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The Mormons in Nevada

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CHAPTER 1 - SAM BRANNAN , FIRST MORMON IN NEVADA <Top of Page>

In the spring of 1847 a party of three men, with eleven horses and mules, provisions, emergency equipment, and scriptures, newspapers, and other reading material, descended the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada and negotiated their way through the newly established California Trail into what would become, 17 years later, the State of Nevada.

The Leader of the expedition was Samuel ("Sam) Brannan, titular head of the Mormons in California, who was hoping to intercept the advance company of Mormon pioneers headed for some destination in the Far West.

A native of Maine, Sam Brannan had migrated to Ohio in 1833, when he was only 14, and had enrolled as an apprentice printer. Completing his apprenticeship in 1837, he worked for the next five years in New Orleans, Indianapolis, and in several other places as a journeyman printer.

He converted to the Mormon faith in 1842 at the age of 23, and, like many new converts, was called to be a missionary. He went to New York City, where the church had a need for him, and he succeeded in establishing and equipping a Mormon newspaper, THE PROPHET, and later the NEW YORK MESSENGER. He was also called to preside over all the branches of the Church in the Eastern States. Despite his relative youth, he was a vigorous missionary, an effective leader, and an imaginative editor.

How did Sam Brannan happen to get to the mountains and deserts of Nevada headed from California to Wyoming in the spring of 1847? The Mormons, or, more properly, the Latter-day Saints, whose headquarters were in Nauvoo, on the western edge of Illinois, appeared to be flourishing when Brannan joined them in 1842. But just as religious and social intolerance had caused them to be driven out of Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833, and out of Caldwell County, Missouri, and Ohio in 1838, their enemies were now seeking to drive them out of Illinois.

In 1844 assassins murdered their founding prophet, Joseph Smith, and his brother Hyrum, who had served as his chief assistant. The vast majority of the faithful accepted the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, of which Brigham Young was president, 25 their new leaders, and preparations got underway for a four-fold migration from Illinois to the American Far West.

The main body migrated to the western edge of the Missouri in 1846 and prepared for a overland the following year. A second group from northern Mississippi with the intention of meeting the main group on the trail somewhere west of Independence, Missouri. A third group of vigorous young men, volunteered to form a battalion of soldiers and march from Leavenworth Kansas, to San Diego, California, in support of General Stephen Kearny's Army of the West, conducting a campaign against Mexico.

The fourth group consisted of members of the church in the Eastern States who wished to join the Saints in the migration to the West. They were instructed to rent a ship and, under the supervision of Sam Brannan, sail from New York to the west coast of California. There they would establish a colony and await instructions from Brigham Young after he had had a chance to reconnoiter possible places of settlement in the vast stretches of the West.

BRANNAN, by now 26, chartered the ship Brooklyn, loaded his printing press, office equipment, and other supplies into its hold, and sailed from New York on February 4,1846, with 238 Latter-day Saints. They rounded Cape Horn, of the southernmost point of South America, touched at the Juan Fernandez islands off the coast of Chile, where the fabled Alexander Selkirk (Robinson Crusoe) had lived, then made a brief stop at the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) sailed through the Golden Gate, and finally disembarked at the village of Yerba Buena (now San Francisco) on July 31, 1846.

Among other things, Sam promptly set up the printing office and put it to work, publishing what he called the CALIFORNIA STAR. Its first issue was off the press January 9, 1847. This was the second newspaper in California and the first in San Francisco.

The Mexican War having gone well for the American army, California was soon occupied by troops of the United States. Among these were the 400 or more soldiers in the Mormon Battalion. Brannan and his followers, who were the first Anglo-American settlers to arrive in California after its capture by the United States, naturally felt a strong kinship with the troops.

Sam, whose followers were about equal to the number of Spanish or Mexican people in Yerba Buena, was instantly community leader. He helped found a school, a flour mill, and other enterprises. Some of the Mormons who had sailed with him were farmers from the New England states.

With Sam's encouragement, they selected a place near the junction of the Stanislaus and San Joaquin rivers and founded a small settlement named New Hope.

Brannan, who remained behind in San Francisco, wrote them letters of counsel and encouragement. For example, here is what he wrote on February 13, 1847: "I hope you will not get discouraged but press onward and trust In God, and that the strong will not be overcome by the faint hearted....Don't be ravenous to make money and get rich, or you might forget God and die. Hang to the truth and your covenant and God will reward you. He knows what Is best...He has the helm.

As Brannan expected, the first company of the main of Mormon settlers left Winter Quarters, Nebraska, in the spring of 1847 and headed westward. The company consisted of 143 men, 3 women, and 2 children, traveling in 73 wagons. After a month and a half on the trail they arrived at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, on June 1. There they encountered a small party of the Mississippi Mormons who had wintered at Fort Pueblo, Colorado, with a detachment of sick members of the Mormon Battalion. In conversations along the way with a number of western explorers and mountain men, Brigham Young was - reinforced in his decision to establish a temporary settlement in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Discovering a non-Mormon company of emigrants headed for California, Brigham Young took advantage of the opportunity of sending mail, and drafted, on June 6, a letter to Brannan informing him of the status of the migrating company and of his intention to stop over, at least for a year, in the irrigable valleys of the Great Basin. "Our company will not go to the west coast or to your place at present, he wrote; "we have not the means.

This letter was delivered to Brannan at Fort Hall (near present-day Pocatello, Idaho). Unfortunately we do not have a record of Sam's trip, with companions, east from California, across Nevada, up into present-day Idaho, and then across Wyoming, intercept the Brigham Young company. From Sutter's Fort, California, to Fort Hall required approximately two months. We do know, as Paul Bailey points out, that Sam and his party made the forty-mile crossing of the Truckee Pass in the astonishing time of one day and two hours. Brannan commented on this portion of the journey - east as follows:

"We traveled on foot and drove our animals before us, the snow from twenty to one hundred feet deep. When we arrived though (on the eastern side), not one of us could stand on our feet. The people of California told us we could not cross under two months, there being more snow on the mountains than had ever been known before; but God knows best, and was kind enough to prepare the way before us."

Brannan and his two companions would probably have followed the length of the Humboldt, from the "sink on the west to its origin in northeastern Nevada. They had to cross and re-cross the river, which sometimes was a series of wild cascades, and their path was strewn with a succession of piles of rocks and boulders.

They sometimes encountered ice-cold rivulets that ran out of the mountains across the path, and at other times hot rivulets also that burned the mouths of unsuspecting drinkers. As they entered Nevada, forests of immense trees came down the steep sides of the mountains to the edge of the path. There were strips of the trail that were little more than volcanic beds of java. Occasionally there were meadows where they could rest and recuperate, and perhaps Elder Brannan conducted a small Sunday - service of worship, repeating verses from the Bible and Book of Mormon and urging his brethren to be mindful of their duties to God.

The companions surely met a few Indians and shared with them some of their biscuits and bacon. They knew one had to be careful, and so they slept "with one eye open, one foot out of bed, a rifle in one hand, and a revolver in the other". They may also have encountered a mountain man or two - men with long hair and matted beards, in soiled and ragged clothes, covered with alkali dust. The most forbidding stretch, when there was no water for either team or human, would have been the forty-mile Humboldt Desert. (In the years that followed the Brannan crossing, thousands of over-landers hurried over this desolate region, and it proved to be fatal for thousands of horses, mules and oxen. The eye could see nothing but sand hills without a spear of grass.)

Beyond the desert was the Humboldt Sink, where the water of the Humboldt became so brackish and discolored with the salt and alkali that "it has the color and taste of dirty soap-suds. It is unfit for the use of either animals or human beings, he wrote, "but thousands of both have had to drink it to save life.

Farther east they must have encountered dust storms, sloughs, mountain slopes, slippery river bottoms, huge boulders, and finally Pilot Peak, the aptly named prominence near the Nevada border east of Wells. Close by was bright, clear, cool, and refreshing water.

Early in June, the three men rode into Fort Hall, which was the junction point of all Pacific migration. To the north lay the Oregon Trail; to the south, the road which Sam and assistants had traveled, lay the California Trail. Strangely, before Brannan's trip, the majority of the overlanders headed for Oregon. Sam would later play a principal role in changing that.

DISAPPOINTED with the Brigham Young letter which was handed to him at Fort Hall, Brannan renewed his determination to meet the leader in person and persuade him, if possible, to go on to California. He met up with the president on the banks of the Green River, on June 30. William Clayton, composer of the pioneer song "Come, Come, Ye Saints, and historian of Brigham Young's pioneer company, wrote on that date: "After dinner...Samuel Brannan arrived In camp, having come from the Bay of San Francisco on the Pacific Coast to meet us, obtain counsel, etc. He is accompanied by a Mr. Smith and another young man. They have come by way of Fort Hall."

They remained several days, during which Brannan told Brigham Young of the dramatic voyage of the Brooklyn, the early experiences in California, and Something of his own experiences on the trail.

In return, Brigham Young and his associates told him of their own experiences, and of affairs at the Winter Quarters they had left behind. The meeting of these two men must have been impressive. Brannan, only 28, was a "deep-chested, broad shouldered, shaggy-headed man with "flashing black eyes. Brigham Young, 46, was also a man of broad shoulders and barrel chest, with shrewd eyes, cautious manner, and generous nature. Both were men of

determination and energy and were supremely self-confident. Both were to leave their mark in American history.

Five days after Sam's arrival, 12 soldiers rode into camp; these were the advance guard of the invalided members of the Mormon Battalion who had wintered at Fort Pueblo.. Behind them, on the trail from Pueblo, was the main body of the Battalion detachment, so Brigham Young appointed Sam to go with a Battalion sergeant to intercept the main body and lead them to the Salt Lake Valley and then on to California. There they would be discharged and receive their pay.

While Brigham Young's company plodded its way across the mountains and through the valleys, ending in the valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847, Brannan and partner intercepted the Battalion detachment and led them into the Salt Lake Valley six days later. After inspecting Salt Lake Valley, which he regarded as forbidding and desolate, Sam repeated, more emphatically this time, the advantages of California as a place for settlement: wide, navigable rivers; gentle climate; bottomless black soil; plentiful wild life and game; abundant supplies of timber in nearby forests.

But the grizzled leader assured him that God had chosen the Great Basin as a place to raise Saints. The Saints had had enough trouble settling areas which were attractive - areas which other people wanted. Now they would try a place which no one else could possibly want; and the Lord would bless them so that they would succeed and prosper.

In a few days, disappointed in the failure of his people to go farther west to California, but reassured in his leadership of the California Saints, Brannan left with a party of Mormon Battalion leaders on August 9, 1847. He had spent his last day showing the Salt Lake colonists how to construct homes and buildings of adobe, as he had seen done in California. Then he and his Battalion companions went northeast of the Salt Lake Valley to Fort Hall, then from Fort Hall on the California Trail to the Humboldt, to the Sierra, and through the pass into California.

CHAPTER II - MORMON STATION, THE FIRST TRADING POST IN NEVADA <Top of Page>

LATTER-DAY SAINTS in Nevada feel a certain pride in the contributions which their forbears made to the founding and development of Nevada. Mormons built Nevada's first log cabin, established its first trading post, and first located the gold and silver which later became known as the Comstock Lode. These three firsts are closely interrelated; they revolve around two Latter-Day Saint young men: Abner Blackburn and Hampton Beatie. Their story deserves to be told.

Among the young Latter-Day Saints who were mustered into the Mormon Battalion in Iowa in the summer of 1848 was 18-year old Abner Blackburn. Born in Pennsylvania, Abner bad grown up with Mormons in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. From a very poor family, he had gone to work at the age of nine in Missouri, where he worked for a period on a steamboat, and then served as a western trapper's assistant. When the Latter-day Saints went to Nauvoo, Illinois, he rejoined his family and helped in the construction of homes, public buildings, and the Nauvoo Temple.

When the Saints were driven from Nauvoo in February 1846, Abner drove a team and served as a camp guard. He was wounded by a stray rifle bullet, but, as he reported, "Brigham (Young) and (Heber C.) Kimball were there and prayed me out of danger.

Adventurous and independent, Abner was a "natural to join with his young brethren in the formation of the Battalion which would participate in the campaign against Mexico in the War of 1846. As one of the younger volunteers, Abner enlisted as a private. Accounts of the Battalion during the next few months show that Abner was full of fun, and at least as rowdy as the average eighteen-year-old soldier.

Alter the Battalion left the army equipment Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, they marched up the Arkansas River and took the "Cimarron Route".

Reaching Santa Fe on October 9, Abner wrote, Colonel (Alexander) Doniphan saluted them with one hundred guns. "We recruited, drew our pay, and had a grand old time in the Montezuma town. There were new kinds of knick-knacks, pinoche, tortillas, chile colorow. After 10 days they left Santa Fe and headed, by way of Albuquerque, for the Rio Grande Valley, which Abner says they found to be "fertile and thickly settled. They saw water ditches running where needed for irrigation, and numerous towns and villages. "Horses, cattle, sheep and goats are raised in large

quantities. There they also found "the sweetest onions, which they ate like apples. They bought vegetables with "pins, needles, buttons, and other trinkets.

Then "for some unknown cause many of the soldiers became sick. By the time they reached the vicinity of present-day Las Cruces, New Mexico, the commander, Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, decided to send 55 of these "physically unable soldiers to Pueblo, Colorado, a small Spanish settlement on the eastern slope of the Rockies, where they would hopefully recuperate before heading on to California.

When they left the main body of the Battalion, on November 10, this "sick detachment faced a march of about 500 miles to reach Pueblo. Abner wrote that they suffered from weak teams, meager supplies of food, and general sickness. Several of their comrades died along the way. It was late in the season and in the mountain ranges north of Santa Fe they ran into snow and suffered from cold.

But not all of the trip was unpleasant. They particularly enjoyed going through Taos, where "they raise the finest wheat in the world. Abner also mentions eating a turkey buzzard for dinner, and meeting the notorious Tom Williams who bragged that he had stolen everything "from a hen on her nest to a steamboat engine.

They finally arrived in Pueblo a day or two before Christmas in a pitiable condition. There they hunted to obtain meat to trade to the village residents for vegetables. George Buxton, whose book, "Life in the Far West is a basic source on the West in the early 1840's, visited Pueblo that winter and said the Mormons there (from the Battalion and a group from Mississippi) had erected a row of shanties "built of rough logs of cottonwood laid one above the other, the interstices filled with mud, and rendered impervious to wind or wet.

Buxton wrote: "Most of them were accustomed to the life of woodmen, and were good hunters,...frequently sallying out to the nearest point of the mountains with a wagon, which they would bring back loaded with buffalo, deer, and elk meat. They held prayer meetings, preaching services, and socials. Buxton attended one of these socials. A sermon "preparatory to the physical exercises (dancing) was delivered by a Battalion captain dressed in black topcoat, with a white handkerchief around his neck - "perhaps the most elegant costume seen at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Brannan established a general store near Sutter's Fort in the Sacramento Valley, trumpeted the discovery of gold there in his CALIFORNIA STAR, and, more than any other person, started the gold rush to California.

He also participated in establishing and laying out of the city of Sacramento, developed the health resort of Calistoga, and became California's first millionaire. Having made a fortune in the early growth of California, Brannan then encouraged the settlement and development of western Nevada.

Investing heavily, as he had done in California, he built sawmills, toll roads, a quartz mill, and a smelting works, all in the Comstock Lode region. A venturer, always eager to invest in a new possibility, Sam Brannan finally died in southern California, a pauper, in 1889. But his story of frontier fortitude, of eagerness to build, of willingness to trust God in the eventual outcome, were legacies left by the first Mormon to cross Nevada.

Abner and his Battalion buddies traveled with Brigham Young and company through the Black Hills of Wyoming, past the Sweetwater River, passed Independence Rock - "a huge mass of granite which covers several acres of ground' with "hundreds of names marked on its huge sides. Abner and associates thus arrived in the Salt Lake Valley with or soon after the pioneer company, in July 1847. There he and his colleagues introduced his fellow religionists to the irrigation practices they had observed among the Spanish and Indians in New Mexico and to the making of adobe houses.

Soon it was decided to send a small company overland to San Francisco to get the Battalion pay and to arrange for mustering out all those who had gone to Pueblo and who would now remain in the Salt Lake Valley. Abner, young and vigorous, was one of the five Battalionists chosen to make this journey. They left in the same group with Sam Brannan and his two partners, whose extraordinary accomplishments were sketched in the first article in our series.

Leaving August 9, the combined company of eight (Brannan's three and the Battalion's five) went first to Fort Hall (Pocateilo). then down the Snake to Shoshone Falls (which Abner calls the "Great Falls), then on the California Trail by way of the Humboldt River. They met up with a federal unit of marines under the command of Commodore Robert F. Stockton headed for Washington, D.C. Commodore Stockton warned them of the Truckee Indians. The Battalion guide, Lou Devon, a Frenchman, reassured them. Wrote Abner, "He new dem injuns and he could slip us ture."

Abner wrote that the Nevada mountains "looked like they had been burnt with some great heat. The rocks would ring

like crockery ware with no timber in sight, only willows on the river. The alkali covered the plains....The scenery is not very striking unless one is desirous to be struck. It appeared like some fervent heat had taken the life out of it."

The group eventually arrived at Sutter's Fort, near present-day Sacramento, and worked there while Captain James Brown went on to San Francisco, where he obtained $5,000 in gold doubloons due the Battalion. They started back to Utah with this payload in October in what Abner called "the biggest tom-fool errand that ever was known.

"A whole band of half-broke animals to pack, he wrote, "and drive through a rough mountain country, and hostile Indian tribes. Our pot-gutted horses, he went on, "we packed and unpacked a dozen times a day and then herded them at night.

They had so few provisions that they experienced "an awful goneness in their stomachs all the time. "We were afraid to look behind", Abner wrote, "for fear of being turned into a pillar of salt, like Lot's wife (for) we were no better than she was. We were like a woman with a steamboat engine", Abner wrote. "She admired its ambition but not its judgment."

Nevertheless, they were back with the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley by the middle of November - just 13 weeks after their departure.

Abner spent the next year in the Salt Lake but in 1849 went to California again. The reason is obvious. On January 24, 1848, James Marshall and some of Abner's Battalion buddies working for John Sutter had discovered gold.

News of this discovery came quickly to Salt Lake City because of the continual influx of members of the Battalion from California. Most of the Mormons involved in mining in California were not favorably impressed with their work in the gold fields, so they returned to their church and loved ones in Salt Lake Valley during the summer of 1848. They brought many thousands of dollars worth of gold dust - an attraction to the excitable Abner and a few others. Although Brigham Young counseled against "deserting Zion in favor of the gold fields", Abner and brother Thomas left the Salt Lake Valley early in 1849, bound for California.

They went by way of Carson Valley, and during the period they recuperated there from having crossed the Forty Mile Desert, Abner, always imaginative, decided that gold might be found on the east slope of the Sierra as well as on the west, and rambled through the canyons looking for "color. To his delight and astonishment, he did indeed find indications at which, when he returned to tell his associates, they all grabbed up pans, knives, and kettles, and started out. They "scratched, scraped, and panned until sundown, Abner wrote, and came up with nine or ten dollars worth. But they decided to proceed to California, storing up in their minds for the future the place, which turned out to be the future Gold Canyon of the Comstock period.

In California, Abner reported later, they worked the summer through and earned "a respectable pile of the needful. Upon his brother's urging, however, they returned to the Salt Lake Valley and Abner spent the winter with his uncle Elias Blackburn in Utah Valley.

But Abner wanted to return to Carson Valley and/or California, so with the coming of spring he was ready to return. It was that journey that had a special importance to Nevada history. But let us first say a word about Abner's companion on the 1850 trip, Hampton S. Beatie.

A native of Virginia and approximately the same age as Abner, Hampton Beatie had joined a Mormon emigrating company in the Missouri Valley in 1849 and traveled to the Salt Lake Valley under the direction of Ezra T. Benson, an apostle of the LDS Church. (This Benson was the grandfather of Ezra Taft Benson, secretary of agriculture in the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and now president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles of the Church.)

It had been Beatie's intention to go on to California as soon as possible, but his young wife was pregnant and so he stayed the winter in the Salt Lake Valley, and looked after his wife when she gave birth to a son on December 31. He was ready to proceed to California in the spring of 1850.

Beatie, Blackburn, and 13 other Latter-Day Saint men, mostly veterans of the Battalion who had already been in California, formed a party to go to California in the spring of 1850. They joined forces with a group of 65 non-Mormon overlanders under the direction of Captain Joseph DeMont. Beatie served as clerk of the company, Abner was employed as guide. It was the intention of most of the Latter-day Saints to work in the mines for the season and

return to their families in Salt Lake City for the winter. Once again they went by way of Fort Hall and the Humboldt.

When they reached Carson Valley in June 1850, seven of the 80 men decided to remain there. They hoped to develop a trade with overland emigrants. Among the seven were Ham Beatie and Abner and Thomas Blackburn. As the person best acquainted with the region, Abner took the group to a site on the Carson River where the town of Genoa is now located. There was "cold water coming out of the mountain, and pine trees were plenty on the edge of the valley." There were Oceans of good feed for stock. All in all," Abner wrote, "It was a choice place for our business."

The seven men went to work and built a "station out of pine logs...fixed for traffic". Beatie later said, "The cabin was a double-logged, one-story house, about 20 by 60 feet, containing two rooms. It had neither roof nor floor. Luckily, it did not rain that season. They did no fencing or planting but did build "a corral to keep stock in. Obviously the residence was considered a temporary one.

Having in mind supplying provisions to the emigrants who came along, Beatie and Blackburn took several teams with them, crossed the Sierra Nevada by way of the Carson Pass, and went to Placerville, on the American River, where they sold three yokes of cattle for "a good price and used the money to purchase provisions. According to Dale Morgan, in his excellent history "The Humboldt: Highroad of the West, the partners heard that snow was fetching $80 a ton in Sacramento. So "they filled their wagons, covered the snow with pine boughs and wagon sheets and killed two birds with one stone hauling down snow and carrying back provisions. They took back with them to Carson Valley flour, dried fruit, bacon, sugar, and coffee.

The provisions soon disposed of, they went again to the California outpost, this time with pack animals, and returned once more with a large supply of goods. These too were quickly sold.

The Blackburn-Beatie trading post came to be referred to as "Mormon Station. It must have been a welcome sight to the famished and exhausted overlanders. Beatie reported that flour sold for $2.80 a pound, fresh beef $1.00, bacon $2.00. "A friend of mine, he said, "went over the mountains and left a yoke of cattle with me, and one day I got a thousand dollars for one of those oxen in the shape of beef.... On another occasion, "a captain of a train of emigrants came along and wanted to buy five hundred pounds of flour at $2.00 a pound, but I refused him, not having sufficient to deal out in such large amounts....For a few loaves of bread I could get a good horse.

Conversations with miners returning from the gold fields persuaded the Blackburns, Beatie, and their friends that they had done better as traders than if they had spent the time digging for gold.

When the emigration slowed down in the fall, the partners sold their log cabin to a person named Moore. Some went on to California. The Black burns, Beatie, and ten Latter-Day Saint returnees from California then left for the Salt Lake Valley. They went by way of Fort Hall, expecting to sell there the horses they had taken in trade at Mormon Station. Before they reached their destination, however, they ran into a party of Vannock Indians, who stole from the most of their mules, horses, and supplies. According to a contemporary report in the DESERET NEWS for November 2, 1850, the only supplies they had left were a little sugar and coffee. Only the providential help of a supply train also headed for Fort Hall enabled them to make it alive to the Salt Lake Valley.

News of their success at Mormon Station spread, as did Abner Blackburn's confirmation of his earlier discovery of gold in "Gold Canyon. They also predicted a promising future for Carson Valley. Particularly attracted by the potential of the region were John and Enoch Reese, LDS merchants in Salt Lake City who employed Beatie as clerk in their general store. Their conversations with Beatie led to a decision to locate a permanent trading establishment in Nevada.

We know little about the subsequent history of Abner Blackburn. He went to California the next year (1851) and lived there the remainder of his life, dying in 1894. Beatie remained in the Salt Lake Valley, serving as a merchant and hotel keeper. He was active in Church affairs, becoming a member of the Salt Lake High Council, sergeant of the Utah Legislature, Salt Lake County Coroner, a colonel in the Territorial Militia, and often was a committee-of-one to arrange dances, picnics, and other community affairs. He and his wife had nine children. One of them married a daughter of Brigham Young, another married Rulon S. Wells of the First Council of Seventy, another married Heber M. Wells, first governor of Utah, and still another married H.G. - Whitney, publisher of the Deseret News. Beatie died in 1887.

CHAPTER III - CARSON VALLEY, UTAH TERRITORY: A BRIEF HISTORY <Top of Page>

On April10, 1851, John Reese, Salt Lake City merchant and uncle of Hampton Beatie, left Salt Lake City with an organized group to buy out the rights to "Mormon Station and establish a permanent trading post in Carson Valley.

Their group consisted of 17 men and 13 wagons of provisions. Arriving at their destination on June 1, Reese bought out Moore, to whom Blackburn, Beatie, and associates had sold their trading cabin in the fall of 1850. Reese also gave two sacks of flour to Chief Jim of the Washoe tribe in exchange for the right to use any claim to the land that the Washoe might have.

Reese and his men then built a 30-by-SO-foot log hotel, dwelling place, and store, inside a stockade Which enclosed an acre of ground. They quickly planted a crop which might provide produce for sale the next year. Their stockade, which by 1852 included the large log structure, three tents, a fenced garden, and a blacksmith shop, was the first substantial commercial structure to be erected in Nevada. A replica of it can be seen on the site of the original "fort, where a state park is presently maintained.

By 1852 Reese was selling his own garden produce (turnips, potatoes, and melons) and locally-produced grain and hay. The Mormon Station of Blackburn, Beatie, and associates was gradually expanded and converted into Reese's Station - easily the best between Placerville and Salt Lake City.

Reese's 1851 success in selling and exchanging supplies, provisions, and livestock did not rival that of the Blackburn-Beatie enterprise of the previous year. For one thing, there were not nearly so many overland emigrants in 1851. For another thing, several California residents had come into Carson Valley to settle permanently, and they set up rival trading posts, some of them at a place called Rag Town. According to an overland traveler, these consisted of "a few shanties built by putting small posts in the ground to which canvases were nailed. Under these covers they kept hotels, saloons, eating places, and sold groceries and meat products.

From any reasonable point of view, Carson Valley was a distant outpost, whether of Utah or of California. On March 5, 1849, the Mormon settlers in Utah, some 8,000 strong, held a convention to organize a state government to be called the "State of Deseret. (The word was from the Book of Mormon and meant honeybee, or hive of bees.) The boundaries of their proposed state included present-day Utah, all of Nevada except the southern tip, and parts of present-day California, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado.

Obviously, the proposed state included Carson Valley. The national Congress, however, caught in the conflict between those supporting slavery and those laboring for its extinction, did not grant statehood status to the Mormon settlements. Instead, as part of the Compromise of 1850, Congress created the Territory of Utah, naming it after the Ute Indians (Deseret sounded too much like "desert). The reduced area included Utah, nearly all of present Nevada, and small portions of present-day Idaho and Wyoming. The new colony at Carson Valley, therefore, was part of Utah Territory. The Mormons were pleased when it was announced that President Millard Fillmore had appointed Brigham Young as governor of "their territory.

The Carson Valley colony was so distant from Salt Lake City, and so small, that it was impractical that Utah Territory should have exerted any control over the region. While the Mormon residents would have willingly extended Utah jurisdiction over western Nevada, the settlers who bad moved in from California did not want to live under what they called "Mormon laws. On November 12, 1851, most of those living in Carson Valley, both Mormons and non-Mormons, met together at Reese's Station to organize a local squatter government. They were concerned with establishing viable police control, regulations over land claims, timber and water rights, and provision for bridges, roads, and schools. The first lawsuit in Nevada is recorded in the record of this early "town hail government.

During the year 1852 the small Mormon contingent in the Valley - those working for John Reese plus a few returnees from California gold fields - was strengthened by the immigration of Israel Mott and his wife, who settled four and one-half miles up from Mormon Station on the overland road. Mrs. Mott was the first permanent non-Indian woman resident of Carson Valley. A blacksmith shop was established late in the year by Henry Van Sickle and his brother. John Reese expanded his facilities and also fenced and plowed a field of 30 acres, which he planted to "wheat, barley, corn and watermelons in one side and mixed things all around. The migration was so heavy in 1852 that he was able to get as much as $1 for a bunch of turnips which sold for only 10 cents in the Salt Lake Valley. Other prices were presumably proportionately high.

While the year 1852 was profitable for most of the residents, the sentiment against Utah control was becoming more pronounced. Thomas S. Williams wrote to Brigham Young on June 24, 1852: "The citizens of this valley (Carson Valley) declare in language too strong to utter that they will no longer be governed or tried by Mormon law. He stated that he and others refused to recognize writs and attachments served by a locally chosen Mormon constable, and concluded: "If there are no legal steps taken to organize this part of the territory, the safety of the inhabitants will always be in danger while sojourning in these parts.

He stated that the Carson Valley residents "will pay no taxes that are levied on them (by Utah Territory) and advise others to hold out in like manner until they get this valley annexed to California.

The Carson Valley residents petitioned the Surveyor General of California to determine if the valley was not in California, but that officer was "reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the valley was "from 12 to 15 miles out of the state of California.

The next year, 1853, some 43 residents - every year there were a few new settlers, both Mormons and non-Mormons - petitioned the California legislature to annex their area to California, for judicial and revenue purposes. The California legislature failed to act on the petition, however, and the squatter government continued to function. Certainly, there was no effective control from Salt-Lake City. Meanwhile, a sawmill was constructed, an additional dry goods store was opened, and there was a more impressive local production of food and feed.

But the moral tone of the populace was something else. In 1853 Edwin D. Woolley, bishop of the Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward and business agent of Brigham Young, conducted a large cattle drive from Salt Lake City to California. This former Quaker, this methodical businessman, this grandfather of Spencer Woolley Kimball, now president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day-Saints, was pleased by Carson Valley - but not the morality of its people.

"This is a great country when we get it all fenced in", he wrote. It was a great country unfenced, a rich pasture where cattle "fattened wonderfully" beneath the abrupt wail of the Sierra Nevada. But as to the inhabitants, he was disappointed.

To his friend Joseph Cain of the DESERET NEWS. who had been through the country in 1850, Bishop Woolley wrote: "Whether it has changed much for better or worse since you were here I cannot say, but if for the worse, it must have changed very fast, and if for the better, it must have been very slow. It is the most God-forsaken place that I ever was in, and as to Mormonism, I can't find it here. If the name remains, the Spirit has fled.

An additional problem resulting from the isolated location of Reese's Station and the Carson Valley settlement was the lack of a consistent policy toward the Indians. On the one hand, Mormons had been instructed by Brigham Young that "it is better to feed them than to fight them. The relationships had been reasonably friendly and compatible.

On the other hand, the attitude of many overlanders and Californians was mingled repulsion and fear: "The only good injun' is a dead injun'. The federal Indian Agent, John H. Holeman, a non-Mormon, wrote to Brigham Young in 1853 that the various traders who had set up along the California Trail were following a policy inimical to "the peace and safety of the emigrants and permanent settlers.

"By unkind treatment to the Indians they make them unfriendly toward the emigrants; schisms arise which they take advantage of, and steal, and commit more depredations than the Indians, all of which they manage to have charged to the Indians. Holernan stated that he was told by Indians that the traders advised them to steal from the emigrants; the traders would then market the stolen goods. When Holeman warned the traders about their dangerous policy, they just laughed at him and scoffed at the laws of Utah. "The whites who infest the country. Holeman concluded, "are far more troublesome than the Indians.

The combination of disagreements over treatment of the Indians and the separatist inclinations of the Carson Valley residents led the Utah legislature, in 1854, to create Carson County, and to authorize the governor, Brigham Young, to appoint a probate judge. The county was given one seat in the Utah Legislature, and the United States Justice, George P. Stiles, was assigned to preside over the county, which was in the third judicial district of Utah Territory.

In 1854 the President of the United States, Franklin Pierce, assigned Lt. Col. Edward J. Steptoe to spend the winter of 1854-1855 in Utah Territory to investigate the possibility of constructing a road from Salt Lake City to California.

The first step was to search for a more direct route from Salt Lake to Carson Valley. Col. Steptoe enlisted the support of John Reese and others, and his party was able to shorten and improve the route. Oliver Huntington, a Mormon who was with the group, was fascinated by Carson Valley and wrote' to the DESERET NEWS: "Its soil and climate is equal to the best of the mountain valleys. Its timber is exhaustless and of superior quality.

This combination of problems and opportunities - the agricultural potential, the known existence of gold and silver, the growing population, and the Indian presence - caused the Mormon Church, in 1855, to make Carson Valley an official mission and to call several dozen Salt Lake families to settle there.

And while this decision was being reached, Brigham Young and his associates determined upon another advantage in establishing a formally organized mission in Carson Valley.

The extensive proselyting system of the Latter-Day Saints, and the favorable response of many to the Mormon message, meant that an average of approximately 3,000 persons per year wended their way by ox team to the Salt Lake Valley. Alter a winter there, they were sent out to form new settlements and communities in Utah and contiguous states and territories.

Brigham Young now caught a vision of Carson Valley as a halfway collection station for Mormon converts from Europe and the Pacific who were bound for settlements in north-central Utah. The thought was that members in Europe would cross the Atlantic to New Orleans, then go south to what is now Panama, cross by land, and then sail up the coast to San Francisco, then travel overland to Carson Valley, then go on to the Salt Lake Valley. Not many would follow this route, to be sure, but a Carson Valley headquarters ought to remain for the benefit of those who did.

The usefulness of such a way-station had already been shown along another route. In the mid-1850s, St. Louis was serving a similar function in connection with Mormon emigration from the East. As Albert Page has pointed out, Mormon personnel there helped the emigrants who lacked the means to immediately continue on to Utah. They helped find housing and employment, and they conducted church services.

The importance of St. Louis in the Mormon plans is indicated by the fact that a stake (diocese) of the church was organized there in 1855, the only stake existing at that time east of the Rockies. Such a gathering center also had the advantage of providing an opportunity for those who were not enthusiastic about making the final leg of the journey to stay awhile and consider their options.

In 1855, therefore, Brigham Young called Apos tle Orson Hyde, who had directed the Mormon community in St. Louis, to go to Carson Valley and oversee the burgeoning settlement there.

At the same time, Carson Valley was made a stake, the first in present-day Nevada, and the church made a major investment in its human resources by sending some 150 to 200 persons to reinforce the Mormon contingent in the lovely valley. These would institute a firm government over the region, assure friendly relationships with the Indians, and establish a viable way-station.

Carson Valley was to be "a major outpost of

CHAPTER IV - THE CARSON VALLEY LDS MISSION (1855-1857) <Top of Page>

On May 17, 1855, Orson Hyde, apostle of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, prominent Mormon colonizer and newly appointed Probate Judge of Carson County, Utah Territory, left Salt Lake City for Carson Valley. His company included George F. Stiles (also Styles), judge of the Third Federal District Court that included Carson Valley; United States Marshal Joseph L. Heywood; and 36 Mormon colonizers who had been "called to strengthen the number of Mormon residents in Carson Valley.

The assignment of Hyde and his party was to organize the territory, conduct court business, prepare for the establishment of a mission among the Indians, and provide a way station for Mormon emigration headed from Oregon and California to the Salt Lake Valley.

The Carson Valley Mission was part of a larger corps of Latter-day Saint men who were assigned to colonize a number of regions in the Great Basin. (The same church conference which "called this group to Carson Valley, for example, also sent a party of men to colonize Las Vegas Spring in the southern part of Nevada, but more of that in a

subsequent article.)

Apostle Hyde and his party arrived at Reese's Station on June 15, having been almost exactly a month on the trail. Along the way, the 50 year-old Hyde wrote regular reports to Brigham Young, governor of Utah Territory and president of the LDS Church, about the country he traveled through. Hyde was impressed with the ability of the territory to support livestock:

"The very best mountain grass waves In rich abundance all around us. There is plenty rot all the Stock that ever did travel or ever will on this Western route. The water Is as abundant as anyone could wish, and as pure and clear as the crystal itself. The finest speckled trout abound In all the Streams. We saw them, caught them, and ate them, and we know they are good... It I, a cold country, (but) most admirably calculated for stock growing..."

Upon reaching Carson Valley, Hyde reported that John and Enoch Reese had a "most splendid mill and ranch. "The labor that has been done by them is immense. Their crops generally look well. However, grasshoppers are very destructive on Wheat and vegetables, especially on late wheat. The harvest will be only middling on the insects." Hyde goes on. "This Is a beautiful valley... There are also many valleys In this vicinity rich and fertile sufficient to make a state or an empire.

As for the people, Hyde reported that they were anxious for an organization of some kind. "They are much divided In their views and feelings. Some are willing to come under Utah, others claim that they live In California, while some want a distinct territorial government. This country has been neglected quite long enough If Utah wishes to hold It. It is a great and valuable country?"

Hyde's first task in Carson Valley was to arrange survey, in order to any question about the location of the region in Utah Territory. For that purpose, he and Judge Stiles went on to Sacramento, California, to induce California to determine its legal boundary. The survey was made by three men from the California's surveyor's office and three men from the Carson Valley Mormon community - Christopher Merkeley, Seth Dustin, and George W. Hancock.

When a survey completed on September 7 showed that Carson Valley was in Utah, Hyde immediately called for an election. Eleven men were elected, including James Fain as sheriff; Dr. Charles Daggett (a non-Mormon) as prosecuting attorney; and a number of men as justices of the peace and selectmen (commissioners). They chose Genoa (Reese's Station had been renamed Genoa, after the birthplace of Columbus) as the county seat. After that election, there was no need for residents of Carson Valley to travel to Salt Lake City or California for business of a legal nature.

In the meantime, Hyde held a number of meetings with the residents to discuss the organization and management of the community. There were meetings with local Indians to determine their friendliness and receptivity to missionary work. Parties were sent out to explore other possible settlement sites: the Walker's River Valley, 50 miles east of Carson; the Washoe and Truckee valleys to the north; and Ruby Valley, about halfway between Salt Lake City and Carson Valley.

With the basic work of organizing and holding court completed early in September, Judge Stiles and Marshal Heywood left Carson to return to Salt Lake City. Hyde remained to complete other leadership tasks. Stiles and Heywood reported to Brigham Young, upon their arrival in October, that "all was peaceful in Carson Valley. They took word from Hyde that he wanted his wife, Mary Ann, to be sent to Carson to stay with him.

Hyde also reported that the possibility of establishing an agricultural mission among the Pah-Utah Indians (Paiutes) was promising. Now that the harvest and most other tasks in the valley were completed, he was advising most of the Mormon colonists who had come with him to return to the Salt Lake Valley for the winter, with instructions that they should return in the early spring with their families and supplies, prepared for permanent settlement. They were to bring ox teams, cows, tools, seeds, and other equipment and supplies.

Within a week of Hyde's letter, Brigham Young had arranged for James Townsend to take Mary Ann Hyde to Carson, wrote Hyde to organize a territorial militia unit in Carson Valley, and granted permission for the colonists who had gone with Hyde in May to return to Salt Lake City for the winter. They left on November 18, and arrived in Salt Lake Valley after exactly one month on the road. They earned a letter from Hyde which reported on affairs in the valley and declared,

"There are many Mormons here, but I fear not Saints...The people...feel their sufficiency and must be governed for the

present with a gentle hand, If governed at all.

With a gradual accretion of California miners in Carson Valley, there was considerable interest in mining, particularly among the non-Mormon residents. There was particular interest in working in Gold Canyon, where Abner Blackburn had found "show of gold in 1851.

During the winter of 1855-1856, while Hyde and a small group of Mormons and other residents remained in Carson Valley, some of the residents signed a petition to Congress to remove their valley from the jurisdiction of Utah and attach it to the state of California. At the same time, another group, primarily Mormon, signed a counter-petition urging Congress to leave the region under Utah control. Considering the divided state of opinion, Hyde recommended to Brigham Young that he should call additional colonizers in the spring of 1856 to assure a predominance of Utah thinking.

As he was expected to do, Hyde attempted to collect the county and territorial taxes, and in the process attempted to cross the Sierra Nevada on December 15. He was accompanied part of the way by a young man named Willis. As told by Albert Page, their first attempt was unsuccessful because, after leaving Willis, Hyde encountered deep snow and had to return.

A second effort was made on December 20 with equal lack of success. This time Hyde was caught in a severe snowstorm which forced him to make camp and later attempt a return to Carson Valley. Only with heroic effort and after spending several nights in the snow was he able to limp back to Genoa. His feet were badly frozen; after appropriate treatment by Dr. Daggett he was able to save his feet, but he lost a little toe. His ordeal had caused him to lose 50 pounds. Hyde's partner, Willis, was not that fortunate. After they split up he became lost and perished in the snow with his animals.

Hyde's next report to Brigham Young included the following: "My feelings are to get away from here as soon I can, where my light and talent will not be under a bushel or roiled up Inn napkin...The Lord is good and gracious and his mercy endureth forever. Thanks to His name for my deliverence - from the horrors of the mountain storms."

He then recommended the non-Mormon prose eating attorney, Charles D. Daggett - the doctor who had treated him - to take his place as probate judge. Hyde was released to return the following spring but did not take advantage of the opportunity and decided to remain longer. He felt very strongly that the Mormons should "hold the country. We should settle up this country with good Saints who have salt In themselves.

Specifically, he said, Brigham Young should send a good school teacher, a cabinetmaker with tools, and persons acquainted with gristmills and sawmills. "The people here are like the main timbers In a building - no pins, braces, girts, and joints, he wrote.

All new colonists, he emphasized, should bring their animals, so as to build up the herds of stock, for the area was well suited to stock raising. When Brigham Young accepted his suggestion to send a considerable force of settlers in the spring of 1856, Hyde volunteered to remain until fall. This way he could help settle the colony and reduce many of their problems as the result of his experience with them during the preceding year.

"If this country (Carson Valley) is to be taken, It should be laid hold of with a firm, determinate, and permanent grasp,...and there should be no time lost In doing It."

Expecting a large immigration from Salt Lake Valley in the spring of 1856, the residents planted extensive crops of wheat, barley, potatoes, and other vegetables. At the same time, Hyde wrote Latter-day Saints in California asking them to help support the colony by donating a sawmill and other facilities.

Because of the regular mail service between Placerville and Carson Valley provided by John A. "Snow Shoe Thompson, the latter settlement was in closer touch with California than with Salt Lake City, and there were regular articles about Carson Valley in the Western Standard, a California Mormon newspaper edited by George Q. Cannon. But little help came from California.

Hyde was indefatigable in securing land, water, and timber rights for the prospective settlers. "Lame and crippled as I am", he wrote in April," I have climbed over some of our highest mountains, part of the time on a mule and part of the time on hands and knees, exploring the country and seeing If I could find a place to dig out a little cash if we should get Into a pinch."

On April 6, 1856, at the general conference of the church held in Salt Lake City, 257 "missionaries were called by Brigham Young, nearly all of whom A cot to Carson Valley that spring. Among these were butchers, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, brick makers, bricklayers, and other "mechanics and artisans. Most of them were in Genoa and the surrounding area by the end of June. There, Judge Hyde directed their settlement in the Washoe and Truckee Valleys, as well as in Carson Valley. Heavily equipped, and bringing Runny cattle and other livestock, most of them were on the trail six weeks.

Hyde had surveyed the Washoe Valley land and laid out a city in acre-and-a-quarter lots, which were on sale for $10 per lot, and he was in the process of building a sawmill from parts brought from California by the faithful missionary James Townsend. Hyde's advice to the new settlers was as follows: "Labor hard, settle up, mind your own business, be slow of speech, and live your religion. Fear God and work righteousness. One family of these 1856 settlers, Mary Jane and Sylvester Phippens, were disappointed in their new home. "Imagine a city with only three houses in It, no streets, tall pine trees, and a great high mountain to look right straight up top....I would rather have one acre of land In Salt Lake City than the whole of Carson Valley....But the Lord remembers us. A number of the new settlers purchased ranches from the "old settlers and thus acquired a start.

Judge Hyde's gristmill and sawmill gave a boost to the local economy, but all was not sweetness and light. "Many of the brethren are dissatisfied and act childish...Some think they want their bread and butter all spread for them, and because It I, not, some murmur and want to go back to Salt Lake. We can raise all we need here In a little time. It is great for grass, water, and timber right at our doors....I think they will get over their homesickness by and by....I shall do the best I know how to make them honor and live their religion, for that is everything to me.

In the election for county offices held in August, 128 persons voted, of whom 96 voted the "Mormon ticket, and 32 voted what they called the "human ticket". The elected officials included three non-Mormons - the sheriff, a justice of the peace, and the treasurer; the remaining nine offices went to Latter-day Saints.

Life in the valley was not pleasant for all. Mary Jane Phippen did not like the swearing of the Gentiles. "It sounds quite awful to me to hear men calling on God to damn their souls. Perhaps If God would take a few of them at their words, the others might possibly have more fear and respect for His holy name. The house she lived in, she wrote on August 26, was "a nice cool one made of pine slabs. It is almost too cool for these cold nights...I am visited by company that I do not like very well-one snake, one toad, one scorpion, one lizard and plenty of flies."

Others wrote more poetically of the "rich verdure of indigenous grasses and clover ; the "clear, pure, and cold water of the Carson River; and the "gigantic cottonwood trees, all so large and old that they seem like a patriarchal race destined to oblivion when the present shall have departed.

The Washoe Valley settlement where Hyde had his home and sawmill, and where the Phlppens lived, soon had its first birth, a child of the Richard Bentleys named Frank. The new settlement was therefore named Franktown after this first baby.

On September 28, Orson Hyde held the first conference of the church in Carson Valley, at which sermons were delivered on such subjects as swearing, prayer, keeping away from grog shops, and the respectful treatment of non-Mormons.

The Carson Valley Stake was organized, with William Price as president; Chester Loveland, president of the High Council; Richard Bentley, stake bishop. Branches were established at Carson Valley, Eagle Valley, and Washoe Valley. Home teachers were appointed for each of these branches, as well as the full quota of 12 men for the stake high council. The church was now fully organized.

But there were problems with the "old settlers who did not respect the Mormons and their way of doing things. While there had been much agitation among these people, who wanted to be under California law instead of what they called "Mormon law, they finally decided to form a vigilante group to enforce their own desires. W.W. Drummond, a visiting federal judge not liked by either Mormons or non-Mormons, had ruled in July favoring John Reese in a suit against Richard D. Sides, a non-Mormon. for a debt of $1,010. Reese got a judgment against Sides which authorized the sheriff to sell his ranch and other properties so Reese could get his money. The sale was advertised, but when the sheriff and posse arrived. Sides had rallied enough citizens from the Carson area to oppose the sheriff. The sale was postponed on two different occasions, each time because a vigilante group prevented the sheriff from conducting the sale. Hyde counseled the Mormons to remain calm, to avoid a confrontation with the vigilantes, and to go. about

their business.

Reese was never able to collect his debt. Not content with the "victory, the vigilantes threatened to lynch the Utah assessor and tax collector unless he paid back any taxes he may have collected. Hyde was patient and peace loving, but he wrote Brigham Young: "We intend to do our duty and meet whatever emergency that may arise like men. They the vigilantes say that they Intend to run our mill when It Is done. But they will have a warm time of It if they do...There Is now no chance for us but victory or death; and in the name of the Lord, we are resolved to stand our ground and do our best.

Brigham Young's response to Hyde's suggestion that conflict was inevitable was that Hyde and all the Mormons should leave the region rather than fight. "Do not carry things to far. It Is not all worth the sacrifice of any good man. We have plenty of good locations where we can live in peace, and if the brethren cannot live there and maintain the laws without contention, let them all sell out and - come away...if western Utah Is desirable, and one that Is coveted by them the Gentiles, they will not let you nor us rest In peace until they drive our people there from. This our experience teaches us. Wherefore, let them have It and let the brethren do the best they can In selling their claims and - abandon the settlements to those who want them worse than we do. Let California enjoy her two or three precincts over there If they wish to, but don't you fight about It. If truth, forbearance, and genial Influence of good society cannot maintain good order and supremacy of the laws, we shall not endeavor to sustain them at the distant point by force."

Actually, Hyde had overstated the situation. The scale of local conflict never developed to the point that would necessitate removal or abandonment. For the time being, however, the "old settlers from California, determined not to be ruled by Utah, invited the assessor and collector from El Dorado County, California, to come to Carson - Valley, assess their property, and receive their tax monies.

They declared they would live only under California law. Hyde's response was that the valley was worth saving, that more Mormon settlers were needed, and that Brigham Young must send additional men. "Devils will reign, he wrote Brigham Young, "unless we get in so thick that there is no chance for them.

But the mail was delivered with a two-month delay. Brigham Young did not receive letters in time to take effective action even if he had wished to do so. The president wrote Hyde a letter, which the latter received in November 1856, authorizing him to appoint a replacement and return to the Salt Lake Valley.

Elder Hyde hurriedly made an agreement to lease his sawmill, which he valued at $10,000, to Jacob Rose. Rose paid an installment of one span of small mules, an old worn out harness, two yokes of oxen, and an old wagon which Hyde used to convey himself to Salt Lake City. Although Hyde - tried in every way to collect further on the mill, the local "regulators would not permit further satisfaction. Chester Loveland, president of the stake high council, was chosen to replace him.

Elder Hyde never again returned to Carson Valley, eventually settled in Spring City, Utah, and - served as principal ecclesiastical officer in the Sanpete and Sevier valleys of central Utah.

CHAPTER V - MORMONS ABANDON WESTERN UTAH WESTERN NEVADA, 1857

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On Sunday, June 16, 1844, a gang of determined Illinoisans, headed by James Charles, a constable of Hancock County, went to the house of Chester Loveland, a Latter-day Saint who lived four miles southeast of Warsaw, Illinois. The group ordered Loveland, a captain in the state militia, to call out his company of Volunteers to join a posse to go to Nauvoo, Illinois, to arrest the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, and the City Council. Loveland refused to do so. The next day the posse returned, with an order, they said, from the governor. But Loveland was (certain the order was a forgery and once more refused to go. The posse then reported this refusal to Colonel Levi Williams of the Carthage Greys, a division of the militia from a nearby town.

Insisting that the truculent captain must be "dealt with, Williams appointed a committee of 12 to lynch, tar, and feather Loveland. The committee went that evening, arriving about midnight. Loveland had been warned of their

approach and kept watch. When he saw that they were provided with tar buckets, bags of feathers, and a bundle of rope, in addition to firearms, he blew out his light and placed himself in a position to defend the locked door and window.

The committee went around the house several times, tried his door, rapped, called him by name, and consulted together. Finally, their courage failed them and they left, yelling to him, if there, to leave the country immediately. A few days later, on June 27, this committee and the rest of the posse broke into the jail at Carthage, Illinois, where Joseph Smith and his brother were Incarcerated, and murdered them. Chester Loveland was among those who saw the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith as they were carried out of the jail.

This same Chester Loveland joined with the Latter-day Saints moving west to the Great Basin RI 1850, settled in Bountiful, and was one of the 250 Persons called by Brigham Young in April 1855 to assist in the colonization of Western Utah-now Western Nevada. It was this seasoned frontiersman and dedicated Christian who replaced Orson Hyde and William Price as spiritual and temporal leader Of the Saints in Nevada.

The Mormons in Carson and adjacent valleys were becoming adjusted to the situation in Christopher Layton, 1821-1898, prominent rancher in Carson County 1855-57. Western Utah and were beginning to feel that they were fortunate to be there. Moreover, the refusal of Elder Hyde to enforce the sheriff's sale of the Sides ranch had given his (Side's) Gentile supporters the feeling that the Mormons were not adamant-that they understood the feelings of the Californiaphiles. Their attitude became friendly and sympathetic. Loveland wrote Brigham Young, in February 1857: "In regard to the difficulty that existed between us as a people and the old settlers of Carson County, I am pleased to say (It) has died a natural death. Things are of such a nature, he wrote, that "there does not appear to he anything to prevent us from building up a permanent stake In this country, and carrying out the designs the servants of the Lord had In view at the time we were called to settle here."

To continue this spirit of amiability, Loveland advised the Saints not to go to Gold Canyon to work, allowing the California miners undisputed claim to that area. Loveland and his associates organized the country into four school districts, later enlarged to five, to promote better education. During December (1856) they cooperatively built a schoolhouse at Franktown, involving perhaps 300 hours of labor. Some 25 students attended classes taught by Leonard Wines. The Saints were instructed to live their religion and to mind their own business. The old settlers began to see the Mormons, not as a threat, but as responsible and industrious colonizers.

The Mormon community at Franktown, where Loveland lived, was particularly close and well managed. "Wassail (for Washoe) valley seems more like home in the Salt Lake Valley than any other (place) in the West, wrote Richard Bentley. "We are all of one faith, and we all have as our principal object the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth.

Brigham Young's instructions to the little community were simple: "Be wise and prudent In your movements.. . Seek unto the Lord for wisdom and he will guide you aright". In a special meeting held by Loveland, each of the colonists expressed his willingness and desire to remain in the valley and fulfill their mission. "The spirit of union prevails among us and the people with whom we are surrounded," Loveland reported to Brigham Young.

At the time of the April 1857 annual stake conference, the Mormon membership was reported as follows: Carson Valley Branch, 116 members, of whom 5 were high priests, and 31, seventies and elders. Washoe Branch, 111 members, of whom 12 were high priests, and 10, seventies and elders. Eagle Valley Branch, 60 members, of whom 4 were high priests, and 7, seventies and elders. The members included William Jennings, a butcher and meat dealer whose enterprise is suggested by the fact that he later became Utah's first millionaire and was a principal organizer of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI), still Utah's largest mercantile establishment; Chester Loveland, who later became the first mayor of Brigham City, Utah, and a colonel in the Utah Territorial Militia; Christopher Layton, founder of Layton, Utah and of Layton, Arizona; and Abraham Hunsaker, a prime colonizer in northern Utah who was one of the best stockmen in the territory.

A veteran of the Mormon Battalion, Hunsaker converted his West Jordan, Utah, ranch into a traveling outfit of such size that he lost 25 head of cattle and 50 head of sheep enroute to Carson Valley and barely noted their absence.

In Carson he purchased what he called "the best farm in Carson County owned by a man named Lucky Bill, and planted and harvested a variety of crops, especially wheat and barley, on the 90 acres of cultivated land. He enclosed a garden and set out shade trees, fruit trees, and shrubbery. Living at a distance from other colonists, he held

religious services in his own home. His wife taught the children in school, and he conducted baptismal services for his children and some Indian children.

Hunsaker and his family milked 30 cows and produced six large kegs of butter which his soil Allen then transported to Murphy's Diggings, in California, and traded for groceries and clothing. Hunsaker reported in April 1857: "We are living on the best farm to raise all kinds of produce I ever owned." Nevertheless, he continued to long to be "with the Saints...Although we are living in the best place to make money that I ever lived in, that is no encouragement to me to stay here (permanently), although I am some tired of moving; but as we were sent here to live I am determined to stay until called home or have the liberty to come home."

There was a buoyant feeling in Carson and adjoining valleys in the summer of 1857-a feeling that the colony was going to be successful, both economically and politically. There were gold discoveries in Gold Canyon and along the Walker River; a road was being constructed between Carson Valley and Placerville; and Carson Valley WU rendering an obvious service to Mormon emigrants traveling from California to the Salt Lake Valley.

In the midst of this beehive of activity, on September 5, 1857, came instructions that spelled the immediate end of the Mormon colony. Chester Loveland had arisen in time for a 6 a.m. breakfast When he heard a knock at his front door. When he opened it, there stood Peter W. Conover, Oliver B. Huntington, and Samuel Dalton bringing an express message from Brigham Young. Urged on by the president, they had made the journey to Franktown in 18 days, although in moving so rapidly they almost died of thirst and starvation. What was the message they brought? Utah, they informed Loveland, was being invaded by the United States Army. The Saints in the Salt Lake Valley needed manpower and weapons of defense. Would the Western Utah community return immediately and bring all the guns and bullets they could buy?

Let us pause for a moment to consider the predicament. Some former federally appointed officials In Utah reported to President James Buchanan that the Mormons would not recognize, them that they had burned federal court records, and that they were "in a state of substantial rebellion against federal sovereignty. Without investigation of these charges (which we know were untrue), without even notifying the governor of the territory; dispatched to the territory 2,500 troops and as many teamsters, blacksmiths, suppliers, and other hangers-on; and instructed General William S. Harney (later Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston) to enforce federal law in the territory.

Mormon emigrants on their way from Europe and the Northeast to the Salt Lake Valley observed the movement of the troops, and two trusted frontiersmen hurried on to Utah to tell Brigham Young. He received word of the advance of the Utah Expedition on July 24. Since he had not been officially notified, Young regarded the approach of the troops as a repetition of Missouri and Illinois-a mob of militia on its way to "drive out the Mormons.

Brigham Young and associates immediately dispatched companies of militia to intercept the troops, burn their supplies, and drive away their animals. In these actions they succeeded in delaying the federal soldiers. But the Mormon situation was so grim, that leaders determined to call back all of the missionaries, wherever located, and all the outlying colonists, including those in California, Idaho, and Western Utah (Nevada).

This, then, was the message now delivered to Chester Loveland: "There Is an army of from 2,500 to 3,500 men enroute for this territory, besides some 1,200 teamsters and 700 wagons with ox teams loaded with supplies, 400 mules and horse teams loaded with personal effects, and 7,000 beef cattle. We have concluded that It is wisdom that you should dispose of your property as well as you can. Make no noise about your business, but let all things be done quietly and in order.

Without question, nearly every Mormon in the region made immediate preparations to leave. President Loveland had been intending to join a Salt Lake-bound party of emigrants so he could attend the October general conference of the church. He had $5,000 in tithing money which he planned to deliver to church headquarters. This he turned over to Conover and told him to use it in buying powder, lead, and caps. He then called the Washoe citizens to a meeting at the Franktown schoolhouse at 9 a.m. and gave appropriate instructions. He then drove to Eagle Valley where, at 2 p.m., he gave the same message. Finally he rode to Genoa and by 10 p.m. was reporting the same news to members in Carson Valley.

From citizens in these three gatherings he collected $12,000 in gold, which was given to Bob Walker, who was instructed to depart immediately for San Francisco to buy guns and ammunition there. The shipment was delivered by boat to Stockton, and from there freighted by wagon to Carson Valley and then taken on to Salt Lake Valley. The

Carson missionaries tried to make the best deal they could for their property, packed their wagons, and were ready to leave for Salt Lake City within two weeks. The company, which consisted of approximately 450 persons, both emigrants and colonists, and 200 wagons, was captained by Chester Loveland and was divided into divisions of which William H. Smith and John Lytle were captains.

Conover was captain of the guard. They started for the Salt Lake Valley on September 26. All had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley by November 3. having spent roughly five weeks on the trail. Six babies were born on the way, and three children had died during the passage.

The Mormon Mission to Carson Valley was ended. While Utah Territory continued to be responsible for Carson County for another four years, its influence there was never as great as during the years 1855-1857. The Utah War had sounded the death knell for this promising outlying community of Latter-day Saints.

CHAPTER VI - THE LDS LAS VEGAS FORT (1855-1857) <Top of Page>

In the April 1855 general conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 300 missionaries were called to settle various portions of the American West. The largest proportion of these went to Carson and adjacent valleys in what was then Western Utah, now Western Nevada. But 30 were appointed to establish an Indian mission at Las Vegas, a large spring in what is now Southern Nevada.

This location was along the route from the Salt Lake Valley to Southern California, and would have the added advantage of furnishing a way station for travelers between those two places. But the primary purpose was to establish friendly relations with the Indians of the region and to teach them some of the arts of agriculture. The choice of personnel and their work can best be understood by giving particular attention to one of them: George Washington Bean.

George Washington Bean was born in 1831 in Adams County, Illinois. In 1841, when George was 10 years old, his parents were converted to Mormonism, and George was baptized shortly after. Four years later, when he was only 14, George was ordained a Seventy, an office which involved both administrative and preaching assignments. This ordination of one so young suggests that George - Bean was very mature for his age; Seventies were not usually ordained until in their twenties and thirties. His maturity is also suggested by the fact that George carried a man's load in the ordinary business of life: he managed the family farm while his father was ill, and he drove "an outfit during the Mormon Exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, in February 1846.

When the trek to the Great Basin was made in 1847, George now 16, joined the Jedediah M. Grant company of 100 wagons and was given full responsibility for a family and team of four oxen.

Just how seriously George took his responsibility was evidenced by a court-martialing experience along the trail, near Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Captain Grant, after warning the drivers one evening that they must meet the suggested time of arising and departure, provided an incentive by declaring that the first one in line the next morning could lead the company. George was up and ready and in front place. Another person, 10 years George's senior, and an important person in his own mind, did not like this "young whippersnapper taking the place which he had wanted to occupy, - so he took his revenge out on the boy's oxen. He lashed away at them to get them out of the way so he could occupy first place. George replied, "You can beat me if you like, but not my oxen. When the senior whipped them again, George "cracked him over the head with the butt of his ox-whip, cutting a gash and causing some blood to flow.

The older teamster registered a complaint and insisted that the company conduct a court-martial. Judges were the captains of tens in the fifty of which George and the complainer were part. The older person refused to wash his bloody face until the court-martial was convened, so that the bloodstains would stand as accusers of the boy's "un-Christian like conduct. The testimony at the trial all seemed to be directed against the young teamster who had dared to strike his fellow traveler.

But before sentence was pronounced (a common punishment was to tie a rebellious person behind a wagon for a day or two), Captain Grant asked permission to say a few words. He stated: "Our teams are our salvation on this journey. I feel to honor the lad who fought in defense of his team. The other man should be punished for laziness rather than getting approval for taking out his vengeance for being late on the boy's oxen. Thus commended instead of punished, George was particularly grateful to Jedediah Grant for his willingness to speak up for him.

Once in the Salt Lake Valley, George, during the winter of 1847-1848, located a farm for his family in the Mill Creek area, plowed it, and by spring planted corn and garden stuffs.

George then volunteered to join a company assigned to return on the trail to the Missouri Valley to pick up persons who, due to age or handicap, would not be able to conduct their own teams to the Salt Lake Valley. He took four yoke of cattle and a wagon and provisions to last until he reached the Missouri settlements. He picked up his own family and others and returned to the Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1848.

Thanks to his winter and springtime labors, the Bean family was well provided during the ensuing winter.

George's experiences along the trail and in the Salt Lake Valley had caused him to become acquainted with a number of Indians, and he expressed a desire to become better acquainted with them. When, in 1849, Brigham Young called 30 persons to locate a colony on Utah Lake, near present-day Provo, Utah, George Bean was included in the group.

Since this was an established Indian fishing area, most of the 30 were persons who, Brigham Young felt, could successfully get along with the "Timpanodes which was the name of these Indians. The 30 built a fort ("Fort Utah), built a schoolhouse in which George, now 18, taught as assistant teacher, surveyed a town, constructed a gristmill, and dug irrigation ditches to land that Could be farmed.

Each spring, according to Bean's journals, fish moved from Utah Lake up the Provo River to Spawn. "Indeed, wrote Bean, "so great was the number of Pah-gar' (suckers) and At-um-Pah-gar' (speckled trout) passing continuously upstream that often the river would be full from bank to bank as thick as they could swim for hours and sometimes for days together. Indians would come from a wide region, he reported, and feast from morning to night for many days. During these days of festivity, they engaged in sports as well-horseracing, foot racing, wrestling, gambling, and trading. Bean, as he expressed it, "lost no time idle myself, and I enjoyed their games and learned much of their, language and made friends. The Timpanodes, wrote Bean, were "strong and fearless".

However friendly the collaboration, the Mormons were also prepared for defense. Occasionally their stock was stolen, and occasionally they were told by the natives that they must leave. They erected on top of the fort a bastion on which they placed a Six Pounder Iron Cannon, which hopefully would intimidate any attackers. On September 1, 1849, after George had returned from work in the fields, he was asked by a military superior to help him fire the cannon. In the process of "ramming a cartridge and powder home with their hickory rod, the cannon exploded. Bean and his lieutenant were thrown thirty feet away on the ground. The lieutenant was killed outright and Bean was "taken up dying, terribly mangled, but still breathing, with my left hand gone. He was given careful treatment by his associates; one of them amputated his arm to just below the elbow, and he was carried home to a bed, where he remained for 40 days. Eventually a doctor was dispatched to treat him, and, among other things, the doctor removed, by probing, some 200 hickory ramrod slivers.

About three weeks after the accident, the First Presidency of the Church, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, journeyed to Fort Utah, entered Bean's cabin, and gave him a blessing. According to Bean, Brigham Young grabbed his right hand and asked, "George,.do you want to live? "Yes, replied Bean, "if I can do any good. Brigham Young then declared: "Then you shall live. Until that moment, Bean wrote, he had remained blind from the explosion. But now he saw the glorious light and began to get better.

As he was recuperating, Bean also says that he had many visits from friendly Indians who sympathized with his sufferings. He became especially friendly with Sanpitch, a brother of the noted Ute Chief Walker, who taught him the Indian language more completely. "It was a blessing in disguise, Bean wrote, "to get this training to clinch the Indian language gift I had received. Other Indians who visited and taught him and remained lifelong friends were "Washear or Squash, and Peteetneet. Each of the three was or became, chief of his tribe; each, on separate occasions, later saved Bean from being killed by "outlaw Indians.

Because of the loss of his hand, Bean was given positions that were suited to his condition. He was elected City Recorder and Court Recorder in Provo, assessor and collector and assistant surveyor of Utah County, and clerk of the LDS ward in Provo. He also served as Brigham Young's clerk and Indian interpreter during several tours in Southern Utah, and continued to teach school. He also served as Deputy U.S. Marshal, and appears to have been the first deputy appointed in Utah.

As deputy, his primary responsibility was to serve as a liaison with various Indian groups. One person who observed

Bean in these relationships with Indians reported that the Indians called him "Poorests, or Purretz, and said of him: "He talks straight. Meantime, he married Elizabeth Baum.

In the April conference call of 1855, George Bean was included among the 30 who were assigned to establish an Indian Mission at Las Vegas. Since Bean was both Indian interpreter and clerk, his diary is the basic source on the mission. It is Mormon custom to "set apart" persons for their missions, meaning to have an ecclesiastical official place hands on his head and, by proper authority, appoint him to a work and pray to God that he may fulfill it honorably. Bean's blessing, given by Mormon apostle Wilford Woodruff, blessed him that he would "be an instrument in the Lord's hands of doing great good in Israel, particularly "among the Lamanites (Indians).

Returning to Provo after learning of his call and being "set apart, Bean reported his mission call to his wife, who, according to his journal, "assured me she would take good care of things in my absence and had faith all would be well with us. At the time they had a baby girl who was eight months old. Bean had 10 days in which to prepare for his mission. He bought a bin full of wheat, some land, some cows, and left sufficient cash with his wife so that she would be provided for during his absence.

As the group was about to depart, Bean was offered $100 a month to be guide and interpreter for a U.S. Army unit going from Salt Lake City to Fort Yuma, Arizona. He turned over his ox team and wagon to a brother missionary and took advantage of that opportunity of earning some cash. The remainder of his 29 associates traveled in a separate party. Bean joined them at Cedar City in southern Utah.

Designated president and leader of the missionary unit was William Bringhurst. The 30 men reached their destination on June 15, 1855, after a journey of 450 miles. As they neared their objective they became thoroughly acquainted with the Muddy River, a river 28 miles in length which was fed by the Meadow Valley River originating in Lincoln County, and which flowed south into the Virgin River, which in turn emptied into the Colorado.

On the Muddy, Bean wrote, "many hundreds of Indians were then living in a savage state. By this he meant that there had been frequent killings of straggling white travelers. "It was almost a daily - occurrence that some depredation was committed.

The principal group of Indians in the area were called Moapats or Muddys. According to the record, the missionaries held several meetings with the natives, "teaching them good principles and to some extent repentance and baptism. Later, as a - subsequent chapter will mention, several Mormon settlements were built on the Muddy where cotton, - sugar cane, corn, and grapes were grown.

After this interlude the party drove the valley, 55 miles long by 30 miles wide. The springs were - about 25 yards long and about 10 wide, "boiling up most beautifully. The stream coming from the springs was about three feet wide and about 15 inches deep, with "a tolerable swift current. The water, according to John Steele, another missionary, was "a refreshing beverage for those who may travel with slow ox trains for the space of thirty-six hours. "None can realize how good a thing a blessing is, he wrote, "except those who are deprived of it.

The missionaries started immediately to clear off the land and to plant crops, "but the heat was terrible. "The Indians were very shy at first, - Bean reported, "but good kind treatment won them over. Many of them worked with the colonists, - helping to clear off willows and brush. "We planted corn about the first week in July, and had a good crop, Bean wrote; "also some fine squashes and melons and garden truck. The Indians also helped the missionaries to make adobes, carry bricks to the - mason, and especially to herd the stock. Many of them joined the Church. "They herded emigrants' teams as they stopped on their way to California. They irrigated our land and assisted in making - adobes and in construction of a fourteen foot wall around a space of one hundred and fifty feet square, - which constituted our Mission Fort.

In addition to building the adobe fort and planting crops, the missionaries sent teams out to explore the country. They discovered transparent ledges of crystal salt, found a lead mine in the mountain range 30 miles southwest of Las Vegas and extracted 60 tons of lead, and made the acquaintance of all the Indian tribes and bands. Bean was assigned to visit each of the Indian tribes or bands in the region. These included the Pahgahts or Colorado Piedes, the Moapats or Muddys, the Pahruchats or Rio Virgins, the Panominch or western Piedes, the Quoeech or Diggers, and the Iats or Mohaves. Bean regarded the latter as the superior group. Located about eight miles south of Las Vegas, the Iats raised cotton, grain, and other - agricultural products. Bean estimated that there were 1,000 Indians within a radius of 60 miles of - Las Vegas.

Following typical patriotic American tradition, the missionary-colonists took a day out to celebrate the Fourth of July. "At the dawn of the day, wrote John Steele, "the blacksmith's anvil answered for a cannon, and made a volley of musketry that gave the sleeping natives to know that something was up. Next was to hoist the Stars and Stripes which, by the by, we had to manufacture. I went to work, took a piece of cloth, tore it in strips, got some red flannel, tore it in strips, took some blue and made stars, and by the assistance of Brothers Foster and Hulet, I had a very nice little flag ready for flying by 2 o'clock in the afternoon, while others were preparing a mast. As we had no Umber, we got a mesquite stump, a false wagon tongue, and a tall willow, and made a pole 30 feet high, shook out our flag at the sound of the guns, gave three cheers, and retired to the bowery. After many spirited speeches, songs, and toasts, we were dismissed by prayer.

In September of 1855, after they had been at Las Vegas three months, a cadre of missionaries went across the desert to San Bernardino, California, to take oxen and cows to sell. The group returned in six weeks with a large number of "wild mares and mules. The next few weeks the colonists were preoccupied with breaking them to ride and pull. Every evening Bean conducted a "school for Indian language "with the remainder of his fellow missionaries. Mail from home - Provo and Salt Lake Valley - came once a month via tithing office messenger. Bean reports how strange it was that he and some of his colleagues took a bath in the Springs, four miles above the fort, on January 1, 1856, showing the mildness of the climate and Warmth of the water. Not a flake of snow fell during the winter of 1855-1856, he reported.

On a rotation basis, the missionaries were permitted to spend three months of each year with their wives and families. Bean's term came near the end of February 1856 and his instructions were to report (to Brigham Young) the good country we were in and ask for more settlers. After a few days of travel they reached Parowan, Utah. There, the two feet deep. Bean reached home March 25, and returned to Las Vegas Mission on June 1.

Upon returning to Las Vegas, Bean learned that Brigham Young had sent another group of about 30 under the supervision of Nathaniel V. Jones, to mine lead. The lead miners, it appears, were not imbued with the same idealistic missionary rules and goals as the Indian missionaries bad been, and there was friction between the two groups. This friction unfortunately brought about a deterioration in their relationships with the natives and led President Bringhurst, unable to function in an atmosphere of discontent, to form a small group which included Bean to visit Brigham Young and ask his counsel.

Leaving in September 1856, each member of the group drove a wagon loaded with a ton of lead pulled by four mule teams. One can imagine Bean's struggle handling the four teams across desert and up and down mountains with his one hand, for 450 miles to the Salt Lake Valley. Added to this struggle, he was severely kicked by one of the mules while he was on the Virgin River. So "it was a very hard trip for me.

Successfully reaching the Salt Lake Valley, they explained fully the problems of the colony to Brigham Young. "The President asked many questions", wrote Bean, and was disappointed that "the spirit of the Mission was broken. After much deliberation and thought, the Solomonic leader finally decided to release all the brethren from the mission.

By the end of 1856 most of the Indian missionaries had left Las Vegas. (The lead missionaries remained another year, returning, most of them, with the approach of the Utah Expedition in 1857-1858.) They left two legacies - a legacy of basic friendship with the Indians of the region, and huge piles of silver slag, left over from their attempts to extract lead. The 60 tons of lead they had delivered in Salt Lake City was used to make paint, tools, and bullets. (And with the impossibility of separating out all the silver, this led to the legend that the Mormons used silver bullets.)

The mine was occupied three years later by a group which developed it into the famous Potosi silver mine. Some persons have estimated that as much as $50 million in silver was extracted from that location.

Bean returned to his Provo home late in 1856, continued to serve his church and community, served as a judge and legislator, was a member of an LDS stake presidency and patriarch, and died in 1897. He left a large family of intelligent and industrious children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, some of whom contribute today to the civic and economic betterment of Nevada. Above all, Bean was proudest of having taken the message of "Pace and Brotherhood" to the Native Americans of southeastern Nevada.

CHAPTER VII - PANACA, MORMON OUTPOST AMONG THE MINING CAMPS

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The oldest permanent Mormon settlement in A Nevada is at Panaca, in Meadow Valley, Lincoln County. Located about 35 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, Panaca is approximately 15 miles southeast of Pioche and 90 miles northwest of St. George, Utah.

Although a fine book about Meadow Valley was prepared as a part of its centennial in 1964, additional information has been found in the written records preserved in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City. Panaca has interest not only because of its priority among existing Mormon communities in Nevada, but also because it is the ancestral home of the recent prophet and president of the Latter-day Saints, Harold B. Lee.

President Lee's father was born in Panaca, and his grandfather and great-grandfather were the leaders of the original Mormon settlers. Thus, President Lee was the first product of Nevada, so to speak, who reached the highest position in LDS leadership.

Let us begin with the Lee family-the original settlers of Panaca. They are descended from William Lee, born in Carrickfergus, Ireland, who came to America in the early 18th century, lived in North and South Carolina, and fought in the Revolutionary War. One of his sons was Samuel Lee, father of seven, who left his native North Carolina to go to the California gold fields.

In the meantime, three of Samuel's sons-Alfred, Francis, and Eli-had converted to Mormonism and were preparing to migrate to the Great Basin. So Samuel decided to join them. The Lee party-father Samuel and the three sons and their families-arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1850. Just then a small group was making a settlement on the desert west of Salt Lake City at what is now Tooele.

The Lees joined them and played an important part in the founding and early settlement of Tooele Valley. Eli was schoolteacher, Francis was sheriff, and Alfred was the judge.

We are particularly interested in the second of (these sons, Francis, who remained in Tooele 11 years (1850-1861). Earlier, in Liberty, Missouri, he had married Jane Vail Johnson, who eventually bore 11 children. At the outset of the Civil War in 1861, Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City decided to establish a colony in southern Utah to grow cotton. Since Francis had had experience in North and I South Carolina, he and Jane were among those called to colonize St. George in 1861.

After they worked there three years, the leader of the Cotton Mission, Erastus Snow, suggested that the Lees go to Meadow Valley to occupy land which might prove to be a valuable addition to the Southern Utah economy. As Juanita Brooks, a Nevada native, has shown in the Nevada Historical Society's quarterly, Meadow Valley had been explored and settled in 1858 when the Mormons were contemplating leaving the Salt Lake Valley with the invasion of federal troops, but it was abandoned after a short occupation. Now the plan was to occupy it permanently.

At the time, this part of Nevada was still part of Utah Territory. Francis Lee and his family: his son Samuel Marion Lee and family; a nephew Samuel F. Lee and four or five of his unmarried Sons, a daughter, and an Indian girl, arrived on the Site of Panaca on May 6,1864. They were 17 souls in all, with five wagons, livestock, sheep, swine, and other domestic animals and poultry.

At the time, Francis Lee was 53 and his son Samuel Marion Lee was 24.

At the outset, Francis Lee was presiding elder of this little Mormon group. They conveyed water from a warm spring near their camp. Their settlement was an initial success, and the next year, 1865, Erastus Snow directed the reinforcement of the community with some additional families. He appointed John Nebeker as presiding elder, and Other families joined the Lees.

During the early years the main difficulties at Panaca were establishing the basis for the production of food and other necessities and keeping the Paiute Indians at bay.

The colonists dug irrigation ditches, built fences, constructed adobe homes and barns, planted crops and orchards, and grazed their livestock in a community herd. They built a schoolhouse which doubled as a ward meetinghouse.

They suffered occasionally from Indian depredations. At one point in 1866 they were so fearful of Indian invasion that they contemplated leaving. According to a story that keeps cropping up in the sources, they would have abandoned Panaca except for the courage of Francis Lee's wife, Jane, who said they had been called to Panaca and there they should stay; even if nobody else was going to stay, she was!

A more important threat to their peace of mind was the opening of mines in the vicinity of Panaca. Earlier in 1862, Abraham Lincoln had been sufficiently doubtful of the loyalty of the Latter-day Saints that he had called a group of 750 California and Nevada Union volunteers to establish Camp Douglas on the east bench overlooking Salt Lake City. Many of these volunteers were former prospectors from Nevada and California.

Also interested in mining was the colonel in charge, Patrick Connor. Connor did not like the Mormons and sought to solve the "Mormon problem, as he called it, by generating a rush of miners to the Mormon-dominated areas in the West.

The miners, he hoped, would come in such numbers as to diminish the threat which the organized Latter-day Saints posed to other westerners. To accomplish this purpose Connor gave his troops extended leave to prospect throughout the territory, kept them on the military payroll during these explorations, and paid other prospecting costs as well. Upon the discovery of ores, he organized mining districts, encouraged the exploitation of ore bodies, and trumpeted each new discovery to an eager world through his camp newspaper, The Union Vedette.

Some of Connor's troops discovered important bodies of ore in Bingham Canyon and Little Cottonwood Canyon, Utah. They were also instrumental in uncovering mineral bodies at several places in eastern Nevada, including some near Panaca. The town of Bullionville was established in 1869, after exploration in 1863 and 1864 proved fruitful. Indirectly, Pioche was also a product of the explorations of some of these men.

The movement of miners and servicing enterprises to Bullionville in the late 1860s caused tension at Panaca. The miners provided a lucrative market for Panaca's agricultural and lumber products. But the miners, not always sober, sometimes appeared at dances, insisted on dating Mormon girls, and in the eyes of Panaca elders posed a threat to the moral purity and solidarity of the Mormon community.

To add to the problems, Congress transferred portions of western Utah to the State of Nevada in 1864 and in 1866. Certain interests unfriendly to the Mormon presence, particularly non-Mormon merchants and one or two local officials, later insisted that the Mormons pay taxes in Nevada, even though for years they had already paid taxes in Utah under the assumption they were in Utah Territory.

The back taxes do not seem large by present standards, and the Lincoln County and Nevada territorial officials may have been willing to negotiate. Interested primarily in current taxes, they ultimately failed to obtain legal approval for a plan requiring payment of taxes before 1870 when the boundary line was clearly established. Nevertheless, the Mormons regarded the tax assessments as the opening salvo in a campaign against them.

Considering that there were non-Mormon majorities in every county where they were located, the Mormons felt they would be driven out of Nevada as they had been driven out of other settlements earlier in their history. Many did leave Nevada. "Here we go again, they seemed to be saying.

But the Lees and a majority of the Panaca settlers stayed. They earned a good income servicing the miners in Pioche and Bullionville. In St. George, Erastus Snow, aware that Panaca was a key outpost for marketing the products of Mormon farmers and craftsmen in the whole area, passed word that they ought to hold on to Meadow Valley. And hold on they did. Mormons are still there raising crops, grazing cattle, and rearing fine families.

Particularly pertinacious were the Lees, and Samuel Maricn Lee became an important Panaca leader. Born in Illinois before the Mormon exodus, he was 24 and already married when he and his family moved from Tooele to Panaca in 1864. Hs wife, Margaret McMurrin, had come to America with her parents from Scotland when she was seven. The McMurrins, like the Lees, settled in Tooele, where the two families became neighbors. Once settled in Panaca, Samuel raised crops, herded livestock, hauled ore, and freighted goods from southern Utah communities to Bulionville, Pioche, DeLamar, and other mining communities in Nevada. Margaret was a fruitful wife and bore 11 children, but each one of them died shortly after birth. Then, upon the birth of their 12th child, Margaret herself died. This last baby, Samuel, survived and became the father of Harold Bingbam Lee, president of the Mormon church in 1972-1973.

Economically, Panaca went through three .Ld stages. The first stage, from 1864 to 1868, involved the organization of task forces to lay the foundations of community life. The population built up to about 300 persons. During the second stage. from 1869 to 1880, the community functioned as a funnel to supply the mines, mills, and smelters and their workers in Bullionville and Pioche. The population rose to about 500. In 1871, the year most Mormons pulled out of Nevada, the population dropped back to about 300.

The third stage, from 1881 and on, marked a decline in economic opportunity as the mines, mills. and smelters in Bullionville and Pioche closed. The population remained stabilized at around 300 persons.

During the second period, the Mormon response to the "outsiders, as they referred to the miners and their associates, took two directions, both protective.

The first was the organization of a central cooperative for dealing in business matters with the non-Mormon ("Gentile) community. The second was the formation of a tight community organization to protect the members-young and old-from contamination with what they regarded as the ways - of Babylon.

The Panaca Cooperative Store-more accurately, the Panaca City Branch of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution - was organized in March 1869 as a community general store, intended to supply goods not only to its own supporting members but to the mining communities as well.

The store had several unique elements, in order to be eligible for membership in the cooperative. Persons had to "be of good moral character and have paid their tithing. Ten percent of the stores net profits prior to any declaration of dividends were also paid as tithing. All dividends were paid in merchandise, thus conserving cash for purchases outside the community. The seal of the Coop, with beehive and bees in the center, bore the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord".

The booming region required merchandise and produce from a wide area. Soon after establishing the Panaca cooperative, its president wrote to all - bishops of wards and presidents of Mormon cooperative stores in Utah south of Salt Lake City, asking - them to freight grain, flour, and other produce directly to Panaca. The Panaca Co-op would then act as agent, selling the produce to the mining regions on a commission basis of 5 to 10 percent.

In addition to this commission business, the Co-op purchased large quantities of goods from the Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) Wholesale department store in Salt Lake City, let Contracts out to freight them to Panaca at 6 cents a pound, and resold the goods at 20 percent (later 15 percent) above cost and freightage.

The Panaca Co-op was an instant success, remarkably so, considering the size of the capital Stock. During the first year, sales amounted to $13,048, with profits after tithing of $2,100-40 percent of the paid-in capital stock of $5,250.

Despite paying out all the profits-after tithing as a dividend, they built an adobe brick storehouse 20 by 32 feet, with a rock cellar 10 feet high underneath. Their earnings enabled them to build the store without borrowing from capital simply by giving capital stock to those who supplied the materials and did the work.

Later they permitted workers to be paid in merchandise if they preferred. They also added a blacksmith shop, slaughterhouse, butcher shop, and hide and wool business to their enterprise, and built a bathhouse next to their warm springs so that people might bathe without contaminating their drinking water.

During the 1871-72 fiscal year, they purchased $80,753 worth of goods, earned $11,226 after tithing, and distributed a dividend of more than 100 percent on a capital of slightly over $10,000. If we add their beef and related enterprises, their sales were well in excess of $100,000 per year. This meant profits of $30 per year for every man, woman and child in Panaca! They reported a cash balance of $1,173, probably more cash than in all of southern Utah at the time.

The peak of the Co-op's business was in 1872. The peak of the mining business at Bullionville and Pioche was also in that year. Pioche may have had a population as high as 6,000, and Bullionville, perhaps 500.

During the next year the Panaca Coop purchased $46,442 in goods and earned a profit after tithing of only $4,408. They declared a dividend of 17 percent. At the end of that year they had only $284 in cash. Things were going downhill, so they reduced capital stock by selling the blacksmith shop in 1874 and the slaughterhouse and corral in 1875. No dividends were declared in either year. In 1875 their assets were only $3,842 more than liabilities. But they continued to operate as late as 1886, although very little business was done after 1882. The records suggest that

when they incorporated under Nevada law as the Panaca Mercantile Company in 1878, they were no longer a church or community cooperative, but a corporation acting as a private business.

By 1880 there were only 800 people in Pioche, with an estimated 600 in 1881. Two mills in Bullionville moved in 1877, and the third closed in 1880, leaving the town deserted. Meanwhile Panaca continued with its 300 people, and is credited by a contemporary report as having a larger percentage of children than any other town in Nevada. It had a fine schoolhouse accommodating 120 pupils, and an average attendance of 60.

The second aspect of Panaca protectionism from 1869 to 1881 was the strengthening of the congregation to ward off influences that would tend to lower the strict standards of the Latter-day Saints. The chief agency in doing this was the teachers quorum -a group of 20 or more adult men appointed to visit the homes in the community on a regular basis and to find ways of dealing with problems that might arise. The minutes of the weekly meetings of the teachers suggest their preoccupations: How to deal with "outsiders who came to their dances with a bottle of whiskey under their arm. How to keep persons from their land. How to dissuade their boys from horse racing and riding broncos on Sunday. How to discourage young men who insisted on "running around late in the night. How to prevent drunkenness and playing cards in saloons. The teachers were concerned when the young men took up swearing or stole melons from the gardens of their neighbors.

Solution to these problems included admonition, vigilant policing, the organization of young people's societies, and the establishment of evening schools, lyceums, and libraries. Above all, the teachers "took up a labor with family heads and rowdy boys and tried to bring them to their senses and to repentance, including occasional public confession.

Such concerns, plus the tax matter already mentioned, caused Panacans in January 1871 to talk seriously of puffing up stakes. Their bishop James Henrie told the group that he had learned from Bishop Meltair Hatch of Eagle Valley (just north of Meadow Valley) that Brigham Young had told him (Bishop Hatch) that if they remained in Nevada they would have trouble.

The Saints should go together in a body to the Sevier or Upper Kanab in Southern Utah, he said, and there make a strong settlement. "As for moving, said Bishop Henrie, "I shall not mourn over it . . . As for the little property I own, it is nothing. The Lord blessed us with it, and he is able to do so again... We have got many children here. I am satisfied there is a better place to raise them than under the influence surrounding-these mines. The president of the teachers quorum, Lake Syphus, then added: "My feelings are to get away as quick as possible. When we cling unto cedar fences and adobes we are not worth much. A number did go. They went partly because they understood this was the counsel of Brigham Young. But Apostle Erastus Snow, a strong and independent spirit, had his own inspiration on this matter. That inspiration told him that the Mormons should retain their hold on Meadow Valley. So he sent word that those who wished to leave might do so, but he wished a viable group to remain in Panaca. Apostle Snow said, "If you will live your religion, you can stay here as well as any other place. Be active in doing your duty, and be wary of those who come here to stay a short time to get a little money and then leave. If they are our friends, invite them to be with us. If you do this it will be all right".

So the Lees and a majority of the other families remained. The prosperity of 1871-1875 followed. "The key to the market for southern Utah is Panaca", said Apostle Snow. Panaca, one can hear him saying, gets cash for goods-coin and checks on Wells Fargo-and thus is a valuable bastion for the Mormon economy. .

As might be expected, a strong force in Panaca was the organization of the women, the Relief Society. An average of some 42 women attended its regular weekly meetings. They too talked about what to do to counter evil influences. They also went about doing good on their own. They made quilts, knitted, crocheted, and sewed - all for the poor. They raised straw and braided hats to give to the young people- so they would not get their brains baked and would have room for their inventive faculties to grow.

They made rag carpets for the meetinghouse-schoolhouse. They bought shares in the cooperative, donated to temples and hospitals in Utah, and helped out their Indian sisters in Nevada. They held parties for persons called on missions and for those returning. They made burial clothes for the dead and aprons for the living, whitewashed their homes. did the gardening and much of the irrigating, and picked, washed, and corded wool to make mattresses and men's suits.

They drew water, fed calves, and milked cows. They delivered their own babies, made cheeses, and introduced music and art into their homes. It is not an exaggeration to say that the determination and stamina of Panaca's women was an important factor in its economic success, and in its more important success as a producer of fine children.

Nevada history, particularly in the 1860s and 1870s, has tended to emphasize the wild and woolly, rough and roaring mining districts. These are colorful, and perhaps appeal to some of our repressed fascinations. But social and economic development requires food, livestock feed, clothing, shelter, and tools-supplies which are usually provided by family-oriented agricultural societies.

In a real sense, Mormon farmers and teamsters in southern Utah and in such places as Meadow Valley contributed much to the success of Nevada's mineral enterprises. If the Mormons of Panaca did not always appreciate the more free-wheeling residents of mining towns, they did demonstrate that Latter-day Saints could get along with non-Mormon neighbors.

Nevadans, both Mormons and non-Mormons, are continuing to build on that pattern of cooperation and mutual interest.

CHAPTER VIII - CALL'S LANDING AND THE NAVIGATION OF THE COLORADO (1864-1867) <Top of Page>

In 1864 things looked dismal for the United States of America. The War Between the States, which had killed hundreds of thousands of Americans, seemed to be at a stalemate. The South had conducted brilliant campaigns, but could not seem to gain the advantage. The North was superior in the materials of war, but could not win a decisive victory. The conflict seemed never-ending.

The Civil War had forced Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City to broaden their options. It was expensive and sometimes impossible to arrange for railroad transportation of immigrants and materials from eastern ports and cities to the Missouri. Railroads, quite understandably, gave priority to war business.

Partly because of the war, the Great Plains Indians posed a greater threat to the accustomed wagon trains headed west to Utah from the Missouri Valley. The exigencies of war had slowed down-almost stopped-the construction of the transcontinental railroad which had been authorized by the Pacific Railroad Act of 1862. There was no indication that the freighting situation would be improved within the foreseeable future.

Faced with these circumstances, Brigham Young and his associates decided to encourage the importation of goods and immigrants via the Colorado River. As early as 1857-1858 the United States Army had demonstrated that the river was navigable under certain conditions when the test ship, The Explorer, reached Black Canyon (later site of Hoover Dam). Now the Mormons decided they would attempt the same thing on a regular basis. They would build a warehouse and trading post on a suitable Colorado River landing, enter into an agreement with a San Francisco firm to freight goods by steamer up the Colorado to the landing, construct a road from the landing to St. George, Utah, and employ teamsters to haul the goods to Salt Lake City.

To stimulate development of the region between the Colorado landing and St. George (mostly now in southeastern Nevada), Mormon officials called companies of Latter-day Saints to settle habitable valleys in the region. The entire enterprise was a speculation, but the inland Mormon community of some 60,000 persons could not be allowed to drift into a hopeless situation.

The first step in the new plan was choosing a leader. A trusted frontiersman, Anson Call, was named to take charge of building the landing and warehouse. A native of Vermont, Call had joined the Mormons in 1834, migrated to Utah in 1848, and was appointed bishop of Bountiful, Utah, the next year. An experienced colonizer, he was captain of the first 50 wagons in the caravan which left the Salt Lake Valley in 1850 to colonize Iron County in Southern Utah, and founded the city of Parowan, where he served as the first presiding elder. A year later, 1851, Call led the first settlers in Fillmore, in central Utah, and served for a period as the first bishop there before returning to Bountiful.

It was appropriate that Brigham Young ask Call to head up the effort to set up a remote settlement in what is now Southern Nevada. A brother-in-law of Chester Loveland, who was in charge of the Carson County settlements of 1856-1857, Call himself had gone from Fillmore to colonize the Carson area.

According to his diary, Call started for Carson a Valley in May 1856 with most of his family and hired hands, taking 3 wagons, 23 head of cattle, 4 mules, and 178 sheep. Forty-three days on the road, he reported losing three beet cattle and 34 sheep. mostly in Indian thievery. After establishing a ranch in Washoe Valley, Call was appointed to lead parties which explored the Walker River and Truckee Valley. He returned to Bountiful with the approach of the Utah Expedition in the fall of 1857.

Call was a good choice to establish an enterprise in the heart of Nevada's "Indian Country. In Parowan, Fillmore, and Washoe - Valley he had demonstrated an ability to deal peacefully with diverse bands of Indians. So friendly had he become with one band that they prevailed upon him to take to raise a two-year-old Indian orphan girl. By 1864, she was 13 and regarded herself as Call's adopted daughter.

Call was an effective leader. When one exploring group he was with reached Nephi, in central Utah, they camped over Sunday to hold religious observances. The ecclesiastical leader of the company. - George A. Smith, expressed regret in his sermon that they would leave the next morning without - having built a bridge over the stream for the benefit of others who might follow them. Without a word to the leader, Call gathered his men about him that night and, promptly at one o'clock Monday morning, began constructing the bridge. By the time Elder Smith arose, the bridge was completed and, according to the report, was substantial enough to be used by travelers for many years.

Call wrote in his journal that he was appointed on November 1, 1864, to "take an exploring company and locate a road to the Colorado River and then explore the river and find a suitable place for a warehouse and build the same, and form a settlement at or near the place of landing. Armed with tithing produce and other supplies, Call left with a company two weeks later. Other companies, he mentioned, were appointed to form settlements on the road between St. George and the projected landing. He arrived in St. George on November 24, left some assistants there and at Santa Clara, Utah, to arrange for materials, and continued on with five other persons, including Jacob Hamblin, the famous Mormon "Apostle to the Lamanites, who served as guide and interpreter.

On the way from Santa Clara to the Colorado, the party spent one evening camped on the edge of the farm of "Indian Thomas. This native farmer had planted a considerable acreage of wheat and corn (the wheat was planted in hills, like corn) and had plenty of corn fodder for the party's animals. Call's journal is replete with entries like these: "Here is considerable good land; the stream will Irrigate enough land to sustain about fifty families ... every facility seems to abound here to warrant the establishment of a large self sustaining settlement.

AT one point, on November 29, Call records that the party's horses were taken to feed by Indians, and duly returned the next day. They were occasionally guided by local Indians, On November 30, Call records: "Today we saw many Indians. We were struck with the respect they showed towards Bro. Hamblin. The Indians, he wrote, "are anxious for us to settle the country, and are willing for our cattle to eat their grass, if we will employ them, that they may have clothes to wear and food to eat when their grass seed is all used.

At the Colorado, the party found the river "of a reddish color and about 150 yards wide, or about as wide as the Illinois river. They traveled on to Hardy's Landing, to which steamers had gone on two or three occasions on behalf of the army. At Hardy's they found a main building 100x80 feet and 12 feet high, built of adobes. This building was divided into a store, warehouse, billiard room, dining saloon, and kitchen. There were also a blacksmith shop, tinsmith shop, carpenter shop, and several dwelling houses, all served by a well of water 25 feet deep.

After much exploring, on December 17, 1864, the party agreed that the best landing and head of navigation was at Black Canyon, 150 miles north of Hardy's Landing. They decided to call it "Call's Landing. Twenty miles southeast of present-day Las Vegas and 125 miles from St. George, Call's Landing was about a mile downstream from the mouth of Boulder Canyon, the site originally selected for the Hoover Dam, and about 12 miles above the present location of Hoover Dam. Call reported that the river at that point was about the size of the Illinois River, and the landing as good as the landing at Peoria. Here was a possible half-way house between San Francisco and Salt Lake City.

After measuring of f 40 lots, each 100 feet square, the party left James Davids, Call's son-in-law, and Lyman Hamblin, son of Jacob, to dig the foundation for the warehouse. The remainder of the party traveled seven miles up the river to an Indian farm, where they found corn, melons, a nearby spring. and good feed. In the next few days they investigated Muddy Creek and determined that one or more settlements there were viable.

Upon returning to St. George on December 24, Call engaged mechanics, supplies, tools, and everything necessary to

erect the warehouse without delay. He returned to Call's Landing on December 27 and remained for two and one-half months working on the warehouse. In March 1865 Call returned to his Davis County home, remained there about a month, and then returned to the Colorado River with his wife Mary Ann, 20 hands, baggage wagons, supplies, and a surveyor. They found the crops looking well. The men he had left there in Mardi had a kiln of lime burned ready for them to continue the warehouse.

They now laid out a town, called Callville, "on the banks of the Colorado in a nook in the mountains in the shape of a horseshoe....I then took the surveyor and went to the Muddy and surveyed a town near the Virgin River and called it St. Thomas, after Thomas Smith, leader of the company to Inhabit it.

The warehouse was a substantial stone building 120 feet long and 30 feet wide. In addition to space for holding the expected goods, the building contained a store and living quarters. Nearby were stone-walled corrals for livestock enclosing several acres, and an 18-by-20-foot separate structure which served as the residence of Call. The stone warehouse was completed up to the square by the spring of 1865, and the roof, doors, and windows were installed by James Leithead, Andrew Gibbons, and others in the summer of 1865. The flat roof consisted of timber covered by canvas thoroughly saturated with pitch.

In support of Callville Brigham Young had called about 50 families to occupy the irrigable valleys between the landing and St. George. This group was later joined by more than 100 more families. In addition to St. Thomas, they founded St. Joseph, Overton, and West Point (Moapa).

Their function was to plant crops-wheat, corn, cotton, grapes, and garden stuffs and to improve the road and service the packers, freighters, and travelers along the road.

One of the leaders of the agricultural colonists Warren Foote, who served as bishop of St. Joseph. Bishop Foote and David Ross visited Call's Landing in August 1865 to trade 800 pounds of flour for supplies and equipment that might be available at the steamboat landing. Their trip was 35 difficult miles. The nature of the road is graphically described in Foote's diary, which also relates the kinds of experiences that other travelers on the route encountered.

The first day, Foote wrote, they went down to where the road left the Virgin River. There they found a "terrible steep hill. They packed the flour up on the horses' backs, went back to get the empty wagon, and after a hard struggle managed to get it up.

The second day went very slowly as the road ran down a loose gravelly wash. During that night one of the horses got to a sack of grain and foundered (i.e., became ill from overeating). They drove on the next morning by making the well horse pull nearly all the load. By that time they were still about 12 miles from Callville. The weather was very hot, and there was no water for the horses and very little for themselves.

After they got into the wash leading down to the Colorado, there was a gradual descent to the river and "a pretty good road. There they found five or six persons who had taken up claims, "supposing that Callville would become a very important place.

Paddock and James Ferry were operating a small store there. Foote and Ross sold their flour to them for $14 per 100 pounds, and received payment in some goods and money. They lay over to give their sick horse a chance to recover a little, and then started at 4 o'clock in the afternoon so as to travel the hottest and driest section at night. Their sick horse gave out, however, so they had to abandon their wagon. "We packed Our bedding and things on the well horn, Foote wrote, "and traveled nearly all night and then laid down to rest until daylight.

The next day they reached the Virgin River. They encountered some persons going to St. Thomas on horseback, so Foote and Ross sent word to tell their people at St. Joseph "to send an Indian to meet us with a fresh supply of food. They started the next morning from camp, without having anything to eat for breakfast. But after traveling about an hour, wrote Foote, "we met an Indian with our grub.! ..I never enjoyed the sight of an Indian so much in my me. They reached their St. Joseph homes that night.

Meanwhile, in December 1864 the Esmeralda, captained by Thomas E. Trueworthy, who had previously been a river pilot on the Sacramento River in California, moved through the muddy waters of the Colorado and headed for Call's Landing.

The 130-foot Esmeralda pulled the Black Crook, a 136-foot barge, the two containing more than one 100 tons of

freight. Trueworthy's partner in the venture was Captain Samuel Adams, better known as "Steamboat Adams, who had just come to Prescott, Arizona, and recognized the need for inexpensive transportation of goads from the Coast to the interior. The steamboat venture was sponsored by the Union Line, a San Francisco company, and the Deseret Mercantile Association, a company of Salt Lake City merchants. A sternwheeler, the Esmeralda was capable of carrying 50 tons while drawing only 33 inches of water.

Trueworthy manipulated his craft through the imposing canyons, with picturesque cliffs on each side of the river. He was within 20 miles of Call's Landing when he ran into a party carrying distressing news: Call had been told that the Esmeralda had broken down, so he had returned to Salt Lake City for further instructions.

We know that the report was untrue. The Esmeralda was in splendid shape and Call was at the Landing anxiously awaiting the first shipment of goods. California papers (and Trueworthy) later alleged that the false rumor was circulated by George A. Johnson, who supplied the army post at Fort Yuma, or by William H. Hardy, who stood to lose some of his business at Hardyville. At any rate, accepting the news at face value, Trueworthy and Adams turned the Esmeralda around and went downriver to Eldorado Canyon, where they moored the craft. They then journeyed overland to Salt Lake City to make contact with their merchant- customers, who were of course delighted to learn that Trueworthy had demonstrated the project's practicality. Trueworthy's cargo was later picked up and transported to the Mormon capital with results that pleased everyone.

A second attempt at river transportation to Callville was made in March 1865 by the George A. Johnson Company. But after reaching Hardy's Landing, the captain, fearful of going further and dubious about not finding sufficient wood to keep the fires going, unloaded his cargo at Hardy's. California newspapers asserted that this decision must have been induced by Hardy, but it may have been due to low water in the river.

In August 1866 the Esmeralda, towing a barge 126 feet long, attempted another trip to Callville, carrying 100 tons of freight. Near the end of October the ship docked at Callville. As Odie Fauik states, "Adams stood triumphant on the landing of the Mormon settlement well over six hundred miles above the Gulf of California. There was an enthusiastic welcome. The Alta California reported that "cannons were fired and other demonstrations of joy indulged in.

There were additional trips to Callville until as late as December 1866, and possibly early in 1867 as well. (The standing advertisement of the steamship company in the Salt Lake Telegraph was discontinued in December 1866.)

By using this river connection, the government was able to save thousands of dollars supplying the inland military, merchants were able to sell goods at a cheaper price, and farmers and ranchers were able to find outlets for their produce. During almost two years of operation (actually only the months of 1865-1868 and 1866-1867 just before and after high water), lumber, agricultural machinery, and general

merchandise were freighted to Utah by the Colorado. One Salt Lake firm advertised one shipment

in March 1866 that included 20,000 pounds of sugar, 100 chests of tea, 150 boxes of soap, 175 boxes of glass, 100 kegs of nails, and numerous packages of domestic dry goods. A 10-horsepower "modern threshing machine was delivered to Joseph Hand, a farmer in one of the Muddy settlements, at a cost of $7.16 per 100 pounds from New York to Call's Landing. The thresher was in use in Nevada, and later in St. George, for many years. Mormon records suggest that a rather considerable amount of traffic (8,000 pounds of smoking tobacco, 5,000 pounds of chewing tobacco, and 20,000 pounds of coffee) ended up in the Montana mine fields. one of the weaknesses of the enterprise, of course, was the lack of a good road from Call's Landing to St. George. Located along Muddy Creek, the Virgin River, and Santa Clara Creek, crossing and re-crossing these streams many times, the road was plagued with periods of high water and quicksand. And there were difficulties with hostile Indians as well as assistance from friendly ones. The farmers and freighters supporting the project encountered malaria, grasshoppers, and niggardly soil.

With the end of the Civil War, construction of the transcontinental railroad moved ahead rapidly. As the terminus of the Union Pacific moved ever closer to the Salt Lake Valley in 1867, there was no longer economic justification for the experiments along the Colorado.

The warehouse and other facilities at Callville were abandoned late in 1867. The colonists on the Muddy, after heroic sacrifices and patient endurance of backbreaking assignments, were "released from their missions in 1871 and returned to Utah-most of them to Long Valley in Southern Utah. Call returned to Bountiful, where he engaged in

farming and became once more a bishop, then a member of the stake presidency. He died in Bountiful in 1890 at the age of 80, father of a large family, many of whom now live and work ill Nevada.

Had not the North won the war, and had not the transcontinental railroad been well advanced in 1867, the interior Southwest might have had a more auspicious destiny than that available to it in the last third of the 19th century.

CHAPTER IX - MISSION TO THE MUDDY (1864-1871) <Top of Page>

On June 17, 1850, a company of Mormon emigrants set out from Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa, for the Salt Lake Valley. In the company were 249 persons, 54 wagons, 385 cattle, 10 horses, and 153 sheep. In a preparatory meeting held under the direction of their captain, Joseph Warren Foote, they had agreed upon the adoption of certain rules and regulations. There would be no swearing; all would arise at 4 a.m., have prayers together, and start their wagons in unison; they would not abuse their animals; and there would be no unauthorized use of firearms.

But such general rules always demand specific interpretations. If a teamster, provoked by the wayward behavior of a perverse ox, utters an oath, more as an automatic reaction than out of malice, should he be merely reminded, in a good-humored way, or should he be warned more sternly? And if he persists, what should be his punishment? If he strikes at an ox, not unmercifully but merely to get what is the appropriate penalty? Some of these matters, there were differences in opinion within the company over some of these matters, and these differences were so magnified during the trip that some began to snap at others. As they neared their destination, Foote became alarmed that his company might introduce a discordant note into the otherwise harmonious body of Saints in the Promised Valley. So "at the foot of the last mountain, where we camped before we entered the Valley, as the camp clerk records it, the company "were called together for the purpose of settling all difficulties, if any existed, and ask each other's forgiveness, so that we could enter the Valley free from any hard feelings towards any of our brother or sisters. A good spirit prevailed, and all expressed a desire to forgive and be forgiven.

This kind of humanity was later to influence the establishment of Mormon colonies in south-eastern Nevada, for Warren Foote was a founder and leader of the Muddy settlements. And some in his company of emigrants were later among those who lived and worked on the Muddy.

JOSEPH WARREN FOOTE was born in 1817 near Ithaca, Tompkins County, in western New York. The family was converted to Mormonism in 1833, when Warren was 16. Four years later the Footes moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where Warren taught school. After a year they went onto Mormon settlements in Missouri, but were expelled, along with other Mormons, soon afterward. They then moved to Quincy, and later Nauvoo, Illinois.

Participating in the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo in 1846, Warren and his wife went to Council Bluffs (Kanesville), Iowa, where they remained four years. In 1850 they crossed the Plains to Utah and located in Little Cottonwood Ward (Union Fort), in the Salt Lake Valley, where Warren and his family lived until the fall of 1863.

In Little Cottonwood Warren was an important person - justice of the peace, member of the territorial militia, first counselor to the bishop, and postmaster. During the winter of 1863-1864 he moved his family to Millard County in central Utah, and helped settle the village of Scipio. Not particularly pleased with Scipio, which was "too frosty. - with little prospect of raising anything but small grain and potatoes, Foote and his wife were willing respondents to Brigham Young's plea for volunteers to help colonize the Muddy.

Why would anyone want to settle the Muddy? Early Mormon explorers had declared it to be a lonely, barren waste, inhabited by marauding desert Indians who, among the poorest in America, understandably neglected no opportunity to obtain food and animals from travelers passing through on the way to a less forbidding land. Why the Muddy?

Brigham Young's reasons for advising the settlement of the Muddy boil down to three. First, the Civil War had induced a reconsideration of the desirability of importing commodities by way of the Colorado River. For that purpose, Call's Landing had been established in 1864, and those freighting goods to and from there needed food, feed, and supplies.

Second, when the Civil War interrupted sources of textiles, the Latter-day Saints built a large cotton factory in Washington, near St. George. This factory now needed cotton, which could be grown in the Muddy region. Third, the Saints felt strongly their obligation to work with the Indian bands of the region-to help them raise food, encourage them to be friendly, and to remind them of their ancient heritage of greatness.

To accomplish these purposes, Brigham Young asked for volunteers to settle the Muddy in November 1864. Aware of Warren and Ann Foote's interest in finding a warmer climate for a home, Brigham Young "called them to the Muddy.

In company with others, Foote left Scipio-"Round Valley -on May 1,1885, and after exactly three weeks on the trail arrived at Muddy Creek on May 22. Traveling by ox-team, they averaged about 12 miles per day. At Harrisburg, fourteen miles north of St. George, Foote wrote: "We learned by experience today that we had get into a warm country; some parts of our road were very sandy, which with the heat made it hard for our oxen. Their principal diet consisted of "water pancakes, molasses, and tea. Between St. George and the Muddy, they had to ascend "Virgin Hill, which Foote called "the awfullest hill that I ever attempted to draw a wagon up. But they finally made it.

At the point where the California trail intersected with Muddy Creek, Foote and his party of 30 families met the leader of the advance colonists sent out by Brigham Young three months earlier. At the time he had called Foote and his wife, the church president had also called Thomas S. Smith, of Farmington, Davis County, Utah, to lead an advance company and to remain as leader of all the settlements (the equivalent of stake president).

Like Foote a native of western New York, Smith bad been baptized by Mormon elders in 1844, and in 1855-1857 had served as president of the Salmon River Indian Mission in northern Idaho. Leading the party of ten men and three women, including his party and three children, Smith arrived on the Muddy in January 1865. With the help of Anson Call, he had surveyed a town site and, following instruction from Brigham Young, had named it St. Thomas, after his own Christian name.

St. Thomas was about three miles up Muddy Creek from its junction with the Virgin River. EventuaHy, 45 families settled there. The homes were built in "Mormon fort style-in two parallel lines, about ten rods apart, running north and south. The settlers moved into this tort on April 1, 1885. Adjoining the townsite, land was surveyed for farms and vineyards. Hoping for a fall harvest, they quickly planted wheat.

After arriving on the scene and consulting with Smith, Foote and some men in his party traveled toward the head of the river, the Upper Muddy, "to look over the country. They found that Indians were quite numerous and were growing "considerable wheat in patches. The wheat "looked well and was nearly ripe. (Remember that this was in May.) At a point some 25 or 30 miles up-creek from St. Thomas they found a number of warm springs issuing from the bluffs. Foote said to his companion, "Now we will have a good drink of water once more. "I got down to drink, he wrote, "and took a draft into my mouth, but soon cast it out again as it was warm as dishwater.

Because of the large Indian population on the Upper Muddy, Foote and Smith felt it "hardly safe to settle there." On Sunday, May 28, with Thomas Smith presiding, all the newly arrived settlers held a "Sunday meeting'. With about 40 families, it was "a large assemblage. Smith suggested the new colonists locate in a valley about nine miles above St Thomas. He appointed Foote to be the presiding elder of the group and suggested they name the place St. Joseph, after Foote's first name. Going to the designated location the next day, the company found "considerable land suitable for farming and some line grass for hay.

The new settlers immediately organized to get all the necessary preliminary labor done. One group put up a willow bowery. Another surveyed a town site, dividing it into lots of one acre each and setting some two-and-one-half-acre lots for large gardens, orchards, and vineyards. Finally, the farming area was divided into five-acre plots. Each plot was given a number. At a community meeting, the numbers were placed in a hat and each of the fifty-two family heads drew one town lot, one vineyard lot, and one farm plot.

Different teams of workers were assigned specific projects. One dug a network of ditches to bring water to homes, garden lands, and fanning area. Another began planting sugar cane, cotton, corn, potatoes, and setting out fruit trees. Another made a corral for the stock. Still another explored for timber and finally located "an immense body of the best timber we ever saw some 60 miles to the northwest. Ten men were delegated to spend three or four days making a road to it. When Elder.Foote learned that the St. Thomas settlers needed assistance in digging a large canal, he sent 20 men to help them.

The group met on June 11 to organize as a branch of the St. Thomas Ward. As presiding elder, Foote asked Jesse J. Fuller to be clerk, Philip K. Smith, David Holdaway, and H.P. Olson to be home teachers, and others to serve in various capacities. A good spirit prevailed, wrote Foote.

Then he learned that Tashob, the principal Indian chief, was very sick and wished Foote and P.K. Smith to administer to him -i.e., apply faith healing by the laying on of hands. "He was around again in a few days, reported Foote. When the Indians harvested their wheat in early June, Foote wrote, "The pains are the largest that I ever saw.

With all the preliminaries taken care of, Foote and some others received permission from President Smith to return to get their wives and families. Alma H. Bennett was appointed to take charge of St. Joseph during Foote's absence.

Back in Scipio, Foote excitedly told his wife of their new home. "The Muddy country will produce anything in mid-winter that can be raised In the north (northern Utah) in summer, Foote said. "I saw wheat almost ripe and about three feet high...The country Is practically bare of vegetation; beds of prickly pear grow in the sand, and there are a few trees called the Joshua. There Is also a giant cactus which grows as high as elght feet, and from one to two feet in diameter. It ii round like a post and covered with thorns. It holds water of a disagreeable taste and odor. Everything that grows seems to have a thorn on It, with prickly pears and lizards In abundance."

Foote returned with his family in October 1865. He took three wagons-two of them with two yoke of oxen each, and one light wagon with one yoke. Besides the five yoke of oxen, they took eight cows and six head of young stock. The wagons were loaded with 3,000 pounds of flour. Since his wife was pregnant, Foote took special pains to see that she was warm and comfortable in the best wagon.

Upon their arrival in St. Joseph, Foote was pleased to note that a few adobe cabins and small adobe homes had been built. Orrawell Simons, whom Brigham Young had asked to go to the Muddy to set up a gristmill, had located a mill at a point three miles below St. Joseph and seven miles above St. Thomas and would be prepared to grind wheat by harvest time. His location, referred to variously as Mill Point and Simonsville, attracted a few colonists who wanted to be near the mill.

Life in the Muddy, with wives and children now resent, involved unbelievable privations. But it was not without its humorous aspects. Lucy Allen, who accompanied her husband and three children there in 1865, found the swamps of the Muddy infested with mosquitoes. She became ill with "the fever and ague -malaria-and chilled and burned every day for a long time, then every other day, and finally once a week. She said, "I had to bake the days I didn't shake.

Abraham A. Kimball, who ran a threshing machine, complained of the heat of the summer: "When warm weather came we were unable to sleep In the house, and were compelled to resort to the sheds and sleep on top of them to keep from scorpions, tarantulas, rattlesnakes, etc., and (there was) no escaping mosquitoes.

"Many a time, Kimball explained, "I have got up In the night and roiled In the ditch to cool off, and soon found it injurious to my health. I have often seen the chickens at daybreak hold their wings up and lolling for breath, the same as at noon ID a decent country. An egg would roast In a short time laying In the sand. I have eaten as fine roasted onions as any onions need to be. By watering carrots in the morning they would cook by noon, so the skin would all slip off them by pulling them up "I have been very much amused, he continued," to see the children going home from school at noon. They would take their bonnets, aprons, or some green brush (if they had them) In their hands, run as far as they could, throw them down and stand on them until their feet cooled off. Then run again.

Because of the scarcity of wood, they hunted for driftwood, and dug roots out of the ground and dried them to burn. Especially useful for firewood Were the roots of the mesquite bush.

Orville S. Cox, another 1865 veteran, reported that "the grasshoppers came In hordes and ate the crops and laid millions of eggs In the sand. All the Saints together knelt down and prayed for deliverance from them.. September turned very hot and melted all those hopper' eggs.

On the positive side were a long growing season ("six cuttings of alfalfa hay) and mild winters. Trees reportedly grew as fast in the Muddy in one Season as they did in Salt Lake in three seasons.

Relationships with the Indians were generally cordial. In return for flour Indian men helped farmers and Indian wives did washing. According to Hannah Sharp, Indian women on the hottest days wound their hair about their heads and plastered it with wet mud, allowing it to cake. When Hannah asked them about It, they replied, "Heap hot; catch'em sun. Although recognizing this as effective in preventing sunstroke, Hannah did not indicate that she took up the custom.

Orville Cox reported that there was an agreement between the Indians and the whites that the Indians would not kill

white men's cattle, and whites would not kill game that the Indians depended upon. On one occasion, however, Orville's 13-year-old son Walter killed a rabbit. The Indians demanded that the boy be shot or punished in some way. While they were deliberating the matter Walter raised his gun and shot at some wild ducks. A dozen or so dropped. An Indian friend of the boy then said, "Come, don't bother Walt. His gun magic. Kill many with one shot. The boy then gave the ducks to the Indians and the incident was closed. His name from that time on was "Aragoonip, which meant "protected by the Great Spirit.

By the end of 1865 the Muddy colonists in the twin colonies of St. Thomas and St. Joseph had produced 5,000 pounds of cotton, and "a large crop of wheat, which yielded from 30 to 60 bushels per acre.

With the first crop in they set about to build a combination meetinghouse-schoolhouse. Constructed of adobe walls, the building had a provisional mud roof, later replaced with "large timbers hauled from 25 miles to the southeast. There was a stationary lumber seat all around the interior. The uneven wooden floor offered a welcome opportunity for dancing. Fiddlers played their repertoire of three tunes over and over again while the settlers danced quadrilles and Virginia reels to the accompaniment of clapping hands and rhythmic feet.

In 1866 the discovery of minerals in the area above the Muddy led Congress, wishing to be sure that the mines were not in Mormon Country, to reduce Utah Territory's western borders by one degree of longitude, attaching it to the new state of Nevada. Nevada was also given all that portion of Arizona lying north of the Colorado River. The Muddy colonies were now squarely within Nevada. But, not sure of their geographical status until 1870, some of the colonists paid their taxes in Utah, others in Arizona.

A second significant event of 1886 was the visit of Erastus Snow, resident apostle in St. George and ecclesiastical leader over all Mormon settlements in southern Utah, southern Nevada, and northern Arizona. Thomas Smith had been ill, and Apostle Snow released him to return with his family to Farmington. Smith's place as president of the Muddy colonies was taken by James Leithead, another New York native who had become a trusted Mormon colonizer.

But Apostle Snow brought more serious news. The Black Hawk Indian War, the most bloody and serious of Utah's Indian wars, had not subsided. Brigham Young and his associates had now called for the abandonment of all outlying settlements. People were to join together in larger settlements where they could more easily protect themselves from Indian attacks and depredations.

Apostle Snow therefore visited St. Thomas and St. Joseph and instructed the people to agree on which settlement they would discontinue. Foote, a loyal disciple, found it difficult to accept the instruction. "It was difficult for us to understand how that war (Black Hawk war) could affect us in this distant place, especially as the Utes (the principal aggressors) and Pa Utes (the local Indians) had no Intercourse with each other. But nevertheless, we were willing to obey counsel.

In the meeting to discuss the matter, the principal instruction of Apostle Snow was to decide which settlement would hold the most people, and all congregate there. They met. Residents of St. Thomas spoke up for that place; Foote and associates spoke up for St. Joseph; and those at Mill Point spoke up for that place.

Elder Snow finally decided that the St. Joseph residents should go to St. Thomas, but later permitted those who wished to go to Mill Point. Most of the St. Joseph colonists therefore went to Mill Point, which, because of the influx of St. Joseph settlers, now came to be called the new St. Joseph. As Foote predicted, they had difficulty with water supply. By 1068 most of the Mill Pointers left to go to the Upper Muddy Valley, 25 miles above St. Thomas. There they founded West Point. At any rate, the original St. Joseph came to an end in July 1866.

Foote moved his own family to St. Thomas, where he was immediately appointed counselor to Thomas Smith, and later to his replacement James Leithead. Foote was provided with a town lot, a two-and-one-half-acre lot, and two five-acre lots in St. Thomas. He sowed the latter to wheat.

The Muddy colonists ginned 70,000 pounds of cotton and 7,000 bushels of wheat in 1066. In addition, they harvested grapes, potatoes, corn, peas, and sugar cane. They were particularly pleased with the per-acre yields of all crops, although the soil was known to be alkaline. "The cotton surpasses any grown In the South, wrote one of the colonists to a church official in Salt Lake city.

After two years of labor and privation, some of the colonists began to make excuses to leave the Muddy. Call's

Landing was abandoned in 1867, and some felt that the irrigation water applied to the soil was causing the mineral salts to precipitate to the surface, cutting down the yields. One wife is said to have told her husband: "If we can't do better someplace else than here, we might as well dig a hole and get In It. Another couple, having decided to return, began to discuss the best route back. The husband asked his wife if she wanted to go by the wet road or the dry one. She promptly replied, "The wet road. I'd rather drown thirty times than choke to death once.

In the fall of 1867, Brigham Young called a number of young married couples to go to the Muddy to fill the ranks and strengthen it. Most of these, it appears, were inexperienced In pioneer life. When they reached new St. Joseph (Mill Point), they thought the land was so barren and the water problems so difficult that they asked to move to the Upper Muddy (West Point). Apostle Snow reluctantly gave his approval in February (1868), but when Brigham Young heard of it, he ordered them back to St. Joseph. "This broke up the settlement, according to Warren Foote, for most of them returned to Salt Lake and abandoned the mission altogether.

The church called another group in the fall of 1868-this time older, more experienced persons. Most of them located at St. Joseph. Joseph W. Young, a nephew of Brigham Young, was sent down to assume leadership of this group (under the general direction of Apostle Snow). They relocated the town and worked hard for a year, but couldn't make a success of it. So they abandoned the Mill Point site. Above hail of these people moved back to the original site of St. Joseph, and the other half moved to a point about one mile southwest of the mill and surveyed a site for a new town they called Overton. Overton proved to be a good location.

By the spring of 1870, St. Thomas, St. Joseph (original site), and Overton were "quite respectable towns. Helaman Pratt presided over Overton and Did Starks presided at old St. Joseph. George Leavitt was presiding elder at the Upper Muddy (West Point), where some 25 families resided. Foote and others also surveyed a site at the junction of the Rio Virgin with the Colorado, which they called Junction City. A few families sought a livelihood there.

By the end of 1868 there were more than 400 persons on the Muddy, of whom 218 were in St. Thomas and about an equal number in Overton, St. Joseph, West Point, and Junction City. On the assumption that they were in Pah Ute County, Arizona Territory, they elected legislators who went to Prescott to meet with the Arizona body. Warren Foote, Andrew Gibbons, and Elijah Bilingsley were elected supervisors (commissioners) for the county.

When they came to realize that the area north of the Colorado no longer belonged to Arizona, the colonists assumed they must be in Utah. So in February 1869 all five settlements were organized into Rio Virgin County, Utah Territory, with Joseph W. Young of West Point as probate judge.

In the autumn of 1870 Brigham Young and several associate officers of the LDS Church visited the Muddy settlements. They also went down to Callville on the Colorado River. According to Foote, Brigham Young "was very much disappointed In. the whole country. He did not consider that It was as desirable a place as It had been represented to him. Indeed, he is reported to have declared, "Nobody but Mormons and Indians can make a living in this desolate country. With the President's approval the settlement at West Point was abandoned in the fall of 1870, the settlers moving to St. George and other places in southern Utah.

During the winter of 1870-1871 an official survey to ascertain the exact location of the line between Utah and Nevada found it to run 18 miles east of St. Thomas. All the Muddy settlements were in Nevada. As soon as this became known, the county officers at Hico, Lincoln County, sent their assessor down and assessed the colonists for the past two years. The colonists objected, of course, since they had paid taxes to Arizona and/or Utah for both years.

Some of the settlers began to "feel very uneasy, to use Warren Foote's words. Nevada politics were dominated by miners, who had generally been hostile to Mormon farmers. Nevada taxes were considerably higher than in Utah and Arizona and had to be paid in gold. Some of the settlers had never been satisfied with the Muddy anyway, and looked for an excuse to return to Utah. "Their heart was not in the mission, wrote Foote. "They hailed with delight anything that would be calculated to release them, even to the breaking up of these settlements.

Aware of this discouragement, Brigham Young, who was in St. George, dispatched a letter on December 14, which was read at a public meeting at St. Thomas six days later. The letter recited the problems of the Muddy settlements and commended the settlers for their "noble work in making and sustaining that outpost of Zion against many difficulties. If a majority concluded to remain, Young advised, they should do so. But if a majority voted to leave, let that be done. The letter suggested that they petition the Nevada legislature for an abatement of back taxes and for the organization of a new county.

In the ensuing meeting, all-some reluctantly to be sure-voted to abandon the settlements except Daniel and Mary Bonelli. The settlers agreed to "stick together and assist each other in removing our effects. They also agreed "not to destroy our houses, as this valley Is just as valuable to Zion today as It was a year ago. Bishop Foote wrote in his diary:

"The people generally look upon the vacating of their homes and the labor of years thrown away joyfully and fully resigned in providences of God, believing that He will overrule all for their good.

Upon the report of their committee in January, the colonists all agreed to go to Long Valley in southern Utah. (Brigham Young had given his approval to this arrangement.) While they were discussing these possibilities, they received a summons from the sheriff insisting that they pay their back Nevada taxes. "Immediately after the sheriff's visit, wrote Foote, "we held a council in which It was decided to move en masse before the first of March so as to avoid having our teams and wagons attached by the sheriff. So in February 1871, the Muddy settlers moved out as a body. At Long Valley, in Kane County, Utah, most of them settled in Glendale; others settled in Mt. Cannel, which later divided to create the town of Orderville; others settled in Kanab.

"I went (to the Muddy) with a full determination to stick to It and make a pleasant home for my family, Warren Foote later wrote. Noting that he had not received a cent for the land, vineyards, and houses there, he felt that "six years of my hard labor was thrown away. lie considered it "a great trial to leave my beautiful vineyard that I had expended so much labor to level and terrace.

All that he brought away, except his family and personal belongings, were "two old horses, one old wagon, and two cows. In spite of it all, however, Foote concluded: "In leaving the Muddy, my faith did not fall me. - .1 felt that the Lord had not forsaken me, but that He would open up the way before me in such a manner that we would not suffer. I had proved Him before, and He had never failed me, for which I praise Him.

Warren Foote served for many years as a member of the 12-man High Council of Kanab Stake, and at the age of 72 was ordained a patriarch. He died in 1903.

Meanwhile, Daniel and Mary Bonelli, who remained behind in Nevada, went to Junction City where they established a ferry for crossing the Colorado. Known for many years as Bonelli's Ferry or Rioville, the site became a ghost town after Bonelli's death in 1904.

As for the other LDS settlements on the Muddy, there was a lingering nostalgia; from time to time individuals and families returned to make a living. The story of the mission to the Muddy is a story of hardship and frustration. It is also a story of determination and faith.

CHAPTER X - BUNKERVILLE AND THE UNITED ORDER <Top of Page>

The 19th Century Mormon settlement pattern, whether in Nevada, Idaho, Arizona, or Utah, was built on cooperation. Each colonizer was to labor primarily for the good of the group, contributing his muscle and sinew, talents and intelligence, to help the community survive. This was the key to success in the development of the arid desert.

At the outset, the colonizers cooperated in building fences, irrigation canals, roads to the timber, schoolhouses, and meeting houses. They cooperatively herded their livestock, and after the 1860s cooperated in extending the Mormon telegraph system to each new village. Under the managership of the bishop, each community established a cooperative general store that handled all trading and merchandising. Earnings of the store were used to establish supporting industries-woolen mills, tanneries, boot and shoe shops-and in improving their agricultural equipment and livestock herds.

In some communities these enterprises were ultimately welded into a general community cooperative called a United Order. Some villages even felt such a spirit of brotherhood and unity that they lived and worked together as one large family. Such a community was Bunkerville.

Edward Bunker, the founder of Bunkerville, was born along the Penobscot River in Maine in 1822, the youngest of nine children. When he was 19, in the tradition of Maine teenagers, he left his home and went west. His first stop was in northern Ohio, where he chanced to meet Martin Harris, the New York farmer who had mortgaged his land to finance the publication of the Book of Mormon. Harris bore strong testimony of the truth of that book, and induced

young Bunker to learn more.

Edward was eventually baptized and subsequently moved to the Mormon headquarters of Nauvoo, Illinois. When the Saints were driven from Nauvoo, in 1846, Edward and his wife, Emily Abbott Bunker, crossed to Garden Grove, Iowa. There, upon a call by the church and the United States government, Edward joined the Mormon Battalion and drove a team to California a part of the campaign connected with the Mexican War.

Discharged in July 1847, he traveled by way of Sutter's Fort to Salt Lake City, then continued east, arriving at the Mormon camps in Winter Quarters, Nebraska, just before Christmas. There he found his wife and an 11-month-old son he had never seen.

Bunker and his family drove to the Great Basin Zion in 1850, locating first at Ogden, Utah. Two years later he was called as a proselyting missionary to Great Britain, where he served, in succession, as conference president in Bristol, Sheffield, Lincolnshire, and Scotland. Returning to America after four years of service, he was placed in charge of a handcart company of Welsh converts which crossed the plains in 1856. He was then installed as bishop of the Ogden Second Ward and served there for five years.

In 1861 Bunker and his family were called to colonize Southern Utah, and asked to preside over the colony at Santa Clara, near St. George. He also assisted in establishing a settlement in Clover Valley, in Lincoln County, Nevada, 20 miles south east of Panaca, and located part of his family there. Bunker was bishop of Santa Clara for 12 years.

When Brigham Young arrived in Southern Utah for his winter visit in 1873-1874, he found the region in need of economic revitalization. The shutdown of mines in southern Nevada, because of the Panic of 1873, had closed off a lucrative market for southern Utah produce and labor, and periodic droughts and floods, and two successive annual visitations of grasshoppers, had depleted reserves and brought the settlers to the verge of destitution. This was perhaps more true in Santa Clara than elsewhere. Brigham Young suggested that they form a United Order in order to mutually share their meager production, and to combine their labor into a more effective work force.

"A society like this (the United Order), he said, "would never have to buy anything; they would make and raise all they would eat, drink, and wear, and always have something to sell and bring In money, to help to increase their comfort and independence."

Upon the President's recommendation, Bishop Bunker introduced a United Order system in Santa Clara. But, despite Bunker's unreserved support and undeniable enemy, not all of those participating in the Order were faithful to its principles, and it was discontinued after one year.

Bunker and his family, nevertheless, wanted to experience the heightened productivity, the unselfishness and unity of a properly managed United Order community. "We had seen In Santa Clara, Bunker wrote, "the necessity and blessings of the United Order. By the blessing of "the Spirit of the Lord, he declared, "we will found a community fully committed to Its principles. So with Brigham Young's approval, Bunker decided to found a new settlement in southeastern Nevada.

In January 1877 Bunker, his family, and some relatives and close friends moved to a site on the southern bank of the Virgin, about 30 miles above the confluence with the Colorado. The group numbered 23 persons. The community they founded, at the prior suggestion of Brigham Young, was named Bunkerville.

Bunkerville having been founded for religious reasons-to institute a system governed according to principles of equality and justice-one of the first actions was the dedication of the land to the Lord. All the new residents stood in a circle, with arms clasped in fellowship, as Edward Bunker, now 55 years of age, offered the prayer. "During the prayer, wrote his son Edward, Junior, who was 17 at the time, "father let wheat fail through the fingers of one hand and soil from the land through the other.

The next day the colonists began work on a ditch to convey water from the Virgin River onto the flat land selected as the site for farming. Within two weeks, a ditch four feet wide had been finished to a point about two miles from its head. Alter being cleared of mesquite, rabbit brush, arrow weeds, and creosote, more than 20 acres of the sandy soil were leveled and planted to wheat.

During the next month 32 acres of alfalfa and corn were planted. In March the canal was ex tended another mile and grapevines and vegetables were set out. In April they planted 14 acres of cotton and in June seven acres of sorghum

cane. Although a flash flood partly destroyed the dam in August, it was repaired in time to save the crop.

The crops yielded well in 1877 and again in 1878. By the end of the second year the village had a cotton gin, molasses mill, and a flour mill, all run by water power. In reporting their success, Bunker told a church conference in St. George that they had produced 450 bushels of wheat, 600 gallons of molasses, and 12,000 pounds of cotton in the seed in 1877; and that in 1878 they had produced 1,600 bushels of wheat; 30,000 pounds of cotton; and 1,600 gallons of molasses. They also produced squash, melons, and other vegetables. All of this by 15 families!

During the first year, according to Juanita Brooks, the grain was reaped with a cradle, threshed by a flail and by driving cattle over it on a clay floor, and chaffed by hand.

"This was done by taking the grain In pans, holding It high, and letting It fail on canvas. A breeze would blow the chaff away. During the second year, Joseph Hammond arrived with a thresher, hauled all the way from California by team, a three week trip.

The plan of organization of the Bunkerville United Order, at the beginning, was communal or family-style. Each family contributed its economic property-cattle, teams and wagons, implements, and supplies. The land was owned and farmed by the group in common. The inhabitants ate at a common dining table and joined together for morning and evening prayers. All shared in the community product according to their particular needs.

Besides Edward Bunker, participants included George W. Lee and family; Mahonri M. Steel and family; Dudley, Lemuel, and Edward Levitt and families; Myron Abbott and family, and Samuel 0. Crosby and family. The feeling of community was heightened by the fact that most of the initial settlers were related, either directly or through marriage. They were also united by their poverty and hardships. Martha Cragun Cox wrote, "The lard was good to leave us in our poverty that we might learn to cleave together.

The water was alkaline, muddy, and hard, and was so foul that it was sometimes referred to as "the Virgin bloat. There were flies, and mosquitoes that brought malaria. Juanita Brooks wrote that the heat was "the kind that thickens the whites of eggs left in the coop and that makes lizards, scurrying from the shelter of one little bush to another, flip over on their backs and blow their toes.

The climate may have been exceedingly dry, but the silty, unseemly Virgin River occasionally went on a rampage. A daughter of Edward Bunker wrote: "We settled on the treacherous Virgin River that gave us no end of trouble, washing out our dams, filling up our ditches, and washing away the land. To cross It, the teams must rest before starting across, then by whipping across quickly to prevent going down in the quicksand.

The women shared the field work as well as keeping the houses and the small gardens. During the period of communal living the women rotated tasks of cooking making butter, and washing, ironing, and mending clothing. In the early years they lived in thin lumber rooms with dirt floors. Despite the chills and fever, the poverty and hardship, wrote one of them, "we washed and suffered and struggled on.

After the families had built substantial homes, the communal style of life was abandoned; henceforth, each family ate and prayed separately. But they still worked cooperatively to achieve common goals. Each family was given responsibility for a certain tract of land drawn by lot, and each person was assigned certain tasks by an elected board of directors. One brother, for example, was appointed to raise all the vegetables needed by the entire community, and as they ripened he gave them out to people as they came for them. This was called a "stewardship system.

The grain and produce was pot in a common storehouse - a granary owned by the Relief Society, the organization of women. Alter another year, the stewardship plan was extended still further to make each man responsible for his own labor.

The people of Bunkerville built an adobe schoolhouse-meetinghouse, completed in 1879. Here dances were held as well as lectures, worship services, and community business meetings. The schoolhouse-meetinghouse had two glass windows - the first in the village-and a flagstone roof. It served as the community center until 1900, when a large rock church was built.

The rock church, according to Juanita Brooks, was initiated by a group of young men who had been refused the use of the flagstone schoolhouse-meetinghouse. The town elders had long since agreed that dances should be held only on Friday night, but the young men were going on a freighting trip and wanted a dance before they left.

Since the hall was refused, they determined to build one of their own. They secured a site, put in a foundation, hauled rock, purchased lumber, and began construction. Clearly out-maneuvered, the bishop, Edward Bunker, Junior, persuaded them to let the whole ward assist and make the building a The Bunkerville home of Bishop Edward Bunker Jr. general ward house. The young men agreed, and a substantial rock structure 75 by 100 feet, with a stage, a high arched ceiling, and a steeple belfry, was built by the Bunkervillians' contributions of work and money. Rock was hauled from nearby hills, lime burned in a kiln of their own making, and lumber hauled from Mt. Trumbull, in southern Utah, 100 miles away.

The building was used for worship, education, and recreation until 1920, when it burned. Among other things, it served as a theater; plays were performed each winter by a locally organized dramatic company.

In 1880, when there were still only 15 families in Bunkerville, the community decided, although reluctantly and only after heartfelt discussions, to disband their United Order.

The stewardship arrangement had functioned to build up the community, but now things were sufficiently prosperous and stable that the formal cooperative arrangement could be discontinued. But Bunkerville continued to remain largely cooperative. Dams and irrigation ditches were maintained as a community enterprise, new homes were built cooperatively, everyone turned out to assist in the harvest, and cheese was manufactured on a group basis.

Edward Bunker appraised the Order as "highly crowned with success. It was remarkably self-sustaining, exhibited a high degree of unity, and manifested the mutual helpfulness which the founders had hoped for.

There was something grand about Bunkerviile. Some of Nevada's most distinguished citizens have grown up there - Leavitts, Pulsiphers, Bunkers, Abbotts, Earls, Coxs, and others have continued to contribute to the religious, business, and political life of the state. Two of the West's finest historians, LeRoy Hafen and Juanita Brooks, grew up in Bunkerville. With only limited opportunities for young people to work there, many settled towns like Moapa, Glendale, and Logandale in nearby valleys.

Bunkerville exported not only its ambitious young people, but also some of its idealism. Similar "Gospel Plan United Orders were established in Long Valley, Utah; in several settlements along the Little Colorado River in Arizona; and even in Cave Valley, Chihuahua, Mexico.

BISHOP BUNKER, the founder, remained in Bunkerville until 1901. Persons still alive remember seeing their 78 year-old bishop with then white hair as he set out with part of his family in 1901 to participate in a new colonization project in Colonia Morelos, Mexico. Within a month of his arrival there, he died. The history of Bunkerville is a constant reminder of this small, hard-working man with the mild, pleasant face, who believed in practical Christianity.

CHAPTER XI - WHITE PINE MORMONS, THE FOUNDING OF LUND, PRESTON AND GEORGETOWN <Top of Page>

Three Mormon communities founded in White Pine County - Lund, Preston, and Georgetown - were, strangely enough, made possible by an attempt of the Federal Government to make up to the Mormons for the government's mishandling of Church property. What was the government doing with Church property? How did this strange state of affairs come about?

It was all part of the Federal Government's campaign against certain Mormon practices in the latter half of the 19th century. Group economics and political behavior were frowned upon, but it was especially plural marriage that aroused the determined opposition of federal officials and a majority of Congressmen.

A series of anti-polygamy acts, often unenforced, culminated in the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, which, among other things, required that all Church property be escheated and given to the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of public (i.e., non-Mormon) schools of the territory. A federal receiver was appointed to take possession of the Church's property except for chapels and cemeteries.

As a consequence of this kind of pressure and after praying to the Lord for guidance, Church president Wilford Woodruff issued the famous Manifesto instructing members to discontinue solemnizing plural marriages. Other Church practices, economic and political, were also modified so as to be acceptable to the nation. Soon Congress

took action to make Utah a state and passed a law returning what was left of it, property.

This is where White Pine County comes into the picture. An investigation by the U.S. Senate revealed that most of the Church's 30,000 sheep had died during the winter of 1889-1890, and that most of its 75,000 cattle had disappeared. Some of these animals had been farmed out by the receiver to the White River Valley Land and Live Stock Company in White Pine and Steptoe counties, Nevada. That company was unable to deliver to the receiver many of the animals that had been placed with It. In replacement for the stock they could not account for, plus a cash consideration, the White River Valley Ranch-all of its land holdings, livestock, facilities, and other properties-were offered to the Church in 1897.

The Church accepted these, and immediately created organizational structures to make possible the settlement and development of this land. When the papers were cleared which gave the Church possession, the First Presidency set up a Nevada corporation, the Nevada Land and Live stock Company, to administer the property, consisting, all told, of 15,000 acres of land.

At the same time, Thomas Judd, bishop of St. George First Ward for 18 years, was appointed to direct the colonization of the region. Fifty-one years old at the time of his appointment in 1897, Judd was a native of England (he had been baptized in 1864 and went to Utah the same year), had served two years as a proselyting missionary in England, and was an expert farmer and horticulturist. He was later a consultant with respect to irrigation projects at Moapa. He remained a resident of White Pine for five years-from 1897 to 1902- and continued as a consultant until his death in 1922.

Under Judd's direction, and with government approval, the Nevada Land and Livestock Company took over the assets of the White River Valley Land and Livestock Company. Three town sites were selected for colonization, two in the White River Valley and one in Steptoe Valley. Lund, named for LDS Apostle Anthon H. Lund, on the east side of White River Valley, was settled by Latter-day Saints from Judd's area in Southern Utah. Preston, named for LDS Presiding Bishop William B. Preston, on the west side of White River Valley, was settled primarily by Scandinavian converts from Utah's Sanpete County. The third, Georgetown, was named after a member of the Church First Presidency, George Q. Cannon, and was settled by persons from a variety of Utah locations, particularly Sanpete County.

This whole area had first been explored by Howard Egan, famous Mormon scout, Indian interpreter, and member of Brigham Young's pioneer company of 1847. Egan had been the agent for the Pony Express between Rush Valley, Utah, and Carson Valley in 1860-1861, and it was after him that the Egan Range of mountains in White Pine County had been named. The district had an elevation of 6,000 feet above sea level, but cereals and fruits could be grown there, in addition to forage for livestock.

The early colonists arrived in White River Valley in April 1898 and found the valley a beautiful sight. The towns were platted during the summer of 1898 and there were drawings for home lots, five-acre farm plots, and ten-acre farm plots. Some of the colonists hired out to cut alfalfa, using hand scythes; others planted potatoes, squash, and melons.

All were delighted with the resulting harvest. The occasional winds-one "old timer claimed that each new settler brought a wind storm-reinforced the settlers' tendency to build homes of rocks and logs, rather than of plank timber. Many of the early homes were built half-way up with rock and finished with sod cut from the pastures below the town. Many of the log houses were roofed with willows, straw, and mud.

Each family was asked to pay a nominal price land. Town lots averaged about $23 each, the farming land $15 per acre. The land was sold with water rights.

One of the first actions of the White Pine colonists, under the direction of Thomas Judd, was to organize a ward-originally called White Pine Ward-with Judd as bishop. A two-story log meetinghouse-schoolhouse was rushed to completion at Lund with a stairway outside for access to the upper story. The shingles and lumber for the upper story were freighted in by four horse-teams from Mt. Trumbull, near Cedar City, Utah.

According to Effie Read, one of the "old timers, Mrs. Heber Smith, volunteered to make one of these trips, and, accompanied by her two small children, brought back the shingles needed to finish the roof of the building. Much of the work for the structure, according to Mrs. Read, was done during the winter. Noting that snow was four feet deep in

the canyon, the men sewed themselves up in burlap sacks to keep warm and went to the canyon, where they skidded logs on the snow to the lower level for removal to Lund.

The initial basis for the warm-spring-fed, water cress bordered settlement at Preston was the arrival of 13 wagonloads of pioneers from Moroni, Utah, in March 1898. They completed a schoolhouse, meetinghouse in 1903. Many of these settlers, as well as subsequent settlers in Lund, were from Denmark. One of them, Soren Petersen, led the choir in singing hymns in Danish. Since Petersen's son was the first child born in Preston, he was named Preston Petersen.

Soren is reported to have gotten carried away in one of his talks at a church meeting when he declared, "The Devil is vid us; he come mit us over from Moroni in der wagon box."

Later, after a few German immigrants moved to White River Valley, talks were given in German and Danish, and occasionally in an Indian language, as well as in English.

A colorful and central figure in these communities was the midwife. At Lund the midwife was Mary Leicht Oxborrow, who had migrated from St. George with several sons and daughters at the call of Bishop Judd. Sister Oxborrow made her own medicines and salves, applied herbs, set broken bones, and deftly applied bandages to cuts and bruises. She delivered 235 babies, two of them her great-grandchildren. She was also an excellent musician and a popular figure in the valley.

In 1908 the Preston Ward Relief Society sent one of their number, Margaret Windous, to a special school for midwives conducted by the Church in Salt Lake City. Upon her return, Sister Windous, already mother of eight, set up a practice and eventually delivered more than one thousand babies.

One calamity was the national influenza epidemic of 1918. Most affected by it were the Indians, nearly all of whom were stricken, one by one, and many died. Those who survived tore up their teepees, packed their belongings, and left the valley, never to return. The whites were the poorer for their departure because many of the Indians had assisted the settlers with farming and housekeeping.

The single most important problem facing the major group, at Lund, was how to make most efficient use of the available supply of water. Estimating that there was water sufficient to irrigate 4,400 acres, officials of the company had expected to dispose of that much land for farming. In 1901, as the company was in the process of arranging for additional settlers, some residents complained that this would take water needed by existing acreage. Here was a disagreement which, depending on the decision, could be a matter of life

The Latter-day Saints had had a long experience of dealing with conflicts, particularly disputes over water. These matters were often settled in church courts. With respect to water, the Saints had deliberately abandoned the law of riparian rights, which had applied in the East and Midwest, and had substituted their own doctrine of appropriation or the principle of beneficial use. "No man has a right to waste one drop of water that another man can turn into bread, said Brigham Young. Water belongs to the people, he said, and no man has a right to more than he can use in a beneficial manner."

But what constituted beneficial use? How much water did a given crop require? How often should it be applied? Did a man whose land needed water have a right to take water from a man whose land was not in so great a need?

The first court, or court of primary jurisdiction, was the bishop's court, in which the bishop and his two counselors listened to the various sides of the controversy and made a decision which, in most instances, was readily accepted by all those involved. If any party was dissatisfied with the decision he could appeal to a High Council court, composed of the stake presidency and 12 men, chosen for their mature experience, sound judgment, and their high standing in the confidence of the people. After hearing all the evidence, this court sustained the bishop's decision or modified it if necessary.

For the normal disputes which arose in White Pine County, these courts functioned admirably. But in the case of whether the Nevada Land and Livestock Company, a Church-owned enterprise, should be instructed to curtail its sales of land and water rights was something on which the local Church courts did not feel competent to rule. The procedure eventually followed was to call a general meeting of all adult males (priesthood meeting) at which the stake presidency (White River settlements were in St. George Stake at the time) were present. At this meeting, held on August 16, 1901, cussed the matter at some length. The stake they das presidency then ruled that they should invite an apostle of the Church to meet with them and - suggest a proper adjustment.

On October 12, 1901, Apostle Anthon H. Lund, after whom Lund was named, was present, together with the president of St. George Stake. All of the men from Lund and Preston were present.

Elder Lund, whose comments are recorded in the Lund Ward Historical Record, explained the object of the meeting and the desire to settle the controversy amicably. He pointed out that the White River settlements were "outposts of Zion, and that the colonists should regard themselves as missionaries, determined to "preach by example. He then asked a representative group of persons to "express how they feel about the water situation.

Nine men then made talks against the sale of more land with water rights. They were followed by three men who argued for the sale of more land with water rights.

After making some observations about the impact of any decision on the company (Nevada Land and Livestock Company), Elder Lund asked for a motion. One brother moved that the company hold the amount of land with water rights at 2,500 acres. Another brother contended against this, saying it was too high. Another brother argued against the motion, saying it was unfair to the company, and thus too low. There was considerable discussion. One moved a compromise amendment that they make the amount 2,600 acres, which was seconded and carried. Apostle Lund then gave a short sermon about unity and cooperation. The next day, Sunday, he divided the White Pine settlers into three wards -one at Lund, one at Presto., and one at Georgetown.

The next year, Georgetown, which was located on a 560-acre site in Steptoe Valley where present-day East Ely stands, was discontinued as a ranching colony when the water rights and land were purchased by the New York and Nevada Copper Company. Many of the 25 Mormon families at Georgetown moved to White River Valley.

In the years that followed the residents of Lund and Preston followed the normal way of life of Mormon villagers. Ward schools were supported until district school systems took over. The careful management of these is indicated by a penciled note to a teacher placed in one of the ward historical books in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City. Dated Lund, October 3, 1913, the note was signed by H.O. Smith, and reads, "Paul was kept out of school yesterday on account of being short of hands to gather my potato crop.

The Sunday ward meetings "Kept things rolling in the valley. In these regular contacts the bishopric saw that the fields were fenced, the gates closed to keep livestock out of the fields, repair work done on ditches, collections made of produce for teachers, and so on.

One Sunday in April the bishop talked on the importance of beautifying the town, and organized the residents to set out trees and level the bumps on the street. On another occasion a dramatic company was organized to furnish "amusements of a good moral character. There were weekly dances, yearly Old Folks Parties, and special celebrations on July the Fourth and Twenty-Fourth.

In years when the birthday of Joseph Smith, December 23, fell on Sunday, the ward always asked the two members of the community who had personally known the Prophet. William P. Vance and George M. Burgess, to give reminiscences in their sacrament meeting.

A native of Tennessee, baptized in 1842, Vance lived for a period in the home of Joseph Smith. When the Saints made the trek to the Great Basin in 1847. he was among them. He lived in Cedar City and St. George until 1902, when at age 80 he moved to Lund. Before his death there in 1914, at age 92, he delighted in giving firsthand accounts of the Mormon Prophet.

Burgess was born in Clay County, Missouri, in 1839, when the Mormons sojourned there, and spent his childhood in Nauvoo in a home near that of Joseph Smith. He went to Utah in 1850, when 11 years old, settled in Lehi, then in Pine Valley, Utah, and finally went to Lund. Only five years old when Joseph Smith died, Burgess told the Lund settlers experiences that he and his family had with the Prophet.

Another short-lived Mormon settlement, sponsored by Nevada Land and Livestock Company, was Kaolin, located three miles south of Overton and four miles northwest of St. Thomas. This land had been purchased in 1910 for the settlement of some Armenians who had been converted to Mormonism in the Middle East. The leader of this group, Ferdinand F. Hintze, a longtime missionary in Turkey, had felt that the Armenians would feel "more at home in a warm and pleasant climate somewhat like the one they had migrated from. Because of water problems, this experiment was not a success, and all the Armenian Latter-day Saints left within two years to settle in Richfield,

Utah, and elsewhere.

It was this same year, 1912, when the Mormon colonies in Mexico were forced by the Mexican Revolution to evacuate.

These colonies in Sonora and Chihuahua had been established in the 1880s and 1890s. Now the Anglo-Mormon settlers there found themselves unable to convert their property into cash. Destitute, they fled north to the United States. The Church did what it could to help these members find jobs and places to settle, and several of them were located at Kaolin.

For most the arrangement was a temporary one, and they left after two or three years. But some hardy farmers remained in Kaolin under the leadership of Samuel H. Wells. There were 20 families in Kaolin in 1914; this had dwindled to eight families in 1930. The village was subsequently immersed by Lake Mead.

Lund and Preston have continued as important LDS communities in the White River Valley. Although the valley had periods of suffering from inadequate rainfall, there have been other periods of lush abundance. The settlers have established a major livestock center and, benefiting from the springs and deep wells in the valley, have produced excellent hay, grain, and garden stuffs-and citizens!