Arizona line. This was the famous "Crossing of the Fathers," one of the choice historical sites in Utah, now covered by the waters of Lake Powell.

Once across the Colorado, the padres directed their course to the south and southeast: first to the villages of the Cosninas, then to the Hopi towns. They reached Oraibi on 17 November. The Hopi were civil enough to the padres and were willing to provide much-needed supplies to them, but they still refused to listen to their preaching. Although they agreed to be friendly toward the Spaniards, they had no desire to become Christians.

From Hopi they journeyed to Zuni, which they reached on 24 November. After three weeks they departed on 16 December for Acoma, where they remained until 20 December due to a snowstorm. From Acoma they traveled to Laguna, El Alamo, Isleta, Albuquerque, Sandia, and Santo Domingo. On 2 January 1777 they arrived at Santa Fe, and the next day they reported to the governor and delivered their journal. The group had covered two thousand miles in 157 days.

Demand for overland communication between New Mexico and California had been the stimulus for the expedition. An overland route was thought necessary to protect California from a supposed Russian advance down the West Coast and to promote more economical transportation. The expedition failed in these objectives, but the Spaniards did explore a large portion of the interior of North America.

Upon their return to New Mexico, Father Domínguez, now custos of New Mexico, found himself in difficulty with the missionaries. He had been perhaps too thorough during his tour of the missions in 1776. He had been forthright in reprimanding the slothful, but the padres contradicted him because of his honesty. He understood no way but that which was right, and although it disturbed him deeply to discipline the wrongdoer, he thought doing so a necessary part of his duties. Domínguez was a perfectionist, and in this imperfect world perfectionists are seldom comfortable because they are not appreciated and are often frustrated in their attempts to improve others.<sup>29</sup> During Domínguez's absence in Utah, some of the missionaries had written letters to the Franciscan authorities in Mexico complaining of his intolerance toward them. Some of these reports reached the eyes of important officials and Domínguez's career came under a cloud. At length, he determined it was necessary to return to Mexico to clarify his position. He arrived at El Paso to discover that a new custos was on his way to relieve him of his duties. Apparently he was not permitted to return to Mexico City but was assigned various missions in New Mexico and presidios in northern Mexico. He is last heard of as chaplain of the Presidio at Janos in Sonora.

He died there in 1805 at the age of sixty-five.<sup>30</sup> He was never recognized in his day for his accomplishments, and he has received precious little recognition to this time.

Before leaving New Mexico, Domínguez appointed Vélez de Escalante vice custos to act in his name while he was gone, believing that Vélez de Escalante was almost the only man he could trust. As vice custos, he issued a patente, or letter addressed to the mission fathers of New Mexico. This reveals him as a sincere, youthful administrator in the unhappy position of making well-founded strictures on the conduct of his brethren, most of them his seniors, in an obedient effort to force them to reform their unbecoming ways. This was not a popular position, but he believed it a necessary one.<sup>31</sup>

During this time he made a survey of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico in Santa Fe and, based upon the documentation, wrote an important history of New Mexico from 1692-1715. Many of the documents to which he refers have been subsequently lost, misplaced, or stolen. This history was published in 1856 in Documentos para la historia de Mexico, tercera serie, as the "Anonymous" manuscript, or "Este quaderno se cree ser obra de un Religioso de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio." ("This note-book is believed to be the work of a religious of the province of the Holy Gospel.") In 1942 J. Manuel Espinosa demonstrated that Vélez de Escalante was the author of this significant work.<sup>32</sup> His history is an important study of the first quarter of eighteenth-century New Mexico history based upon primary documentary sources, some of which are no longer extant. Interesting to read because Vélez de Escalante could not help but go beyond a mere narrative of events to editorialize and moralize occasionally, his history lets the reader know precisely what the Franciscan thought of certain men, policies, and events in New Mexican history.

Vélez de Escalante was assigned as the missionary friar at the Indian pueblo of San Ildefonso in January 1777. Here he was a sincere, hardworking missionary striving to serve his God in the best way he could. He continued to write reports, still sought after by higher authorities.<sup>33</sup> These reports reveal him as a witty man who could throw a few barbs at those he thought deserving. He was constantly suffering from his kidney ailment, and the pain was often more than he could bear. He finally requested authorization of his superiors to return to Mexico for treatment. Permission granted, he departed New Mexico in the spring of 1780.<sup>34</sup>

Fray Juan A. Morfí recorded the final chapter of Fray Silvestre's labors:

Father Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, a friar, despite his youth, among the most meritorious of the custody because of his talent, his erudition,

his hard labors, and because of his virtue, which led him to sacrifice his hopes, health, and life for the conversion of those souls, for going back to the province in Mexico City to recover his health, he died in Parral in April, 1780.<sup>35</sup>

He was scarcely thirty years old.

Morff's obituary is a fitting tribute to the life of this eighteenth-century Franciscan missionary, teacher, scholar, historian, and explorer whose short career fell within the period of Spain's last major effort to broaden and strengthen her control over the North American borderlands of her empire.

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10. Ibid.
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18. Roland F. Dickey, "Paging Procrustes," New Mexico Quarterly 24 (Spring 1956): 59.
19. Adams and Chavez, Missions of New Mexico, p. xix.
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21. "Letter of Domínguez to Fray Isidro Murillo, Santa Fe, 29 July 1776," in Adams and Chavez, Missions of New Mexico, p. 282.

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23. Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776 (Salt Lake City, 1950), pp. 239, 254.
24. The discussion of the route followed by the expedition is based upon the various editions of the journal and on various letters of Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante wherein they report on the enterprise.
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26. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness, pp. 180-81.
27. Bernardo y Miera y Pacheco, "Report to the King of Spain, 26 October 1777," concerning the expedition is in *ibid.*, pp. 243-50.
28. This map has been reproduced in color by the Utah State Historical Society and is included in an end pocket in Bolton's Pageant in the Wilderness.
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# Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895

Jean Bickmore White

An acknowledged authority on the Utah constitution, Jean B. White has served on the Constitutional Revision Commission designed to recommend changes to the state constitution. She is also well known for her work on the political history of Utah during the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Currently associate professor of political science at Weber State College, she holds an M.A. from UCLA and a Ph.D. from the University of Utah--both degrees in political science.

In the present study, Professor White considers the problem of equal political rights in the 1895 Utah constitutional convention. As she indicates, most people have heard of Brigham H. Roberts's stirring opposition speeches and of Orson F. Whitney's equally vigorous support. She views the question, however, as masking the basic issue of Mormon-gentile conflict, which had plagued Utah territorial politics for several decades before the convention. This study also analyzes (1) the divisions within the Mormon leadership on the tactical question of whether the provision for equal suffrage would endanger the constitution, (2) the work of prominent Mormon women in favor of equal rights, and (3) the reasons for eventual success, making Utah the third state in the Union to grant equal suffrage.

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## INTRODUCTION

In July of 1894 the nation's leading advocate of woman suffrage, Susan B. Anthony, voiced a hope and a warning to the officers and members of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah. "My dear friends," she wrote, "I am delighted that you are now to be in the Union of States, as you have been for many years in the union of the dear old National Woman Suffrage Association!

I congratulate you not only because Utah is to be a state, but because I hope and trust that her men, in Constitutional Convention assembled, will, like the noble men of Wyoming, ordain political equality to her women." Noting that Utah's women had once had the right to vote, Miss Anthony said: "And I am sure that you, my dear sisters, who have not only tasted the sweets of liberty, but also the bitterness, the humiliation of the loss of the blessed symbol, will not allow the organic law of your state to be framed on the barbarism that makes women the political slaves of men."<sup>1</sup>

Miss Anthony was a political realist, and it seems that she could foresee the struggle ahead for Utah's women. She urged them to fight to get their right to vote in the state's new constitution and not to leave it to future legislatures or to a separate vote of the electorate. She warned:

Now in the formative period of your constitution is the time to establish justice and equality to all the people. That adjective "male" once admitted into your organic law, will remain there. Don't be cajoled into believing otherwise! Look how the women of New York toiled and toiled over forty years to get "male" out of our constitution. . . .

No, no! Don't be deluded by any specious reasoning, but demand justice now. Once ignored in your constitution--you'll be as powerless to secure recognition as are we in the older states.<sup>2</sup>

She went on to warn against leaving the vote for women out of the constitution and submitting it for a separate vote of the electorate, pointing out that Colorado was the only state in which the male voters had agreed to extend the franchise to women.<sup>3</sup> By 1894 only Wyoming and Colorado granted full political rights to women; some other states permitted them to vote in school or municipal elections.

Miss Anthony's letter had arrived at a crucial time, on the eve of statehood for Utah. Earlier in 1894 Congress had passed the Enabling Act, providing for a constitutional convention to be held in 1895. If the constitution conformed to the provisions of the Enabling Act, and if it were approved by the voters at a subsequent election, President Grover Cleveland would proclaim Utah a state, and the dream of most citizens of the territory of Utah would be fulfilled. Utah would at last be a state on an equal footing with the other states of the union, free of territorial laws enacted by Congress and free to elect her own state officials.

It was a particularly crucial time for advocates of equal political rights for women. Ahead of them lay a unique opportunity to secure these rights. They had once had the right to

vote, as a result of an act of the territorial legislature, from 1870 until 1887, when it was taken away by Congress with the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime, several of the prominent women in the Mormon Church (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) had become active in the national woman suffrage movement, and in 1889 they had founded the Woman Suffrage Association for Utah.<sup>5</sup> Many of these same women were leaders in the Mormon Relief Society, the women's auxiliary of the Church, and had promoted lessons in government, parliamentary law, history, and other subjects that would stimulate women's interest in public affairs.<sup>6</sup> They had also moved out into the territory, organizing suffrage associations in the outlying counties, to make sure that there was widespread support for the movement. They had stayed in close touch with the leaders of the Mormon Church, obtaining their blessings and support for participation in the national women's organizations. By the time Miss Anthony's advice arrived, the leading Utah suffragists were already getting well prepared for the struggle ahead, continuing to organize at the "grass roots" as well as cultivating support at the top of the religious hierarchy.

In September 1894 both of the national political parties held territorial conventions, and it became evident that the women's efforts were beginning to bear fruit. The Republicans met first, at the Opera House in Provo on September 11. The party platform included a list of twenty-one items, starting with the need for a protective tariff and free coinage of silver. The eighteenth item stated simply: "We favor the granting of equal suffrage to women."<sup>7</sup> There is no indication in the Tribune account of the convention that there was any controversy over this provision, although there was to be considerable debate later about its exact meaning. It would be argued later that the provision was hastily placed in the platform by a minority and that it was not the sense of the Provo convention that Republicans be committed to placing woman suffrage in the new constitution. This was denied by the resolutions chairman, former governor Arthur L. Thomas, who said he felt a majority of his committee and of the convention delegates "strongly supported" the provision.<sup>8</sup>

The Democrats met on September 15 in Salt Lake City, and again the question of woman suffrage was placed near the end of the platform. However, it received a much stronger endorsement than it had from the Republican convention. The Democratic platform stated:

The Democrats of Utah are unequivocally in favor of woman suffrage, and the political rights and privileges of women equal with those of men, including eligibility to office, and we demand that such guarantees shall be provided in the



Constitution of the State of Utah as will secure to the women of Utah these inestimable rights.<sup>9</sup>

A lone voice, that of Scipio Africanus Kenner, asked to have the platform adopted by sections in order to permit objections to sections that some delegates could not endorse. After his objection died for lack of a second, he is quoted as saying, in a hoarse whisper, "Well I'll never vote for woman suffrage, anyway."<sup>10</sup> Two prominent suffragists, Emily S. Richards and Electa Bullock, rose to thank the convention for its actions on behalf of women's political rights, pointed out the difference in the two platforms, and promised that women never would abuse their political privileges.<sup>11</sup>

During the weeks following the conventions the political parties held precinct and county conventions at which candidates were selected to run for seats in the constitutional convention. It is important to note this sequence of events, for some convention delegates were to argue later that they had not attended their party's territorial convention, that they had not had a voice in its territorial platform, and that they had not made any pledges on the suffrage question in their own campaigns.

After the election was held in November, the president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Salt Lake County, Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson, urged members to visit the newly elected constitutional convention delegates to see if they intended to put woman suffrage in the constitution. She warned that some of the delegates were now wavering and noted that "many are inclined to hang back, saying wait till we are a State then we will give to women Suffrage."<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the editor of the Woman's Exponent, an unofficial journal reflecting the interests of the Mormon Relief Society and dedicated to promotion of woman suffrage, warned that the vote for women faced some opposition--from women. Emmeline B. Wells, editor of the Exponent, observed that some women in the territory felt no need of extending the political rights to their sex because they were sitting in "luxury and ease." These same women, she commented, might someday need political rights "for their own defence and protection, or mayhap for their little ones."<sup>13</sup>

The women favoring suffrage continued their organizing efforts and were able to report in mid-February that nineteen of Utah's twenty-seven counties had suffrage organizations.<sup>14</sup>

As the constitutional convention opened on 4 March 1895, the restoration of the franchise for women looked fairly certain. True, there was some opposition, but the suffragists had done their work well and had every right to hope for success. The Tribune reported that "a strong sentiment in favor of giving women the right to vote is manifested by the delegates."<sup>15</sup> Yet within a month, the political rights of women in the new state became the most bitterly fought issue of the

convention, raising anew the old charges of Mormon Church domination of politics and bringing forth the most eloquent oratory the delegates could muster.

Why did this issue, which had seemed noncontroversial only a few months before at the parties' territorial conventions, consume so much time at the constitutional convention? Was it a sham battle with the outcome never in doubt? And why did the suffrage supporters finally win their fight? These are the questions to be explored in this paper.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1895

The men who assembled at the constitutional convention in March of 1895 were in many ways a remarkable group. The 107 delegates included twenty-eight non-Mormons, among them Charles S. Varian, a former district attorney in charge of the prosecution of polygamists, Charles C. Goodwin, editor of the Salt Lake Tribune, and George P. Miller, a Methodist Episcopal minister. The Mormon members included the president of the convention, Elder John Henry Smith, Elder Moses Thatcher (who was absent much of the time), Presiding Bishop William B. Preston, and Brigham H. Roberts, member of the First Council of the Seventy. Heber M. Wells, who would become the state's first governor, and President Karl G. Maeser of Brigham Young University were among the many other prominent men attending. Approximately two-thirds of the delegates were farmers and ranchers, and the rest were businessmen, lawyers, or mining men. There were fifty-nine Republicans and forty-eight Democrats.<sup>16</sup> Only twenty-nine of the delegates had been born in Utah Territory.<sup>17</sup> There seemed to be a determined effort to keep the old religious animosities from dividing the convention, and partisan politics played a smaller role than might have been expected. There were several excellent orators who could be counted on to display their knowledge of constitutional history and classical literature at the slightest provocation. Although some of the speeches went on for seemingly endless hours, it must be admitted that the quality of the rhetoric was considerably above that generally found in legislative bodies today.

On 11 March the subject of equal rights for women was taken up before eight of the fifteen members of the Committee on Elections and Suffrage, and the ensuing debate proved to be a preview of the problems that lay ahead. Seven of the eight members present approved a provision taken from the Wyoming constitution. It read:

The rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of

this State shall equally enjoy all civil,  
political and religious rights and privileges.<sup>18</sup>

The Tribune reported that "The discussion was quite animated between Mr. [Fred J.] Kiesel [a non-Mormon businessman from Ogden], who is stoutly opposed to woman suffrage, and the seven other delegates present, but the latter were not won over by Mr. Kiesel's arguments, nor did Kiesel succumb to theirs, and the vote stood seven to one." A Tribune editorial the same day condemned the committee's action as hasty and ill-advised and voiced the main argument that would be used against woman suffrage in the weeks of debate ahead. The merits of this or such other controversial issues as prohibition were not at issue at this time, the editorial writer argued; the question was one of expediency. The constitution would be sure to draw some negative votes, he reasoned. Why ask for more?

Now, we submit to the convention whether it is wise to put in the Constitution woman suffrage, prohibition, etc., and thus add to the hostility that must inevitably be drawn upon it. It is not likely that any of the voters will oppose the Constitution merely because woman suffrage and prohibition are left out of it. It is certain that a good many will oppose it merely because they (or either of them) are put in. Even to submit them as separate propositions will be sure to draw adverse votes to hundreds, perhaps thousands. We put it to the convention, whether it can afford to take the risk of putting these propositions or either of them, in the Constitution, and so perhaps put their whole work in jeopardy.<sup>19</sup>

While the committee was continuing its deliberations, Emmeline B. Wells, president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah, returned from the National American Woman Suffrage Association meeting in Atlanta. In an interview published in the Tribune, Mrs. Wells voiced the arguments that were to be heard often in the weeks ahead. Rather than making broad, general appeals for the franchise as a matter of fundamental rights and equality between the sexes, she referred to practical matters and to the unique history of the territory. Women of Utah, she said, should have the vote because it had been given to them by the territorial legislature, was used without abuse for seventeen years, and was taken away only as a "political measure." Another reason cited was that "there are undoubtedly more women in Utah who own their own homes and pay taxes (if in a small way) than in any other State with the same number of inhabitants, and Congress has, by its enactments in the

past, virtually made many of these women heads of families." This was a reminder of the fact that women had been left to support families while their husbands were imprisoned for unlawful cohabitation. She concluded with the statement that educational equality had always existed in the territory, in keeping with the sentiment of its founders, and added that she was glad to be back to work for suffrage in the convention.<sup>20</sup> There was much work waiting for her to do.

A few days later, on 18 March, both the Salt Lake and the Utah suffrage associations presented memorials to the convention summarizing the reasons why they felt women should have political equality with men. They touched on the "taxation without representation" theme and quoted Abraham Lincoln as believing that "women would someday wield the ballot to purify and ennoble politics." Reminding the delegates that both political parties were on record pledged to woman suffrage, the women engaged in transparent flattery, designed to persuade the men to take a historic step and make Utah the third state to grant full suffrage in its constitution. They wrote:

We believe that now the time clock of American destiny has struck the hour to inaugurate a larger and truer civil life, and the future writers of Utah history will immortalize the names of those men who, in this Constitutional Convention, define the injustice and prejudice of the past, strike off the bonds that have heretofore enthralled woman, and open the doors that will usher her into free and full emancipation.<sup>21</sup>

Under the heading "God Bless the Ladies," the Tribune reported that the presentation of the memorials by the seventy-five women who crowded into the convention hall had been made before a convention that was already strongly in favor of woman suffrage. "Under the circumstances," the Tribune reported, "it was but a pleasing method of conveying to the delegates an assurance of the regard in which they are held by their sisters, with incidental arguments designed to keep the convention steadfast in devotion."<sup>22</sup>

The women were conceded to be in a good position to gain their objectives, but they were taking no chances. They knew there were those who were not ready to open the doors into "free and full emancipation," including some members of the committee drafting the elections and suffrage article--and the publisher of the Tribune.

The majority report of the committee was presented on 22 March, with the explanation that most members of the committee had found it difficult to find a reason why women should not have political equality. They had, therefore, adopted literally

the language of the Wyoming constitution, since woman suffrage in that state had for twenty-five years been demonstrated to be a "pronounced success."<sup>23</sup>

The following day the Tribune editorial maintained that by adopting the equal suffrage article "Utah will join the small group of freak states. Its insertion in the body of the Constitution as proposed, will invite many votes adverse to statehood." If proposed at all, woman suffrage should be submitted separately, the editorial stated, in order to find out how the people at large really felt about the issue.<sup>24</sup>

A few days later the report of the minority members of the committee came before the convention, and the battle lines began to be drawn. Signed by Fred J. Kiesel, Richard Mackintosh, and Robert McFarland (Kiesel and Mackintosh were non-Mormons), the report began by agreeing that women were intellectually qualified to vote as intelligently as men. It went on to suggest that women were, in fact, better than men but were ruled more readily by "their sympathies, impulses and religious convictions." In the carefully worded passages that followed, the minority report played upon a number of fears that still underlay Utah politics. It recalled the period, only a few years before, when Mormons had belonged to one party--the large and predominating People's Party--and the badly outnumbered non-Mormons had belonged to the Liberal Party. Both parties had dissolved by 1894 in the interest of gaining statehood, and their members had gone into the national parties of their choice. The report asserted that, during the period of political division along religious lines, women had been taught "sincere allegiance to a local government and in that allegiance has been woven an absorbing affection and pious devotion" which they would find difficult to change. The vote had been taken away by Congress, it continued, because the sympathies and devotion of the women were "all bending in one direction," and it was feared that with the voting privilege restored "the old overwhelming force would destroy the present equality of parties." There would be "a terrible temptation on the part of those who ruled before, to resume their sway by working upon the generous impulses and religious instincts of women, which would result in political, if not social and business, ostracism of the minority."<sup>25</sup>

The careful wording did not obscure the message. The minority report raised the fear that Mormon Church leaders could achieve political and economic domination of the new state through their control of the women's vote. This possibility was so repugnant to the nation at large, the report asserted, that it might result in the withholding of statehood and keep away eastern capital, which was badly needed for the development of the area. As for party platform pledges, the minority members observed that platforms are changed from year to year

and suggested that there had been a change of heart in the territory since people began to consider seriously the consequences of granting woman suffrage. Leave this vital question to the state legislature, the report concluded.<sup>26</sup>

The Salt Lake Herald, a newspaper with pronounced Democratic sympathies, undertook to refute the minority views point by point:

The fear that conditions have not actually changed in Utah is a buried bugaboo, pulled out of its grave to do duty for this occasion. If there is not a sincere division on party lines, then the whole contention between parties--which every sane man recognizes as a vigorous reality--is a sickening sham. . . .

The assertion that this alleged fear is felt throughout the nation, is a straight undiluted falsehood without any semblance of fact.<sup>27</sup>

Kiesel later attempted to explain his position by acknowledging that the process of assimilating Mormons and non-Mormons into the national parties was going on; however, he feared that the addition of thirty thousand or more women--four-fifths of them Mormons--would concentrate in the hands of the Mormon clergy a power that they would be unable to resist. "I know we Gentiles would use it," he said.<sup>28</sup>

On Thursday, 28 March, the majority report of the committee, calling for equal political rights for women, was placed before the convention for debate. Kiesel quickly offered a substitute limiting the vote to males of the age of twenty-one or over. The issue was now before the convention, and one of the outstanding orators of the Mormon Church, Brigham H. Roberts, a Davis County Democrat, rose to speak against extending suffrage to women. He conceded that the overwhelming sentiment of the convention was to place political equality for women in the new constitution; therefore, he would not deliver the part of his speech devoted to discussing the merits of the question. Nor would he discuss the arguments contained in the minority report--which he had had no hand in preparing. He would only advance the argument that adoption of woman suffrage would be dangerous to the acquiring of statehood.<sup>29</sup> Advance it he did, in a lengthy speech before a rapt audience. The Herald provided a vivid description of the scene:

He spoke to an audience composed of the leading women suffragists of this city, the delegates of the convention and the packed lobby, in which there was not an inch of standing room. From the beginning

of his speech until the last word was uttered, fully an hour and a half, the interest never flagged. All eyes were fixed on the orator as he stood in front of the desk, towering over those who were ready to oppose him the most, as he one moment rose to a climax thrilling in its intensity, and the next checked himself and allowed his voice to become slow and pleading. It took him sometime to gather himself, but once he did he was an oratorical avalanche. A stream of language, potent and pleasing, flowed from his lips and caught his listeners until even those who were most bitterly opposed to him were compelled to pay compliment to his power with rapturous applause. As he stood alone, disclaiming any desire for charity and fully recognizing the consequences of his action, the suffragists themselves could not but admire his courage, and when he had finished they crowded around him and shook his hand enthusiastically.<sup>30</sup>

The content of the speech can be summarized briefly. He argued that there were already many grounds for rejection of the constitution and for a vote against statehood--fear of high taxes, fear of prohibition, fear of a return to Church domination. Why add to these negative votes those of the men opposed to woman suffrage? And why tempt a rejection in Washington by easterners opposed to the West's strong stand for silver? He pleaded with women to give up their struggle for enfranchisement in order to further the cause of statehood--a cause that had been lost by the territory so many times before. He concluded by warning the convention delegates that, in their desire to gain immortal fame by granting women the vote, they might be digging a grave for statehood.<sup>31</sup>

Delegate Andrew Anderson undertook to answer Roberts, not on the basis of expediency, but on the merits of the issue. He argued that it was unjust to tax women without representation, contended that women were morally superior and would help to purify politics and government, pointed to the lack of bad effects from women's having the vote in Wyoming, and denied that equal suffrage would cause the defeat of the constitution. Failure to keep their party platform pledges would be more likely to do so, he asserted. He also voiced this appeal to ethnocentric instincts:

Millions of ignorant slaves have been admitted to the right of suffrage, and thousands of ignorant foreigners are admitted yearly, and yet why hesitate to grant our mothers, our wives and our sisters

the rights of suffrage, most of whom are native born, many are property owners and well educated, and all are most vitally interested in the welfare of the government, in the principles of liberty and the perpetuation of the same.<sup>32</sup>

These were themes that would be embellished almost endlessly in the debates ahead by supporters of woman suffrage.

One of the most scholarly speeches of the convention was delivered on the same day by Franklin S. Richards, son of Elder Franklin D. Richards, a member of the LDS Council of the Twelve, and of an early suffrage leader, Jane S. Richards. He was the LDS Church attorney and a party to some of the most delicate negotiations between Church leaders and government officials in Washington, D.C., during the later territorial period. He was also the husband of the tireless organizer of many suffrage association chapters in Utah, Emily S. Richards. He stood squarely for statehood and suffrage and felt there should not be a conflict between the two. Quoting prominent jurists, constitutional experts, and sociologists, Richards asserted that the vote for women was the next necessary step in the march of human progress. Richards said he had never known a woman who felt complimented by the statement that she was too good to exercise the same rights and privileges as a man. "My experience and observation lead me to believe that while men admit the superiority of women in many respects, the latter do not care so much for this admission as they do for an acknowledgment of their equality, and that equality we are bound in honor to concede."<sup>33</sup>

Several other speakers challenged the contention of the minority report that giving women the vote would cause a return to the old political divisions along religious lines or threaten Church domination. A Utah County Democrat, Samuel Thurman, asserted vigorously: "I have this confidence in the Mormon Church, that if political parties will let them alone, they will let political parties alone."<sup>34</sup>

During the next two days, the debate continued, despite an effort by Washington County Democrat Anthony W. Ivins to cut off debate and advance the suffrage article to third reading. Again the star performer was the eloquent Roberts, but at this point he moved from the low ground of expediency to the higher ground of merit. He contended that the franchise should be given only to individuals who could act independently, free from dictation. Since most women over twenty-one were married, they could not act freely but would--and should--be ruled over by their husbands. As for the argument advanced by the suffragists that it was unfair to expect women property owners to pay taxes without representation at the ballot box, Roberts maintained that voting was a privilege, not a right. Historically, he



pointed out, there had been qualifications of age, property ownership, and literacy imposed as conditions for voting. Women gained their representation through their husbands, whose votes represented not only themselves but their families. Most demands for the franchise in the past were made to provide a protection against tyranny, Roberts said, but men were not the enemies of women, and there was no need to give them the vote on this account.

Turning to the question of equality, Roberts said men and women were no doubt equal as to abilities and mentality, but they were different in their dispositions, tastes, and constitutions. Men needed women as a civilizing influence, he said, and without them would soon sink into a state of barbarism:

I place the values of woman upon a higher pinnacle, and there is not a suffragist among you all that has a higher opinion of her and of her influence than I myself entertain. But let me say that the influence of woman as it operates upon me never came from the rostrum, it never came from the pulpit, with woman in it, it never came from the lecturer's platform, with woman speaking; it comes from the fireside, it comes from the blessed association with mothers, of sisters, of wives, of daughters, not as democrats or republicans.  
[Applause.]<sup>35</sup>

He warned women that if they permitted themselves to be dragged into the political arena they would fall from their high pinnacle and quoted Cardinal James Gibbons on the dangers involved:

Christian wives and mothers, I have said you are the queens of the domestic kingdom. If you would retain that empire, shun the political arena, avoid the rostrum, beware of unsexing yourselves. If you become embroiled in political agitation the queenly aureola that encircles your brow will fade away and the reverence that is paid you will disappear. If you have the vain ambition of reigning in public life, your domestic empire will be at an end.<sup>36</sup>

As for the argument that women would purify politics, Roberts asserted that the sensibility and delicacy of good women would keep them away from the polls, "while the brazen, the element that is under control of the managers and runners of saloons, will be the ones to brave the ward politicians, wade through the smoke and cast their ballot. The refined

wife and mother will not so much as put her foot in the filthy stream."<sup>37</sup> Instead of purifying politics, women involved in public affairs would destroy the peace and harmony in their homes. He pleaded for the delegates to leave a refuge for man to come out of the strife and bitterness often engendered in business, professional, and political life.

Perhaps the most persuasive pleader for equal political rights was the Mormon author and historian Orson F. Whitney. He challenged Roberts's major arguments concerning the effect of political activity on women and the possible effect of women upon political life:

I believe that politics can be and will be something more than a filthy pool in which depraved men love to wallow. It is a noble science--the science of government--and it has a glorious future. And I believe in a future for woman, commensurate with the progress thereby indicated. I do not believe that she was made merely for a wife, a mother, a cook, and a housekeeper. These callings, however honorable--and no one doubts that they are so--are not the sum of her capabilities. While I agree with all that is true and beautiful in the portrayals that have been made of woman's domestic virtues in the home sphere, and would be as loath as anyone to have her lose that delicacy and refinement, that femininity which has been so deservedly lauded, I do not agree that this would necessarily follow, that she could not engage in politics and still retain those lovable traits which we so much admire.<sup>38</sup>

On the contrary, Whitney maintained, the elevating and enabling influence of women would "someday help to burn and purge away all that is base and unclean in politics." The woman suffrage movement was in tune with the march of human advancement:

This great social upheaval, this woman's movement that is making itself heard and felt, means something more than that certain women are ambitious to vote and hold office. I regard it as one of the great levers by which the Almighty is lifting up this fallen world, lifting it nearer to the throne of its Creator.<sup>39</sup>

By the time the convention adjourned for a Sunday break, the same arguments for and against woman suffrage, for and against holding fast to party platform pledges, and for and against submitting woman suffrage for a separate vote had been repeated

dozens of times. Weary of the oratory and cognizant of the cost of the convention, Utah County Democrat Edward Partridge, Jr., remarked in his diary:

The whole day was taken up in discussion of the suffrage question. Bishop O. F. Whitney in a very forcible speech of over an hour demolished B. H. Roberts' efforts. . . . Thus the time is used to no purpose and some \$600 a day of the public money used up to no purpose only to gratify the vanity of man.<sup>40</sup>

Although many delegates were beginning to tire of the debate and to resent its cost in time and money, the suffrage discussions wore on into the following week. By this time delegates who had had no intention of speaking rose to put their positions on the record. The opponents of suffrage began to concentrate their efforts on a new strategy.

On Saturday, 30 March, an editorial in the Ogden Standard urged delegates to forget their party platforms and extricate themselves from the question by leaving it to the people to decide. This proved to be a tempting position to take when pressures from outside the convention began to be felt during the following week. As a result, on Monday, 1 April, a motion was made to submit the woman suffrage question to the voters as an issue separate from the body of the new constitution. This was discussed during the day but not acted upon, and it was agreed that the debate would close the following day with a speech by B. H. Roberts.

The prospect of hearing the summation of the debate by Roberts attracted crowds so great that a move to the Salt Lake Theatre was briefly considered. By 8:00 a.m. the crowd started to gather; by 9:30 the entrance was so tightly jammed that the services of a squad of police were necessary before members could take their seats. The Herald reported on 3 April that "the hall and lobby, with every approach, was fairly packed and some very prominent ladies even stood on the tables in the cloak room in order to see and hear." Roberts held his audience for two hours, the Herald report stated, "and hardly one stirred from the uncomfortable positions in which the great majority of the listeners had to stand or sit."

Despite this dramatic appearance, in which Roberts offered little that he had not said before, the antisuffrage forces failed to pass the motion for separate submission of a suffrage article. Only twenty-eight votes could be mustered for separate submission--but this was substantial enough to encourage suffrage foes outside the convention to increase their pressure. Public meetings in Ogden on 2, 3, and 5 April culminated with a vote of 434 to 28 for separate submission of an article on

woman suffrage.<sup>41</sup> The Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce went on record favoring separate submission.<sup>42</sup>

The delegates returned to the suffrage issue on Thursday, 4 April, to learn that petitions were being sent all over the territory to be signed by those who wanted woman suffrage submitted as a separate article. Antisuffrage delegates urged that further consideration of the article be postponed until the people could be heard from. What harm could there be in waiting for the petitions to be circulated if the people favored the women's vote overwhelmingly--as the suffragists claimed they did?

The next day a group of prominent non-Mormon women called an open meeting in the Opera House. Oddly enough, they suggested in a resolution to the convention that the new constitution provide for women to vote in school elections and hold school district offices. However, they advised that the question of granting further political rights to women be postponed until a special election to be called by the first legislature. And they resolved that women should be able to vote in this election. They explained that they were not opposed to the vote for women as a matter of principle, but they felt its inclusion under pressure in the state constitution might endanger statehood.<sup>43</sup>

In an effort to see that the non-Mormon women's meeting did not produce a unanimous vote against suffrage in the constitution, Mormon suffrage supporters also attended the meeting. Mary A. Freeze notes in her diary that she was asked to attend the meeting, even though she had to miss a session of the Mormon general conference:

At noon I learned that it was desired that a lot of the sisters should go down to the Opera house and attend an Anti-suffrage Mass Meeting, so I went there instead of Conference, much against my natural inclinations, but soon learned that it was necessary.<sup>44</sup>

The same afternoon, Varian moved that the suffrage article be sent back to committee with instructions to frame an article providing for a separate vote of the people on the question of woman suffrage. A substantial number of delegates--forty-two--voted for the motion, showing that the separate submission forces were gaining strength. But there still were not enough votes for the motion to carry. A few minutes later the equal suffrage section was passed by a vote of seventy-five to fourteen, with twelve absent and five excused from voting, most of them on the grounds that they were in favor of woman suffrage but against having it put in the constitution.

Despite the fact that woman suffrage was now a part of the main article on elections and suffrage to be voted on later, the controversy was not over. The Mormon Church general conference was being held on 5, 6, and 7 April, and the convention was adjourned for two days because of the Arbor Day holiday. Although the subject was studiously avoided by conference speakers, the Church leadership was very much aware of the issue. Church President Wilford Woodruff noted in his journal on 2 April that he was "visited by a Company of Sisters upon Womans Suffrage [sic]."45 He did not disclose what they said to him or what he said to them. On 4 April, at a meeting of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles, John Henry Smith, a member of the Council and president of the convention, said that all the gentiles in the constitutional convention were united in their opposition to the suffrage provision, and many Mormons were also opposed to it. According to Elder Abraham H. Cannon's account of the meeting, President Woodruff said he feared the constitution would be defeated if woman suffrage was not a part of it and said he had advised B. H. Roberts not to oppose it. Joseph F. Smith, a counselor in the First Presidency, spoke in favor of including it in the constitution, as did several others. George Q. Cannon, another counselor and a former territorial delegate to Congress, urged that the suffrage question wait rather than threaten the achievement of statehood:

I believe we can better wait for a time to get Suffrage for the women, than to force the matter now, and thus array against us the opposition of the Gentiles. It gives the opponents of Statehood the opportunity to work strongly against the Constitution. Things which are right in themselves it is not always wise to attempt.

Since there was no unity of opinion on the subject, the matter was left for the members to do as they desired, Abraham Cannon reported.<sup>46</sup> It is obvious that there was little the Church leadership could have done without arousing fears of Church interference in the affairs of state.

On Monday, 8 April, a large number of petitions asking for separate submission of the woman suffrage section arrived at the convention. Nevertheless, the entire article containing this section was passed with a vote of seventy-five for, sixteen against, thirteen absent, and two paired. But it was agreed that the article could be recalled for further consideration later if a simple majority, rather than the two-thirds majority usually required for reconsideration, should desire to do so.<sup>47</sup>

At this point the delegates were faced with the fact that their \$30,000 appropriation was rapidly running out, and they needed to move on to other subjects. It was one thing to spend time listening to overblown oratory in the early days of the convention; it was quite another to face the prospect of working on into the summer without their four-dollar-a-day salary.

Although the issue seemed settled, the petitions calling for separate submission of the woman suffrage section continued to pour into the convention from all corners of the territory. Recognizing the need for a counterforce against this tide, the well-organized suffragists swung into action with their own petitions calling for equal political rights to be embedded in the constitution.<sup>48</sup> The petition game was one that both sides could play.

On 18 April a motion to reconsider the suffrage and election article was offered by Varian. After a brief flurry of debate centering on fears for passage of the constitution by the people, the motion was lost on a vote of thirty-two for, sixty-nine against, three absent, and two paired.<sup>49</sup> The petitions obviously had helped to keep the opposition alive, but the supporters of political equality generally had held firm throughout the controversy. The Tribune, which had kept up a steady opposition to woman suffrage, reported on 19 April that the tally on petitions as of 18 April stood at 15,366 signatures for separate submission and 24,801 signatures for inclusion of the vote for women in the constitution. Ultimately both the Tribune and the Ogden Standard, which had favored separate submission, urged Utahns to "gracefully accept" the new constitution.<sup>50</sup>

Although the long-sought prize was now nearly within their grasp, the woman suffragists were warned in October by Woman's Exponent editor Emmeline B. Wells to keep on working hard for passage of the constitution. She urged women to see that no vote was lost because of neglect or indifference and to remember that "one vote more or less might turn the scale for or against."<sup>51</sup>

After the election on 5 November 1895, it was clear that there had been opposition to the constitution in some parts of the state, for nearly one-fifth of the voters had opposed its adoption. The largest percentage of the "no" votes came from Weber, Salt Lake, Summit, and other counties where there was a substantial non-Mormon vote.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, more than four-fifths of the voters--all male--apparently had found it possible to accept the new constitution with political equality in it, despite the threats to their happy homes and the fear of adding Utah to the small list of "freak" states.<sup>53</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

It seems strange that a proposal which started out with the strong support of a majority of delegates could have generated so much heat and consumed so much time. It is one of the theses of this paper that much of the argument over woman suffrage had little to do with the issue of women's political rights. The Mormon-gentile political and economic conflicts of the past, supposedly forgotten in the struggle for statehood, were lying just below the surface. The fear of domination by the Mormon majority was a real one to the non-Mormons in the convention. These fears probably had to be aired, and this was one of the issues to which the fear of Mormon domination had become attached. There was also a deep concern that statehood, which seemed so near, might once again slip away if the convention produced a document that displeased Congress or President Cleveland. The memories of several past constitutional conventions which had failed to bring statehood were still fresh in many minds. These fears, together with the excitement produced by a charismatic orator, were enough to keep the question alive for such a long period of time. Although the oratory made good newspaper copy and makes interesting reading even today, it probably did not change many votes. It simply took time to air the question thoroughly and give everyone a chance to be heard.

After reading through so many pages of debate, knowing that in the end nothing was changed, one is tempted to view this entire struggle as a sham battle staged for political glory by ambitious politicians. One would have to impugn the integrity of B. H. Roberts, among others, to reach this conclusion. I believe that he was sincere in his actions, as were the others who worked so hard to keep the suffrage article out of the constitution. For his efforts Roberts earned the ill-concealed scorn of many of his colleagues in the convention, was bitterly assailed and urged to resign by members of his own party in Davis County, became estranged from the top Church leadership, and gained the hearty disapproval of many future women voters. The battle was real to Roberts and to the outnumbered minority who opposed woman suffrage for various reasons.

The one strategy that might have kept the woman suffrage section out of the constitution was the movement to submit it for a separate vote. This proposal offered a tempting haven to those who felt committed to the cause of woman suffrage but did not want to risk the rejection of the constitution. It was a kind of halfway house for those who wanted to keep their party platform pledges but were concerned about the flood of petitions indicating strong opposition to putting equal rights in the constitution. Supporters of separate submission could argue, with some logic, that if woman suffrage were so clearly

preferred by the people they would certainly vote for it separately. Those who wanted it nailed down in the constitution generally replied that all the bad elements in the state--saloon keepers, gamblers, prostitutes, and the like--would use their evil money to sway the election and keep the purifying influence of women out of politics.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the Democrats were continually reminded that their platform had promised to put woman suffrage in the constitution--not to shift the question to the voters. The strength of this appeal for a separate vote can be seen on 4 April, when forty-two delegates tried to send the suffrage section back to the committee for rewriting into a separate article. When casting their votes, many affirmed their devotion to woman suffrage but argued that no harm would be done by a separate vote.

Given more time to raise doubts, the minority probably could have won a few more converts to the separate-submission proposal. But the convention was tired of the subject; the appropriation was rapidly running out; there was a strong core of suffrage supporters who wanted the issue decided without further delay. By the time the subject came up for reconsideration, the delegates were in no mood to open again such an emotion-clouded issue. So it seems that the real battle was over separate submission. This strategy offered a ground of compromise that is always tempting to politicians who do not want to displease anyone and who are usually happy to shift emotional issues to the voters for decision. However, even on this issue, the suffrage supporters won.

Why did women find a place in the constitution in 1895? There are several reasons.

First, although the vote for women was something of a radical proposal at the time--since only two states then granted full suffrage--it was not identified with "radicals" in Utah. There was no militancy; there were no public spectacles. The suffragists concentrated on winning equal political rights and did not espouse other controversial reform measures that might have alienated their supporters. The women supporting suffrage were predominantly from the "respectable" Mormon establishment, women who were wives and daughters of Church leaders. Among them were Zina D. H. Young, a wife of Brigham Young; Jane S. Richards, wife of Elder Franklin D. Richards; Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, a wife of Angus M. Cannon; Margaret Caine, wife of Delegate to Congress John T. Caine; Susa Young Gates, editor of the Young Woman's Journal; and of course the tireless editor of the Woman's Exponent, a wife of Daniel H. Wells, Emmeline B. Wells. These women were prominent in the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association or in the Relief Society and frequently promoted suffrage through the Relief Society.<sup>55</sup> These suffrage-movement leaders had enjoyed the support of the Church First Presidency in attending national meetings for many years,



ostensibly to show the women of the rest of the nation that they were not ignorant, downtrodden victims of a peculiar marriage system. Members of the Council of the Twelve openly promoted suffrage in the early 1890s.<sup>56</sup> Support from the top, however, was not enough. The woman suffrage leaders had carried their educational efforts throughout the territory, and there was no question that they had developed broad support. A movement so widespread, so completely dominated by the "respectable" women of the territory, could hardly be laughed off as the pet cause of a few radicals.

A second reason may be found in the fact that woman suffrage had already been tried in Utah for seventeen years, and the territory had survived the experience. So the new state would not be taking a plunge into the unknown. As a Herald writer asked rhetorically at the height of the suffrage debate: "Where are its terrible consequences? Where is the degradation of women as its effect? Where are the discordant and wifeless and motherless homes as the result?"<sup>57</sup>

A third reason lay in the careful cultivation of grassroots, bipartisan support throughout the territory. As a result, the suffragists were able to gain at least a minimal commitment to the cause of equal political rights in party platforms--a commitment that some delegates felt unhappy about but still felt obliged to keep. Those who wanted to cast platform promises aside were charged with a lack of honor and with creating a low opinion of politicians among citizens who had elected them on those platforms. This proved to have been an important part of the pre-convention strategy of the suffragists and a result of their excellent groundwork in the years before 1895. The value of these platform commitments may be seen in the statements of two of the strongest non-Mormon members of the convention, former U. S. attorney Varian and Tribune editor Goodwin, on 29 March that they were against putting suffrage in the constitution but felt bound to keep faith with the people who had expressed their will in the party platforms.

A fourth reason why women won their fight in the 1895 convention was their solid core of supporters in the convention--supporters who parried the oratorical thrusts, who made sure they were not outwitted in parliamentary maneuvering, and who stood fast when the compromise move for separate submission threatened to postpone the achievement of their aims. Anyone who has ever lobbied a bill through a legislature knows that there are supporters who will vote for your cause when there is little controversy over it and there are supporters who will put up a real fight for your bill, using their influence to persuade others and holding firm to the end.

Most people today who know anything about the woman suffrage fight in the constitutional convention recall only that B. H. Roberts led the oratorical fight against it. A few may

recall that Orson F. Whitney made a stirring speech in rebuttal. But few know of the many men who fought the wearying fight day after day, the men who firmly believed that women had rights that should be clearly expressed in the new state constitution, the men who had faith that putting women in the constitution did not mean driving them out of the home. Among the strongest of these was the son of one prominent suffragist and husband of another, Franklin S. Richards. Permit me to close with just one more bit of convention oratory, a paragraph from a speech made by Richards on 1 April 1895, when many feared that the inclusion of woman suffrage in the constitution might mean the loss of statehood:

So I say that if the price of statehood is the disfranchisement of one half of the people; if our wives, and mothers, and daughters, are to be accounted either unworthy or incapacitated to exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship, then, however precious the boon may be, it is not worth the price demanded, and I am content to share with them the disabilities of territorial vassalage till the time shall come, as it will come in the providence of God, when all can stand side by side on the broad platform of human equality, of equal rights, and of equal capacity.<sup>58</sup>

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# Charles Redd: Profile of a Renaissance Man as Rancher

Karl E. Young

A man of mild temper and literary skill, Karl E. Young came to Brigham Young University in 1930 with degrees from Utah State and Oxford universities.

Although Professor Young's field is Elizabethan literature, he is at home in the American West and has undertaken considerable research in that area. The most notable of his projects took him into the life and culture of the American Indians and the settlement of Mormon immigrants in Mexico, from which resulted his book *Ordeal in Mexico*. Now he has turned his talents to the life of a friend and well-known cattleman.

From his background in English literature he has drawn a comparison of Charles Redd's efforts to carve out a life in southeastern Utah combining culture and business success with similar undertakings by men of the Renaissance. He finds a Utah cattleman who was as much at home with British royalty and university professors as with drovers and herders.

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The usual picture of [the Renaissance] is one of exuberant energy and positive achievement. . . . Seeking successively to master life by spirit, by intelligence, by refinement, and by instinct [the men of the Renaissance] found, each according to the truth of his temperament, their vital principles in religion, in patriotism, in society, and in self-satisfaction. . . . Their lives embodied the adventures of the basic ideas that men live by. [Ralph Roeder, *The Man of the Renaissance*]

The circumstances of Charles Redd's birth were not such as to inspire confidence in his mother that he would become the modern equivalent of a Renaissance prince of the realm. For he

was born in a log cabin with a dirt roof and a dirt floor. The logs from which the walls were constructed were not select timbers, straight and true, but rough, irregular cottonwoods, heavily chinked with clay and moss from the riverbed. The cabin had three small rooms, cramped quarters indeed for a family of two adults and six children. And the soil on which the cabin was erected was lean and bare. For this was a land of little rain. It was definitely not the kind of terrain that Lemuel H. Redd, Jr., would have chosen from which to wrest a living for his growing family if he had been given the chance to choose.

No, Lem Redd had answered a call from his church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to go into an unknown land, more remote and forbidding than any that his brethren in the faith had been asked to tackle. He and his neighbors had been called to settle on a wild frontier, specifically to function as a buffer between outlying Mormon settlements and the tribes of Indians who roamed in this wilderness and who preyed at will on the flocks and fields of the settlers. But Lem was bold and resourceful. He had accepted an assignment to take his family on the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition across the Colorado and the fantastic labyrinth of slick rocks and box canyons. His father had shown the way, for he had been one of four men who had braved starvation and death on an exploratory probe into that canyon wilderness in order to find a passable trail which the main party could follow to its destination on the San Juan. The exploring party succeeded--just barely. The crossing of the great river was achieved, the scant acres in the little valley on the San Juan were apportioned to the homesteaders, and the settlement of Bluff, Utah, became a reality. Young Lemuel Redd was one of the first settlers.

Yet the existence of the town in those early years was extremely precarious. The parched land could be made to yield only with the blessing of water diverted out of the San Juan River. But the river was unpredictable. At times sluggish and barely adequate, in flood stage it was a treacherous demon that tore away chunks of precious land, inundated homes and outbuildings, and threatened the lives of the settlers. On the very first day of their arrival at the site where they decided to settle, the men had begun to dig a ditch. That ditch washed out in at least a dozen places in the first few months and continued to do so for years afterward. One of Charlie Redd's strongest recollections of his youth was the practically interminable job of shoveling sand out of the community ditch.

Moreover, the struggle with nature was only part of the story. Difficulties with humans posed an equally menacing threat. First, the Indians provided ample competition to the

river for the serious attention of the settlers because the red men immediately moved in closer when they discovered how easy it was to acquire food by sneaking into gardens and farm lots or driving off cattle and sheep that could not be guarded every moment of day and night. Nor was it easy for a handful of men to trail stolen cattle or horses into an Indian camp and recover the animals with the simple admonition "not to do it again."

A second threat at the hands of humans was posed by horse thieves, rustlers, and cattlemen from the fast-moving frontier of the cattle country. Through the 1880s vast herds of sheep and cattle sought forage in the ranges neighboring the tiny Mormon settlement. One big reason for their presence in the San Juan country was that the cattlemen were trying to escape the payment of taxes on ranges farther east. Actually, the Utah territorial legislature, which was, of course, dominated by Mormons, had urged the settlement of the southeastern area of the state and had created a county down there for the express purpose of taxing the herds that were moving in on Utah ranges. The legislature had worked in conjunction with the General Authorities of the Church in Salt Lake City to promote the expedition which became known as that of the Hole-in-the Rock. The Mormon settlers in San Juan would be expected to fight back when the oncoming herds competed with their own for forage. Paradoxically, however, the huge herd of sheep which was brought in from New Mexico to Bluff by Daniel McCallister in 1884-85, though protested vigorously at first, was later bought by the Mormons acting as a body and thus set in motion the sheep industry for the settlement. L. H. Redd was a participant in the enterprise. In the same decade the Carlisle Cattle Company and the L. C. Cattle Company took up large areas north of Bluff with big herds of cattle which soon overstocked the range. The presence of these outfits constituted a challenge which the Mormons countered by appointing L. H. Redd as assessor and sending him out to collect taxes from the owners. Many threats were heard that the big outfits would shoot him on sight. Nonetheless he rode straight into their camps. When they reached for their rifles, with upraised palm he would say, "Hold on, boys, now. Hold on," and then explain his business, with the result that he generally got payment and became friends with the cattlemen. Of such dauntless stuff was Charlie's father made.

His mother was of equally admirable material. Though born on the frontier, she had the instincts and manners of a lady. She set a spotless table with nice dishes and a good cloth, and her sensitivity may be estimated by Charlie's reminiscence of her crying over him when, as a mere boy, he used to come in from chasing wild cows on the canyon rims. He would be skinny and poor. His clothes would be torn and his body heavily bruised and scratched. When she saw him she would burst into tears and



hug him to her, weeping over what he had to endure at so tender an age.

The education of the boy Charlie in the school of hard knocks on the mesas, in the canyons, and in the fields and corrals of Bluff was complemented by formal training in a one-room school. In that environment he soon showed himself to be a natural-born leader. "Charlie's hand was always up first," said his companion John D. Rogers, who went through the grades with him in Bluff. The two modes of education were evidently made to dovetail, as we learn that Charlie had to rush home from school at noon and take the sheep down to water very expeditiously, for he had to corral the sheep again, then eat, and get back to class at one o'clock.

On completion of his training in the lower grades, Charlie's parents decided to send him over three hundred miles away to Provo to Brigham Young Academy, where he enrolled in high school. There he was known as a "leader and a pusher," participating in every activity from school plays to baseball. And in the meantime he was learning the routines of ranching in San Juan. It was not all milking and doing chores, nor harnessing teams and ploughing and harrowing the soil. He learned how to throw a diamond or a squaw hitch and drive a pack train out to a remote camp. He learned how to move stock without spooking or worrying them, how to rope and brand and perform the docking operations. Perhaps one of his most venturesome activities was chasing wild cows.

If cattle were missed on the roundup, by the next year they would be harder to bring in and would soon become as wild as deer. The San Juan cowmen discovered that the best way to capture these wild cows was to run a critter down with a fast horse, rope and tie it short to a scrub cedar for a day or two of "gentling," then dehorn it and lead it in to a corral for marketing. The habitat of these wild critters was the most difficult terrain imaginable, a country slashed and cut by gullies and canyons, walled with rimrock, and densely grown with thickets of piñon and juniper. Charlie himself once described the chase:

Just catching up with the wild cattle was a sort of victory all in itself. For a cowboy couldn't begin to dodge all the trees in his way. He had to hit many of them and hit them so hard that he'd break the limbs. And both horse and rider had to have pretty fair judgement about how big a tree and how big a limb would break. But they could never hesitate. They had to hit it so hard that something would give, and they were always in hopes it would be the tree or limb, not them. However, there was something about chasing these

wild cattle that got into their blood. It was kind of like a young feller getting all hopped up over a love affair. Once you got started after the critter you forgot yourself. You forgot the risk of breaking a bone or shoulder, or the bumps and pains you were going to be exposed to, and felt only the intense excitement of a terrific sport. You did it partly because it was your job and your livelihood depended on it, and as you set out you usually rather hated to find the wild cattle because you knew when you did you were going to be in for some heavy bruises. It was a deadly earnest business. But once you got under way, both you and your horse got the feel of it, and then excitement swept you along, and nothing but a crippling pile-up could stop you.

You were often very glad when the chase was over, especially if you had a nice two-year-old tied to a piñon tree. But the satisfaction you felt was not merely owing to the \$18.00 your critter would bring if you got it out to the railroad. It was also the hunger for victory that must have made those Greek boys go after the wild boars with nothing but a spear. Nothing else mattered but getting your critter.

In this account one can readily perceive the rhetorical ability of the narrator. No wonder one of his companions on his mission said of him, "Charlie could sure make 'em believe it." There is an imaginative power as he recreates the scene. And that last sentence, in which he compares the young Mormon cowboy chasing pell-mell after a wild cow to an ancient Greek youth following a wild boar through a laurel thicket with nothing but a spear, alerts us to the quality of the mind which draws upon ancient history and an awareness of the classics to illustrate his point.

In his twenty-second year, Charlie was called to serve as a missionary for the LDS Church in the northwest region of the United States. In the thirty-one years since his father had settled at Bluff, the family fortunes had grown measurably. Lemuel H. Redd, Jr., was an ambitious man, and he had exerted himself to make money and gain status. He had accumulated herds and other property, a fine house for each of his two wives, and had established himself as a leader in the community, a man of wealth and wisdom. Some of the ranchers in the county referred to him with a mixture of respect and affection as the "papacito of San Juan County." He could well afford to send his maturing son on a mission.

In November of 1911 we find Charlie in the mission field. His sister, Mrs. Amy Redd Snow, has several letters which

Charlie wrote to his mother during the first year of that mission. Although the collection of letters is not large, they suggest Charlie's habits of mind and attitudes at age twenty-two. In the first letters we see that quite naturally he was missing his home and the family. His letter from Portland to his mother in Bluff, written on 22 November 1911, says, "What in the world is the matter with you people? I haven't had a scratch from home since I left. I feel like I'm disowned. This is a long way off to be without word from home." One week before this he had written saying, "If all the weeks in the next two years are as long as the last one has been, I'll be a toothless old man when I get home."

Of course, one of the reasons for his loneliness was that he had been facing some of the discouragement that missionaries experience when they enter the field. On 13 November he had written:

My first day out tracting was pretty tough.  
[At] the first house I tackled, a man came out and began to rail and curse all churches and ministers.  
[At] the next house a lady said she knew enough of us. My nerve was not casting a decent shadow by that time. At the very next house a kindly lady . . . said that we all ought to be arrested. That tumbled my nerves to the ground. I walked two miles right down the street, afraid to hit any of them.

But on his way back he met some very nice folks and remarked that "such people make the work quite enjoyable." Again in the letter of 22 November he complained to his mother that he longed to have "something happen to arouse people and make them curious. But they all know too much about us. They say [what they think] and are satisfied with their opinions."

One might remark here the concern which the young missionary felt for the welfare of the people to whom he was bringing the message of the gospel. It was not a self-centered interest in the number of converts he could make, but a deep-seated conviction that the message he was carrying was of great value to all mankind. Naturally, he felt frustrated to find that so few persons had enough curiosity to listen to or examine what appeared to him to be such self-evident truths. Being by nature endowed with curiosity and a searching, exploratory mind, Charlie found it difficult to face the fact that most humans resist so callously the introduction of any kind of knowledge.

From the letters we also perceive that the young man had an unusually mature interest in the affairs of his part of the state. This was not just a personal desire to hear what his family and friends were doing--not just an ordinary interest in

local gossip. He had asked for a subscription to the Grand Valley Times, a publication out of Moab, which city lay over a hundred miles away from his own little community of Bluff. He wanted to keep up with the matters which concerned the whole big sprawling county, with politics and business and civic enterprises. This interest may suggest to you a resemblance to the man of affairs of the English Renaissance, whom Elyot describes in his book The Governor and whom Castiglione depicts in detail as an individual skilled in the arts of living at home but also well informed about matters concerning the broad community and the state. Everyone knows how intent Francis Bacon was on comprehending the whole world around him.

Perhaps it will not be amiss to comment upon another fact revealed by this early correspondence with Charlie's mother. His sister, Mrs. Snow, called attention to this point:

You will note Charlie's mention in more than one letter that he was short of funds. I don't know why father did not send him the money he needed more promptly. But he had gone through so many years of hardship and scraping that the habits of thrift and frugality were ingrained in him. It is not that he did not have the money, for at this stage of Father's life he was really quite wealthy. He just did not have the habit of letting money slip through his fingers too readily.

In some respects Mrs. Snow's generalization might be applied to Charles himself. For though his generosity to friends and acquaintances has become legendary, yet in private matters or in purely business relations he has exhibited the same sense of thrift and caution as marked his father. That the family was not in straitened circumstances financially at this period may be deduced from the fact that Charlie's mother sent him, among other gifts for Christmas, a silver shaving mug and a watch chain. John Hale Gardner, a young friend of Charlie's, once told how, when he and Charlie were traveling together by automobile through some of the long stretches of road between communities in northern Arizona, the gas gauge read dangerously low, but Charlie was determined to fill up at a cut-rate station. The upshot was that they ran out of gas. This is no place to tell of the difficulties they encountered in getting to the next gas pump. But what is notable is that Charlie then calculated the amount of gas they would need in order to reach the next town of any size and would not countenance buying more gas than was necessary to get there. I do not fault Charlie for this exercise of thrift. I admire it and surmise that any man who was going to become rich would have done the same thing himself. I have heard it said that water is acceptable as a beverage when

taken in the right spirit, and by analogy one might conclude that frugality is a virtue, unless it is administered in undiluted form.

Another thought emerges from the letters I have been referring to. Being away from home and off by himself more frequently than ever before and not preoccupied with absorbing physical labor, Charlie had time for introspection and arrived at some interesting conclusions. He said to his mother, "I can see in my own character where home and parental advice was neglected right at the time when most needed. It is the saddest of stories to see children weaned in spirit from home. Education is only an addition to our moral and spiritual development, and never a substitute." A little further on in the same letter he adds, "The Mormon people are being branded as mercenary, and it might be partly the truth. I can find nothing to overcome that argument." Evidently the young missionary had been doing some hard, honest thinking and was not ducking away from the conclusions he was arriving at.

In November of 1914 occurred an event that was to determine the course of Charles Redd's life. Ten or twelve men in San Juan County and one or two from Moab joined together in the purchase of the Cunningham and Carpenter ranching business at La Sal. The purchase price of the land and livestock was \$220,000. Of this amount \$30,000 was to be paid in cash and the balance of \$190,000 was to be paid in ten years at 6 percent interest. Then within two months after this deal, the three Somerville brothers, Andrew, Bill, and James, sold their outfits to the newly formed La Sal Livestock Company, taking notes for their interests and thereby becoming partners. This brought the total purchase price to about \$311,000, which was a whopping debt in those days, and if you will exercise hindsight for a moment you will recognize that the manager of this new enterprise would have a formidable task trying to pay principal and interest in the next ten years.

Of course, the new manager was Charlie Redd. His father was owner of the largest share of stock in the company and probably had considerable influence in appointing the manager. But it stands to the credit of Lemuel H. that he knew what the fibre of his son was and trusted him to handle the job and do it well. Indeed Charlie was adequate to the challenge, more than adequate. But he himself acknowledged, in a very significant document which he addressed to his three sons in 1965 and which he modestly labeled "Memo to Hardy, Robert, and Paul," that "for the first twenty or twenty-five years, from 1915 up to the beginning of the 1940's, we were in more or less constant jeopardy. In 1923 and through the depression of the '30's few people thought we would survive." Such a statement needs to be remembered, and remembered especially by those individuals who have complained about Charlie's shrewd,

hard-headed business deals. Quite simply one must conclude that, if he had not been shrewd and hard-headed, he would have failed. Every rancher was struggling to keep from going under in that hard period. Everyone tried to be as shrewd and hard-headed as Charlie was. He was doing what everybody else did; only he did it better.

"Charlie earned his fortune," says B. W. Allred, a native of the San Juan region, "through the exercise of intelligence and judgment, by learning quickly from mistakes in time to profit from them, by plugging leaks, and building up savings, and making profitable investments in times of plenty to carry him through worrisome droughts and depressions."

But let me return now to his early experience on the Cross-H Ranch. We have his account how he and Al Scorup, one of the partners in the new La Sal Livestock Company, left Monticello before daylight on 11 January 1915 and rode to La Sal through about two feet of snow. There Scorup installed Charlie as manager. Fortunately, Charlie says, Mr. Carpenter agreed to stay on managing until 1 March. This two months gave Charlie a chance to work into the job. He learned later that most of the other stockholders were not particularly happy about his appointment as manager. But two things were in his favor: first, his father was a strong character and the largest stockholder and, second, there was no other candidate.

Though Charlie had recently returned from a mission and had spent four years away at school, he was not exactly a novice in the ranching business. His father had been in the habit of buying old ewes or wethers in the Northwest. He would ship them down to San Juan, run them for a year and clip the wool, then sell them for slaughter. He had run as many as twenty thousand or even thirty thousand head at one time in San Juan and Colorado. Naturally, Charlie had learned much from his father about sheep operations. And by no means had the bulk of his experience with the sheep been managerial. He had learned from the bottom up. In his boyhood in Bluff he worked with the shearing crew for two or three weeks each spring. He gained experience in planning in those days because the shearers took everything they needed in a wagon out to the herd. It was a two or three days' journey sometimes, and they couldn't run back to town for any item they had neglected to bring along.

The deal with Cunningham and Carpenter had included about ninety-five hundred head of sheep and, counting later purchases of cows from small owners, approximately one-fourth as many cattle. In 1918 Charles had purchased a herd of registered Herefords and the big investment of the company was in cattle. But he had reduced his sheep herds. Then in 1920 prices fell, especially for cattle. So badly, in fact, that for two or three years he sold old "canners," the thin cows, in considerable numbers at two cents per pound. In those days hardly any cow

weighed over eight hundred pounds. You couldn't do much about paying off big debts by selling cows at sixteen dollars per head. He soon got behind in his payments to Cunningham and Carpenter. Things got so tough that one night in desperation he picked up the telephone and called Carpenter. "Come and take your ranch back," he said.

But Carpenter was a patient man and a sound judge of character. "I don't want to take the ranch back," he answered. "I want you to make a go of it." He gave Charles quite a lecture, and the advice strengthened Charlie considerably. It encouraged him to stick it out, to endure through thick and thin. He decided that if determination, dedication, and persistent effort could bring success, he would succeed.

However, in 1920, in order to keep afloat, it was necessary to levy assessments on the stockholders. Quite naturally the need for this move went against the grain for several of them. They had invested with the expectation of receiving dividends. But now they were being called upon to bolster a sagging enterprise. The upshot was that some of the minor stockholders refused to pay the assessment and lost what little equity they had in the ranch. The responses which young Charles made at this point are significant indicators of his character. Instead of panicking, resigning his post, and divesting himself of responsibility by selling out, he persuaded his father to go further into debt and acquire the shares of people who were discouraged. One might see in such audacity by a young rancher in the twentieth century a comparison with the exploits of bold young men in sixteenth-century England. Sir Walter Raleigh, undaunted by failure, tried time after time to establish colonies on the American seaboard and made a fruitless but extremely hazardous expedition up the Orinoco River in hopes of finding the new Eldorado with its treasures of gold. Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake sailed the seas in what were mere eggshells by modern standards, seeking Spanish gold and probing for new lands to conquer. Lord Bacon was searching and testing the borders of scientific and philosophic thought in his Advancement of Learning and Novum Organum. The Renaissance was an age of daring, of rejecting the old familiar patterns and exploring a new world which was being liberated by the discoveries of Copernicus and Newton and Gabriel Harvey. Perhaps you will discover in the comparisons I have just made the germination of my idea of Charles Redd as a Renaissance man in the role of western rancher.

It would be fatuous to pretend that the ambitions of the young Charles at this time were like a rosy dream peopled by good fairies waving magic wands of success. The Renaissance adventurers found the world to be cold-blooded and harsh. Raleigh spent time in prison and was actually beheaded there. Bacon was imprisoned and shorn of his honors. Almost everyone

in San Juan County, and in the banking circles in Salt Lake as well, expected Charlie Redd to go under. His father's obligations, including the La Sal ranch, totaled some \$575,000. His store at Monticello went bankrupt. And, to compound Charlie's difficulties, his father died suddenly in 1923. These were indeed gloomy days. Gus Backman, prominent Salt Lake attorney, manager of ZCMI, and close friend of the Redds, recommended that Charlie go into receivership. "You are young," he said. "Receivership will free you from the debts that are so burdensome that I don't think you will ever be able to pay them off. The bank, ZCMI, and others are willing to take their losses. They will liquidate the property and realize what they can, and you will not be hurt in any way."

But Charlie did not give up. Looking back on those days from the security of his position in 1965, he said, "It often pays to be ignorant. If I had known more about business and realized the enormity of the debt, I am sure that I would have been quick to accept receivership." The fact was that in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable odds he struggled prodigiously. And his struggle was not a dogged, pedestrian, brutish resistance to the advance of fate, like a bull blocking the gateway of progress. Instead, Charlie was imaginative and resourceful.

To illustrate his adaptiveness, one might go back to the early days when he first took over the ranch. At that time it seemed to get along from day to day with the men doing just what had to be done. There was not much planning involved. But Charlie kept his mind vigorously and persistently on ranch problems. Instead of sending sheepshearers out to the herds as they had used to do, he built an Australian-type shearing plant close to the ranch, on the south side of Coyote Creek. The fact that it later burned down, or was burned down, did not deter him. He was always innovating, figuring out a better way to do things. He would have the men build a good corral in Dry Valley, but if after a mere two years he saw a better way to handle the stock, he would abandon the corral and try the new program. The cowboys and herders would be unhappy about making changes. They liked to do things the way they were used to doing them. But Charlie cajoled them into trying the new methods.

An example of his willingness to undertake new ventures may be illustrated by his plunge into the turkey business. Robert Redd tells us that at one time his father had more turkeys than he had sheep, right there at La Sal. Now, turkey raising was not a traditional enterprise for San Juan County. Old-time cattlemen of the area would most certainly not have demeaned themselves by going into it. But Charlie raised turkeys for three or four years. Likewise, Chet Smith, his wise old cowboy who had been with Redd ranches since 1939 and who had known Charlie much earlier than that, remembers that in 1929 Charlie



had hogs of every kind that put their feet in a trough: thin hogs, fat hogs, little hogs, big hogs, blind hogs, lame hogs, sick hogs, and well hogs--you name it.

Charlie knew that in order to survive he had to make money, and whatever way it took to make money, he was interested in it. His ingenuity and diligence can be illustrated by the way he ran his store at La Sal. At first he had kept a part of a small two-room building near the ranch house to store supplies for his cattle and sheep operations. He also soon got to storing groceries necessary to feed the gang of thirty-five hired men who cut and put up hay for him all summer long. Then he realized that he could probably sell these men work clothes, gloves, tobacco, and sundries. And then the notion occurred to him that there was a market ready-made at the various road camps in the county, where men were living in tents away from the towns while they improved the roads. Immediately he filled a wagon with supplies from his commissary, drove down at night to Kane Springs or wherever they were camped, and set up a tent. There he would sell to the workers clothing, food, and other necessities. In this way he got started in business as a merchant as well as a rancher. Soon afterwards he put up a separate building on the road going past the ranch structures and stocked it with dry goods, hardware, and groceries. The merchandise gradually expanded to include farm machinery and horse-drawn equipment. In the years following he kept pace with the times by selling tractors, trucks, and modern haying machinery. Charles had also been named postmaster at La Sal, and he set aside part of the store to handle the mail and serve citizens of the area. To get the mail he sent someone down every day to La Sal junction, ten miles away, to meet the mail truck.

But, of course, the store was only a fringe project. Although Charlie himself looked after the store at first, paid the bills, and kept the inventory, his main function was to run the ranches, both at Pine Lodge and La Sal. He was his own foreman, hiring the men, settling up with each of them, supervising haying operations in the fields and in the stack yards, and watching over the irrigation. This in itself was a full-time job, for from June to mid-October haying went on full tilt, with men mowing, raking, bunching, hauling, and stacking in one field after another and then going back to start all over again when they finished the last patch. Moreover, the men had to care constantly for the sheep herds and cattle, moving herds from one pasture to another, hauling salt, hauling supplies for the hands, and building fences and corrals. One of the main concerns was that of controlling the number of animals grazing on forest permits. The rangers were, by common consent of the ranchers, quite unreasonable, but no rancher could afford to antagonize them and put his permits in jeopardy. Even at that there were more than five times as many cattle on

the La Sal mountain as are run there at present, and the range was grossly overgrazed.

This was summer business. In the spring there were lambing and calving operations, shearing, and moving animals from winter to summer range. In the fall the calves had to be weaned, and many cattle were shipped to Kansas City. "The great problem then," says Charlie, "was to get them there alive. They were very thin." Charlie always accompanied these shipments, and at each stop his big worry was to get the cows back on their feet, literally. For they were weak because they were so poor.

Charles told B. W. Allred that he probably got his heaviest jolts in 1921-22. By 1924-25, however, cattle prices had begun to advance again, and this helped him to keep his courage up. Meanwhile he had started to acquire additional property in Colorado in the Aspen area, where summer grazing was superior. His father had bought land in that area years before, and Charles knew he could strengthen his operation if he could get more of it. To do so, of course, he had to rely on credit. Fortunately for him, his father had established a most enviable reputation for honesty and reliability. The Deseret National Bank had lent Lemuel H. money for over sixty years. Governor Cutler, who was president of the bank at one time, told Charlie that his father had never misrepresented his situation or shaded the truth. He said, "Most stockmen or farmers, when under stress, in their anxiety to get a little money or renew their notes, would promise far more than they could reasonably expect. But not so with your father, and perhaps this basic honesty is one reason why your father has survived."

But the Deseret National Bank was conservative and old-fashioned. All during his father's banking experience they had never inspected either the cattle or the sheep and had never sent a man down to look over his operations. This is, of course, a great tribute to Lemuel H.'s credibility. However, as early as 1916 Charlie had become acquainted with J. E. Cosgriff, president of the Continental Bank in Salt Lake City. The Cosgriffs had made their money in sheep, freighting, merchandising, and banking in Wyoming and Colorado. At the time Charlie met him, Mr. Cosgriff had interests in three different sheep outfits. And both men were perfectionists in the matter of shearing and preparing wool for market. This community of interest drew them together and, as Charlie later testified, perhaps contributed more than any other thing to the survival of the La Sal ranching operations. Charlie established credit with the Continental Bank, and from 1917 on up into the 1930s this bank of Cosgriff's carried the advances for running expenses of the ranch without any security whatever. Mr. Cosgriff knew that all of the property was mortgaged and pledged, but he and others after him maintained their faith in Charlie. During this entire period loans were made on nothing but the

signature of Charles Redd. Queen Elizabeth could not have done more for her favorite Sir Walter Raleigh or for Drake with his Golden Hind.

Until the misfortune of a stroke deprived Charlie of his powers of speech, he could at a moment's notice give eloquent testimony to the value of credit. "Many say," he once asserted, "that credit is far more valuable than money itself. Credit is not based on assets or wealth altogether; in fact, my father's experience during his lifetime and part of mine have proven that character and attitude towards obligations is more important."

Assuredly, credit was the basis of operations for the Cross-H Ranch during the next two decades, from 1920, when prices of livestock hit bottom, until the end of the depression of the thirties. During this period Charlie slowly engineered the accumulation of additional property, for he recognized that the prime time to expand was when prices were low and owners were hard up and discouraged. He understood, of course, that he had to manage the ranch very skillfully, and his son Paul mentions the remarkable fact that each year he took in more than he spent. No doubt it was this adroit management that helped to convince the Cosgriffs to keep lending him money, for of course he had to have more than he could save in order to keep operating.

No doubt the major acquisitions which Charlie made during these twenty years were the shares of those stockholders in the La Sal Livestock Company which had not been relinquished when assessments were levied in 1920. Most of the men who still had shares in the company made settlements by taking other property. In brief, the Nielson brothers got some buildings and other real estate in Mancos, Colorado; Kumen Jones took livestock in exchange for his shares; Hanson Bayles got sheep and grazing permits in Colorado as well as various other pieces of property. When the dust had settled, only the Redds, Al Scorup, and William and Andrew Somerville still held interest in the La Sal Land and Livestock Company.

Still Charlie was not content to sit tight. He made a deal by which a cattle outfit east of Monticello, known as the Bar Cross Company, in which Rone Bailey had a 40 percent interest, was traded to Scorup for his interest in La Sal. The value of the transaction amounted to something over \$100,000. And at about the same time Bill and Andrew Somerville, who were still fairly big stockholders in the ranch, were becoming increasingly worried about recovering their money. Consequently Charlie reached an agreement with them to trade the interest of the Redd family in the Dark Canyon Cattle Company for their interest in and loans to the La Sal Company. But as Charlie remarked later in his memo to the three boys, if he had known how

worried the Somervilles were, he might have made a much better settlement.

The Somervilles were interested in obtaining the Dark Canyon Company because they had recently thrown in with Scorup in the purchase of the Indian Creek Cattle Company, which involved a territory adjoining that of the Dark Canyon area. The Dark Canyon Company had belonged to Charlie, his brother Hardy, and the estate of his father, Lemuel H. Redd. Hardy thought that the Somervilles had been more anxious to trade than Charlie was and that the Dark Canyon outfit went too cheaply, but as things eventuated, the whole transaction paid off well.

I have gone into much detail concerning certain aspects of Charlie's career, but there are many other facets to his character, and the profile we are attempting to sketch would be lopsided if some of these were not at least indicated. So while we are still concerned with this period of his life, let us turn for a glimpse of Charles as the improver and innovator. The Renaissance man was not one to accept things as they were. Nor was Charlie. Among his first moves when he took over the managership of La Sal was to have Lopez, his gifted top hand, build sound, substantial corrals and sheds that would last for years. Wherever Charlie rode while inspecting the layout, on the old ranch or on newly acquired property, he cast a critical eye on buildings, fences, ditches, and the condition of the soil. Then he had improvements made. In conjunction with government agencies he cleared land by chaining off sagebrush and scrub trees, then plowed and drilled it with crested wheat grass. He developed reservoirs for irrigation and for watering places for the stock. He poisoned prairie dogs and trapped thousands of jackrabbits. The war that was waged on jackrabbits alone merits a brief space here. In characteristic fashion Charlie had gone into a partnership with Shorty Boardman on a hog-raising venture. Charlie bought the hogs and Shorty took care of them. When winter came, they had to protect their haystacks from the hordes of rabbits. So they built fences around the stacks, and then Shorty constructed woven wire traps measuring ten by ten feet which he baited with hay. Every night the traps filled up with jacks. Next morning the men would drive round with a bobsled, kill the rabbits, haul them to the barns, skin them, and feed the carcasses to the hogs. The hogs did right well on this diet, and Shorty did right well too. He sold the rabbit skins for enough to buy a new Ford car.

It had been Charlie's pattern to buy soybean and cottonseed meal for his livestock, but soon he decided to buy a pellet machine and make his own pellets for supplementary feed. This was a great success, and his next step was to set up steel granaries on the sheep winter range. These granaries could be stocked when the roads were passable in the early autumn and then camp movers could come in with a pack string and haul

pellets to isolated herds when winter storms made it necessary to supplement feed.

Such matters as improving the range, constructing better buildings and facilities to handle the stock, and devising more efficient feeding operations might have been planned and executed by any alert and businesslike rancher. But Charlie was not content merely to tread in old paths and clear them of obstructions. His probing mind sought for goals beyond the immediate horizon. Perhaps no more significant illustration of this fact about him can be cited than that of his constant efforts to raise the quality of his herds, both in sheep and cattle. You will recall that in his first years as manager of the ranch he invested in a herd of registered Herefords. Once acquired, those animals involved surveillance on an individual basis. What I mean by that is that a whole series of events had to be observed and recorded for each cow. She had to be protected from stray bulls, and the father of her calf had to be an identified, pedigreed animal. When the time drew near for her to drop her calf, she was watched jealously, and at parturition the calf was marked with an ear tag, which keyed into the herdbook record and thus identified the calf's sire and dam and its date of birth.

This program, however, was not enough for Charlie. When talk began to circulate about artificial insemination, Charlie investigated. At first he was skeptical, but he continued to read reports and finally went into an A.I. testing period. It required special equipment, a lot of record keeping, and the training of an expert to do the work. As might be expected, the cowboys on the ranch were not happy with the methods involved in abstract evaluation of individual animals. Their concern was the group, with getting a herd from one pasture to the next, with moving from the winter range to the summer range, and with getting calves branded. They didn't want to bother with individuals. But individual records had to be kept. It was important to identify a calf with its mother and know how much each calf grew per day. By keeping track of a calf's birthdate and weighing it at roundup time, he could evaluate its mother too. If she raised a superior calf, he wanted to know it. This information would help a great deal in culling the herd. Progress which a rancher can make genetically is quite limited and slow. By changing environmental factors, as Charlie always tried to do, he could account for 90 percent of the progress that was made. But the extra 5 to 10 percent could not be ignored and was really the basis of a successful breeding program. Charlie sent many thousands of pounds of beef to market, but gradually his Redd ranches became widely known as the center where performance-tested stock could be purchased and depended upon.

It is a great temptation for me to pursue the topic of artificial insemination and tell how Charles bought shares in famous bulls and to this day preserves the semen in liquid nitrogen at 375 degrees below zero, even fifteen years after a bull has died. But some people might consider such information indelicate, so I won't even mention it. However, what I should mention is the way in which the A.I. program is being carried on by Charlie's three sons, especially by Paul, who is the meticulous expert in this field. It is a most exhilarating experience to visit Paul's ranch and see the beautifully kept corrals for his bulls, the immaculate drinking fountains, the organization of feedlots and pastures and then to learn that all of the information gathered about those cattle of his which are involved in the A.I. program has been computerized and is available to him on the instant with the lifting of a receiver. Every detail of his operation confirms the impression of thoughtful, orderly, imaginative management.

I suppose that everyone knows about Charlie's traditional bull sales. The yearly event not only has become an important business occasion but also has developed into something with the flavor of a county fair, where invited guests and multitudes of friends mingle with stockmen and enjoy the largesse of sumptuous food and flowing beverages.

Again Charlie could not be satisfied with a breeding program for superior cattle alone. With the flamboyance characteristic of Renaissance adventurers, he plunged into an experimental project with his sheep too. He wanted a ewe that not only would rustle well for food on the mountain but also would produce a big, fat lamb for market in the fall. Of course, sheepmen do not live on meat alone. They want large, thick fleeces too. So Charlie tried cross-breeding the traditional Rambouillet ewes with Columbia rams, which had been developed in the research station at Dubois, Idaho. If the result of a cross disappointed him, he tried something different. He didn't just quit. On one occasion he went up to the college in Logan and bought 250 Lincoln ewes. He called them his college ewes because they came from the Utah State Agricultural College. These ewes were big, fat, impressive animals, and he was proud of them. So he gave them unusual consideration, allowing them special, comfortable sheds for lambing. But when the lambs came, they were no bigger than a pint of soap. Their mothers had been pampered. They needed toughening on the open range. Naturally, these ewes went promptly to market.

But an improved breeding program was not enough. With the exuberance so characteristic of him, Charlie broadened the scope of his sheep business. He was only too well aware of the lackadaisical manner in which sheep ranchers marketed their wool. They shipped it off and let someone else set the prices, letting controls slip completely out of their hands. With this

in mind, he became very active in working up interest in the National Wool Marketing Board. As the board really began to function, he became one of its first presidents and served in this office from 1934 to 1938, making frequent trips to Boston, the wool center, to guide the organization and make it work. His interest and diligence in this enterprise was one more reason why Mr. Cosgriff had such faith in him.

That Charlie had the characteristics of a Renaissance man is nowhere more apparent than in the scope of his activities and the range of his interests. We have just seen that as a stockbreeder he was daring and innovative and that he was equally daring and innovative in marketing his wool. The same was true of the way in which he improved the handling of his meat animals. In the early days when stock went to market, he trailed cows and sheep to Thompson Springs in Utah or to a loading corral on a narrow gauge in Colorado, such as Lizzard-head or Dolores and Placerville. The stock were allowed to feed somewhat as they moved, and generally they would be in about as good condition when they reached the railroad as when they started. With the advent of big trucks, however, this pattern changed. The stock could be loaded directly on the range. Thus a herd of fifteen hundred sheep could be carried off at once in a fleet of trucks hired from Dunlap or some other freight line.

But as Charlie accompanied his own stock to market and began to see how operations went at the other end of the line, he decided to venture a feeding operation with the animals of other ranchers. So he hired Preston Redd, a twenty-five-year-old cousin from Blanding, to go out onto the Navajo reservation and buy up lambs for him. His plan was to send a big herd of lambs back to Kansas and keep them in a feedlot until fattened for market. The account of his first experience in this vein is of such intrinsic interest that, as Sir Philip Sidney said in 1592, though of a different kind of matter, "It is a tale that would hold children from play and old men from the chimney corner."

Charlie sent Preston, who is generally known as Pep, down to Oljeto, a remote trading post close to Monument Valley, with instructions to buy lambs for no more than 8 or 8 1/2 cents per pound. So Pep made a good deal with Reuben Heflin, the trader at Oljeto, getting the lambs for 7 cents. Pep drove to the nearest telephone and reported his success to Charlie, who said that he would come down the next day and pay for them. There were twenty-two hundred in the herd, and since the men had nothing but one small set of spring scales, they had to weigh the lambs one at a time. Pep hired a few Navajo women to help him and started the weighing operation at daylight next morning. Two of the women would catch a lamb and put a loop of rope in front of its back legs and another behind its

front legs, then suspend it from the spring scales which were hung from a stout branch on a cedar tree. The trader and Pep would write down the weight for each lamb, forty-eight or sixty-five pounds and so on, each keeping a tally sheet. Then two more Indian women would bring up another lamb. The crew worked all day and finished weighing the herd at just about dusk. But Charlie had not showed up.

Now Reuben had to get back to his trading post, and Pep had to go down to Kayenta to receive a second herd of lambs from the Weatherills, who were traders there. Both men were nervous, for Pep did not have a checkbook. Pep said, "Do you know how to write a draft?" and Reuben said no, but he used to be a school-teacher and would look through some of the old schoolbooks. So Pep went on down to Kayenta, where they began weighing the herd with the same Indian women next morning. Then Reuben showed up with a fourth-grade arithmetic book which had a picture of a draft in it. Pep copied the form on a piece of paper cut out of a brown paper sack, writing one draft for Hefner and one for Wetherill on the First National Bank of Moab, drawing, of course, on Charlie Redd. Both drafts cleared, in spite of the fact that Charlie did not even have an account in that bank. It rather spoils the story, but I have to confess that Charlie telephoned Mr. Martin at the bank the next day and said that he would make good on the drafts.

Pep took delivery on many more lambs from traders at Navajo Mountain, Inscription House, Red Lake, Cow Springs, and other posts. But the weighing took only half as long because the women produced an old tin washtub in which they plopped down two lambs at a time on their hind ends and were able to place the tub on the platform on an old set of balance scales which didn't jiggle every time a lamb kicked.

It was midsummer when Charlie bought these lambs, and they were not to be received in Kansas until 15 September. "This is only July," said Pep. "What are we going to do with the lambs between now and September?" Charlie said, "Oh, we'll get some pasture for them." But he left it to Pep to find the pasture. He often gave responsibility to his men in this way. Pep looked the situation over. It was fifty miles from the last trading post to Flagstaff, where it was nice and cool in the mountains. But it was 350 miles to Thompson Springs. He decided to drive the lambs to Thompson and let them graze as they traveled. He could take his time and wouldn't have to pay for any pasture. He figured that he would arrive at Thompson at just about the right time to ship to Kansas, so he hired some Navajo herders and set out. By the time he reached Kayenta he had three herds of lambs with about twenty-two hundred in each herd and three Navajo shepherds per herd. The bunches were one day ahead of each other. But there was a difficulty. Between Kayenta and Mexican Hat, approximately fifty miles away, there



was no water. It took three days to cover that stretch, and Pep is sure that nothing except Navajo sheep with their Navajo herders could have made it.

On the morning before the first herd arrived at the ledges that broke off in a series down toward the San Juan River at Mexican Hat, he hurried ahead and hired all the Indian women, kids, and men around the trading post to go and form a big V so that they could direct the sheep onto the old swinging bridge across the river. For he knew that the sheep were so dry that as soon as they smelled the water they would start running. But he didn't have enough Indians. For on the instant when the first sheep topped the ridge, they smelled the water and took off on a high gallop. Of course, they missed the V. The trouble was that there were ledges all along the south side of the river, and the sheep had no means of getting down to the water unless they crossed on the bridge and came down the slope on the north side. When the first sheep came to the brink of the ledges above the river, they stopped, but the ones behind hit them and over they went into the water. And all the rest of the herd followed them. The drop must have been sixty to seventy feet straight down to the water, and every animal in the herd went into it.

A few tourists on the other side of the river hurried to get their cameras, but also present on that side was a native of Bluff, Utah. This was Dan Hayes, foreman of a road gang that was building the so-called Billygoat Highway down to the state line. Hayes just happened to be the best swimmer in San Juan County, and when he saw what was happening, he stripped his clothes off down to a pair of pink silk shorts and dived in with the sheep. He swam downstream, got ahead of them, and steered them over towards a sandbar that stuck out into the river from the north bank. He jumped up and slapped the water and was able to spook the lambs over to the sandbar and out. With the exception of a few animals that were hung on some of the pinnacles protruding from the face of the cliff, they were all retrieved. Pep and his herders tied two lasso ropes together and managed to recover those few which were still suspended above the water. Then the men gathered up the sheep and, anticipating the long dry stretch of country ahead, drove the herd down to the water on an old Indian trail, figuring that in the excitement the lambs had neglected to drink. The situation now, however, was summed up by Pep with the laconic remark that "a few of them drank, but most of 'em were pretty well watered up." A narrow road led up out of the river bottom onto the bench land above, and Pep was able to get a good count of his herd. He said 2265 lambs went into the river and he counted 2263 that came out. So he had lost two lambs, no, three, for he gave one lamb to Dan Hayes, who suggested that he was quite fond of lamb chops.

The moral of this story might be that it is not just cowboys who have exciting experiences in their daily routines. However that may be, the story is included here to illustrate the character and resourcefulness of many of the men whom Charlie employed to carry on his numerous enterprises. Actually, Charlie developed a habit of thinking up a good business project for some young man whom he had observed and in whom he had confidence. Charlie would approach his man, make him feel good and important, and then propose a partnership in which Charlie would supply the money and advice and the young fellow would run the outfit on a percentage basis. This pattern was followed in numerous instances, oftentimes with relatives. One of his favorite operations had to do with feeding sheep or cattle on the winter wheat fields or in feedlots in Kansas, or Parker, Arizona, or Yuma, or El Centro, and so forth. Other partnerships were formed in various fields of business, such as automobile dealerships, but most often they had to do with ranching. Several young men testify that Charlie gave them their start by selling them the nucleus of a good herd and helping out until they could go it alone. Some of them declare that they could not have made the grade without him.

But I am ahead of myself, for the events just referred to occurred in the affluent period of the forties, when Charlie was able to dispense favors like a patron in Renaissance Europe giving aid to poor scholars around him. It is imperative now that I go back to the first years of the Great Depression, which were so hard on many of Charlie's friends and acquaintances in the ranching business in southeastern Utah.

One of the most significant choices that Charlie ever made took place in the late summer of 1931, when he married Annaley Naegle. If Annaley's father had been an Indian chief and if Charlie had given him in exchange for his daughter a whole herd of cattle, with three sheep herds and a corral full of buffalo ponies thrown in for good measure, Charlie would still have come out far ahead in the bargaining. For in order to be a good wife to a rancher, a woman must be not just a good worker but an indefatigable one. She must be also a manager, a good cook, a systematic housewife, a gracious hostess, a kind and solicitous mother, and above all a cheerful and gay companion. Annaley would score A+ on all these counts. She has often kept up three households for Charlie, one in La Sal, one on the mountain, and one in Provo. She has entertained large crowds for him on countless occasions, for Charlie loved people and gathered them around him to hear talks by distinguished guests, to celebrate traditional holidays, and for no reason at all other than to indulge in friendly and meaningful conversation. She has prepared mountains of food and washed bales and bales of sheets. And she has successfully reared eight lovely children, often by herself while Charlie was away on business. I

think one of the finest compliments ever paid to her was spoken to me privately by the sometimes dour and always laconic cowboy Chet Smith, who has spent so many years with the family: "I don't think Charlie could have ever made it," he said, "without Annaley."

Another major influence in Charles's life was the friendship that he established with Edward L. Burton. He had met Mr. Burton in the Deseret Bank shortly after Charlie's father had died. Burton said to him, "Charlie, the bankers here say that you are broke, and on the basis of your financial statement I would have to agree with them . . . but I have a feeling that you will work out of it. And when you do, let's do something about it. Let's create a reserve. There is no use in working your head off and always being on the brink."

Charlie asked Burton why he thought he would pull out of it, and Burton answered, "In the first place, you don't know you're broke, and you won't let anyone tell you that you are." Then he gave Charlie an overview of the ranching business as he saw it and concluded by saying, "You know, I'm in the investment business. Sheep, cattle, and ranching is not the only business in the world that makes a profit. Don't put all your eggs in one basket. In the meantime, why don't you keep in touch with me?"

Charlie thought over what Mr. Burton had said and did keep in touch with him all through the thirties, but it was not until 1940 or 1941 that he made his first investment. The time was propitious, especially for buying utilities. And Charlie, under the guidance of shrewd old Mr. Burton, made some advantageous purchases of stocks. He says, "Each year after sales were made, we would have a session with Edward L. Burton and invest all the surplus funds. In fact, Joe Redd used to complain that I spent all the money we had in the bank instead of keeping some for running expenses. I was afraid that if we kept enough money to run us until spring there would be very little left to invest. So I would invest it all and then borrow to carry us through until we had something to sell."

But again I am ahead of my story. The years of the Depression were very hard on Charlie, as on all the ranchers in the area. Many of the old stalwarts went under in this period, and it was only by concentrating on his problems and exercising unflagging effort that Charlie managed to stay afloat. He cut wages, as everybody else did, reluctantly explaining to his men why he did so. He trimmed expenses to the bone. His son Hardy tells a story of a trip which Charlie made on a train coming back to the ranch from Denver. Unknown to him, his store manager, Leland Redd, had boarded the same train, also unaware that his partner Charlie was going to be on it. Each of them had intended to get a berth on a Pullman car for the night's trip. But when they ran into each other in the coach

car, they sat up all night, each trying to impress the other with his habit of frugality.

But the situation became more and more serious. Prices had fallen very low and there was a terrible period of drought. In the effort to stay solvent, Charlie and a number of businessmen in the county who had attempted to run a bank got the habit of meeting every week and sometimes spent the whole night discussing their problems. With his characteristically buoyant attitude, Charlie attempted to revive the sagging spirits of the bank directors by inviting them and their wives to a barbecue. Everybody had a good time, and the event proved so successful that it was repeated and soon became a practice. This was the origin of Charlie and Annaley's barbecues, which became affairs of considerable dimensions. Many have attended these hospitable occasions and enjoyed the conviviality which is always so abundantly present.

Charlie had a gift for making people feel good, and, indeed, it has been one of his most valuable assets. An illustration of this unusual talent may be cited from another experience of Pep Redd's.

Pep and Charlie had bought up a herd of sheep for pasturing on the wheat fields of Kansas, but Pep was holding them in order to get a wool clip before sending them to market. The sheep, however, had been running in an area where sand and clay dust had been very prevalent, and their fleeces were full of dirt. The result was that sheepshearers could not get through more than one fleece without resharpening their shears. Most of them were quitting the job at the end of the first day's work. In desperation Pep called Charlie on the phone and said that he was in a bind that he couldn't break out of. Charlie replied that he would catch the next plane and come to see what he could do to help. Pep met Charlie at the airport, and Charlie said, "Let's go and have a good dinner before we go look at the sheep." In the restaurant Charlie ordered the best meals there were on the menu, and they sat in a leisurely fashion, enjoying their food and drink. Charlie seemed in no hurry to go and tackle the problem. In fact, after they had eaten and relaxed for an hour or two Pep was feeling so much better that he decided he could resolve his difficulties himself, and Charlie took the next plane back without ever leaving the airport.

Charlie's capacity to make people feel good was not a calculated and cultivated trait, for he was by nature generous and interested in people of every rank and degree. When he went visiting relatives, he used to take along bags of candy for the children because he enjoyed so much seeing them happy. When he invited a carful of professors to come down to the ranch for a weekend of talking and feasting, they generally left with a handsome gift apiece, such as a Pendleton wool shirt or a Navajo bolo tie of silver set with turquoise. In

his salad years he loved to take a crowd from Provo to the Alta Club in Salt Lake City for dinner and a visit with distinguished local guests. His hospitality to dignitaries coming through the West from foreign countries won him such appreciation that he was honored by Queen Elizabeth in person with an award as Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire for his contributions to friendly relations between our country and Great Britain. Perhaps few of you know that he has entertained many high-ranking British officials, such as Lord Halifax, with his fabulous generosity at the ranch. Such occasions, however, have never been pompous, for his tastes have always been noticeably democratic (that is, when spelled with a small d). Indeed, a person had only to show evidence of individuality or strength of character to be included in his guest list. Rich man, poor man, businessman, philosopher, schoolteacher, or rancher, they all mingled in his living room and sat at his table. Personal worth was his criterion for comradeship. In talking to his boys he often emphasized his convictions with respect to values in life. In the memo already referred to more than once in this paper he summed up his opinions:

I confess that an intense character like your father does have rather positive ideas about life and especially ranching. I am intense and perhaps overly insistent wholly because I want you boys to succeed. When I say succeed I mean in a many-balanced, many-sided way. Business, ranching, the making of a living, is quite incidental to the more vital things of life. I don't believe I have ever considered ranching, making a living, or even getting rich was of any great importance by itself. I am not boasting I assure you, when I say that I have always had a rather decent and even noble concept of the purpose of our life here on earth.

To find evidence of the truth of this assertion, one might recall the many books that Charlie has accumulated on the shelves of his study. These are volumes that he has read, and they cover a broad spectrum of topics. He enjoys novels and stories, but his voracious mind seeks eagerly for facts and ideas. In the many talk sessions which he has fostered as host, it soon becomes apparent that he is well-informed and that much of his information comes from books. If Charlie had not had wide-ranging ideas and a vital habit of thinking, the fundamental image of a Renaissance man as rancher would never have occurred to me. The image I have employed was meant to suggest that the questing human spirit can be found in any generation, in any age, in any environment, and in any occupation.

But I want to return to Charlie's own words. In the above-mentioned memo he becomes more specific in suggesting what he considers to be sound values in arranging the pattern of life with one's family:

Ranching, no matter how successful it is money-wise, will not be a desirable vocation unless you have time to read, travel, and make use of cultural opportunities. I would like to see you get squared around so you could spend at least a month out of each year with your families perhaps attending short courses or visiting some foreign land or doing things that will be pleasant and at the same time help you culturally and spiritually. And I am convinced that this is entirely practical if you will plan and scheme and get your houses in order . . . I want you boys to grow spiritually, culturally, and mentally.

It is not difficult to see in these excerpts the concern of a wise father, who knows very surely that financial success is only a means to an end and not the end in itself. Actually the growths which Charlie made spiritually, culturally, and mentally during his lifetime were marked especially by his public service, for he served from 1923 to 1930 in the state legislature and eight years as a member of the Board of Regents of the Utah State Agricultural College. His acumen and wisdom were also recognized and demanded by governing boards of various other important organizations. Among the business enterprises in which he figured prominently, we note that he was director of the Utah Power and Light Company and on the Executive Council of that board. He was a director of the Amalgamated Sugar Company, serving for eighteen years in that capacity. He was also for ten years director and chairman of the Utah Water and Power Board, which was set up by the legislature, and despite all of the demands upon his time which these offices levied on him he was able to make many valuable contributions to the livestock industry. The most significant recognition which he received from his fellow stockmen was that of being named Man of the Year in 1946 by the nationally important Record Stockman, which called him "one of today's great thinkers in all phases of agriculture."

But with all of his varied public and business interests, he did not neglect his family. To his three boys he left a magnificent ranch apiece. Each ranch is an integrated whole, with the advantages of both summer and winter ranges, and each was stocked with Charlie's own superior strains of performance-tested animals. Moreover, the boys had each been given far more ranching experience in a big enterprise than Charlie himself had had when he took up the reins of the Cross-H outfit in 1915.

To his daughters he also left handsome inheritances, not in ranches especially, because he did not presume to dictate to sons-in-law what their roles in life should be. Instead he made all his children partners in the far-reaching holdings which his wise investment program had helped him to achieve.

I hope that you have been able to discover in all these services and efforts the aspirations of a Renaissance man who would rather give his children examples and guidance toward living full and complete lives than leave them a half-million extra dollars which could be better left to a university--to this University--in order to help other men's sons and daughters learn about the human predicament and endeavor to find ways to solve it.

## REFERENCES

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Transcripts of tape-recorded interviews with the following persons in the possession of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University were used. These transcripts are not yet completely processed and are thus unavailable for researchers at this time. The interviews were done by various persons, principally Charles S. Peterson, Karl E. Young, and Gregory Maynard:

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"Memo to Hardy, Robert and Paul."

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