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The last quiet place: Pipe Spring and the Latter-day Saints, 1870–1923

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THE LAST QUIET PLACE: PIPE SPRING AND THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS,
1870-1923

by

Stephen E. Nepa
Bachelor of Arts
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
1999

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts Degree in History
Department of History
College of Liberal Arts

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ABSTRACT

The Last Quiet Place: Pipe Spring and the Latter-day Saints, 1870-1923

by

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“The Last Quiet Place: Pipe Spring and the Latter-day Saints, 1870-1923” was the telling of the role of the Mormons in the settling and development of the Arizona Strip. Pipe Spring, before its acquisition by the National Park Service in 1923, was used by the LDS church as a cattle ranch, defensive installation, polygamous refuge, and telegraph station. Between the years of 1870, when construction of the fort began, and 1923, when the fort became a national monument, there existed a fascinating convergence of cultures and ideals that defined as a whole the dynamics of the American West.

The introduction, centering on the St. Joe Company’s recently proposed development of barren land in the Florida panhandle, provided a segue into the bounties of the Arizona Strip, namely its isolation from mainstream society. This isolation existed in the years preceding Mormon colonization, during their heaviest occupation, and long after the land was purchased by the National Park Service. As a persecuted people, the Latter-day Saints sought remoteness from what they perceived as the ills of a modernizing and increasingly uniform nation. For decades, the Mormons created a series of towns and

cities in the Great Basin region that stretched southward onto the Arizona Strip. The site at Pipe Spring was one of many satellites in their once-vast land empire.

The body of the thesis was comprised of four sections. The first, entitled “The Settling of the Land,” detailed the origins of Mormonism and the church’s migration to the Arizona Strip. The second, “Technology and Economics,” examined the technological advances of the era, namely the telegraph and railroad, and the economic history of the Arizona Strip during the height of the livestock industry. The third section, “Relations With the Natives,” focused on Mormon relations with the native American tribes on the Arizona Strip. “Pipe Spring in the Early Twentieth Century,” charted the demise of the livestock industry and Pipe Spring’s new life as a component in the National Park Service’s promotion of the American West. The epilogue drew parallels between the marketing strategy of the St. Joe Company and the reasons for the Mormon advance into the barren deserts of Utah and Arizona.

“The Settling of the Land” chapter detailed the most prominent explorations of the Arizona Strip by Spanish *conquistadors* and missionaries, both of whom had little success or desire in establishing permanent settlements. These excursions were little more than treasure hunts and attempts to convert native tribes to Christianity. During the late 1700s and early 1800s, the Spanish focused more on California when selecting sites for permanent residence.

Following brief mention of the Spanish, the section explained the origins of the Mormon faith and the charismatic leadership of its founder, Prophet Joseph Smith. The Latter-day Saints were one of many groups born out of the Second Great Awakening, a time of boisterous proselytizing and religious divergence. Smith claimed a series of

visions led him to believe he was the chosen one to spread the true word of God. His sermons gained him many followers and even more detractors. The teachings of Smith had great impact on the future of the Latter-day Saints and proved their guiding light in their eventual move west.

“The Settling of the Land” also included the establishment of Deseret colony, the first settlements on the Arizona Strip, and the Mormons’ efforts for territorial recognition and sovereignty. Yet it was their unorthodox practice of polygamy that undermined those efforts and labeled their way of life as a threat to a young nation. Furthermore, the section examined the national scope of criticism and support of polygamy. The final portion of “The Settling of the Land” detailed the exploits of John Wesley Powell and the significance of his geologic and geographic exploration of the Colorado River, which formed the eastern and southern boundaries of the Arizona Strip.

“Technology and Economics” discussed the advent of the telegraph, both in a national sense and in its relevance to Pipe Spring. From Samuel Morse’s first transmission to the establishment of the Deseret Telegraph Company, the telegraph proved invaluable for the Latter-day Saints in maintaining contact between their far-flung settlements. The second section then stressed the importance of the transcontinental railroad and its role in reshaping Mormon society. The spatial reductions brought by the railroad never occurred on the Arizona Strip, though some effort was made to link the area to regional rail lines.

The economics of the Pipe Spring area centered on the livestock industry. From this business stemmed all others, whether directly or indirectly related. While Gentiles pursued speculative mining, the Latter-day Saints desired a more reliable, albeit

fluctuating, economic pursuit. From the early 1860s to the turn of the century, the Mormons raised cattle in the Pipe Spring vicinity, forming profitable companies and fostering the growth of nearby towns. The ownership of Pipe Spring and its herds changed hands considerably in this era, with the last private ownership in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The “Relations with the Natives” section chronicled the interaction between the Mormons and the many tribes that roamed the Arizona Strip. Although the Paiute was the most prominent tribe in the area around Pipe Spring, the Saints also had contact, sometimes volatile, with the Ute, Hopi, and Navajo tribes. In many cases, the Mormons were on the defensive as strangers in a strange land. Their treatment of the Paiute, arguably the weakest tribe in the area, represented an anomaly in an age of focused national aggression towards natives who thwarted development. Instead of relentless hostility and forced relocation, the Mormons were largely benevolent towards the Paiute, though their ulterior motives were plainly seen. By aligning with one tribe, they effectively upset the power structure on the Arizona Strip. Mormon doctrine supported the lesser Paiute, who were believed to be distant relatives, or Lamanites, and therefore similarly persecuted by Gentiles. The Saints acted as a paternalistic force in trying to lift the Paiute out of chronic poverty. By the onset of the twentieth century, the Paiute were all but self-sufficient, their ranks depleted by a formidable tide of Anglo settlement.

The final section, “Pipe Spring in the Early Twentieth Century,” discussed the shift at Pipe Spring from a thriving livestock area to a barren, sparsely populated stretch of desert. The creation of the National Park Service in 1916 proved to be the salvation for a seemingly forgotten land. Through the efforts of Stephen Mather, who viewed the Saints’

remnants at Pipe Spring as historically significant, the fort and its surrounding facilities were purchased by the park service to complement the larger grandeur of the nearby Grand Canyon and Zion National Parks. In a sense, the previously inaccessible Arizona Strip was given a new lease on life as the age of the automobile encouraged tourism in the American West.

In conclusion, the Arizona Strip retained its isolation from mainstream America. Pipe Spring National Monument, created in 1923, served as testament to a once-flourishing human endeavor. The cattle herds dwindled to a precious few, while the thorn of polygamy still existed in nearby towns. What the St. Joe Company termed “fashionable ruralism” coincided with the remote stillness of what remained as the most isolated part of the United States.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“The story of the Mormon pioneers is in many ways the story of America. It is the story of everyone who has ever traveled to our shores seeking freedom to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience. And it is the story of a people who know that, with hard work and faith in God, they can accomplish anything.”

--William Jefferson Clinton, July 29, 1997

In the summer of 2005, the St. Joe Company, brainchild of Alfred I. duPont and the largest private landowner in Florida, was perplexed by how to promote its eight-hundred-thousand-acres of vacant pine scrub in Bay, Gulf, and Liberty Counties. The outfit had a gleaming track record of oceanfront development in the Sunshine State, creating summer resort towns garnished with multi-million dollar vacation homes. The parcels in question proved more problematic than the state’s famous beach frontage. The land lay in a barely traveled stretch of the Panhandle, an area difficult to market for real estate opportunities. After brainstorming sessions at St. Joe’s headquarters in Jacksonville produced scraps of paper with phrases such as “wind in the trees,” “stars, no lights,” and “slamming, squeaking screen doors,” it was apparent the type of niche the company was after.¹

¹ Goodnough, Abby. “In Florida, a Big Developer Is Counting on Rural Chic.” *New York Times*. Aug. 22, 2005, p.A11.

In June, the company summarized those boardroom snippets, publishing a white paper quoting Henry David Thoreau. Peter Rummell, the company's chief executive stated, "People are trying to get back to a time they remember.....and a moderated ruralism seems pretty attractive."² The St. Joe Company's promotion of "fashionable ruralism," despite its promise to "live in the woods deliberately," was devised as a marketing strategy to recreate something long gone.³ Potential residents had all the benefits of wilderness, nestled among the pines and surrounded with wildlife. But it would hardly be rural in the nineteenth-century sense; they would remain connected by cellular signals and wireless Internet.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the solitude of nature was treasured more than ever. Thoreau, an ironic inspiration for St. Joe's executives, alluded to its demise in the mid-1850s. In the race for progress, ours became a world in which it was increasingly hard to focus. The trees disappeared and the stars were harder to see. In the twentieth century, the cities grew out of control and resources were plundered, leaving the environment to bear the brunt.

All over the country, particularly in the Sun Belt, the last remaining acres not under federal ownership were being cleared and graded. Mini-mansions, big-box retail outlets, and HOV lanes tore into hinterlands far removed from urban nuclei. In 2005, it was not just eco-spoiling or the hyper-connectivity of fiber optics that made serenity so appealing; it was the barrage of voices. Televised talking heads, red carpet sycophancy, and the overfed blogosphere produced a quadraphonic blast of nonsense, leaving us unable to decipher what was meaningful. The respite of nature, once offering an alternative to

² Ibid.

³ This was a passage from the second chapter of Thoreau's 1854 *Walden*. Ibid.

unchecked growth and resource mismanagement, later came to define a desire for absolute quiet. Our lives beset by noise, it was hard to find someplace to go and not hear a thing. The Florida pine forests, planned to the last detail, were not the answer. For once those trees were graded, the purest essence of nature, its silence, would be lost.

Silence still remained in a remote stretch of the desert southwest, far from the Las Vegas, Phoenix, and southern California conurbation. There were not many people. There were no real estate brochures advertising its rural qualities. There, the stars were strangely bright. Its natural endowments were protected from development. Its towering red cliffs filtered out all that was distractive. Its silence was deafening. With much of its geographic area designated as national parks, national monuments, and the like, the Arizona Strip was the last quiet place in America. Dreamy banter about the solitude of our most prominent national parks devolved into myth, as a *Field of Dreams*-ideal sheared their trails and clouded their air. The Arizona Strip's isolation by contrast was *not* mythological. Its beauty was undeniable. Commemorating the pioneers of the Arizona Strip, Pipe Spring National Monument graced this land as testament to a long-gone network of cooperation and cohesion and a once-flourishing society that became extinct.

Before becoming a national monument, the land and structures of Pipe Spring supported many endeavors on the sunburned surface of northern Arizona. From 1870 to 1923, the people and events in and around Pipe Spring were emblematic of an evolving American West. What occurred in those years not only defined the cherished ideals of the West and a meeting of disparate cultures, but microcosmically demonstrated the rise and fall of America's greatest faith-based empire, the Latter-day Saints.

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTLING OF THE LAND

Preceding the Mormon's arrival in the Great Basin and their spread onto the Arizona Strip, *conquistadors* roved the remote stretches of the North American desert. Searching for the mythic golden cities of Cibola and other elusive treasure, these probing expeditions were typical of the lavish colonial pursuits the Spanish conducted in the centuries following Montezuma's demise. In 1604, less than 100 years after Cortes' ruinous march on the Aztec, Juan de Oñate and a group of thirty men headed west through present-day central Arizona, following a course along the Bill Williams River.⁴ The first European to venture through the area of Mohave County, where Pipe Spring was located, Oñate explored the Colorado River from present-day Needles, California to its southern terminus at the Sea of Cortes. He made contact with the Mohave Paiute Indians, then the resident tribe of Arizona's middle tier and was fortunate to avoid the Navajo, who in the proceeding centuries, were the chief antagonist in the frontier power struggle. Four years after failing to locate lands of gilded splendor, Oñate was recalled to Spain.

⁴ An eastern arm of the Colorado River, the Bill Williams River forms the boundary between Mohave and La Paz counties. Messersmith, Dan W. *The History of Mohave County to 1912*. Kingman: Mohave County Historical Society, c1991, p.53. Obtained from PISP Vertical Files.

In 1776, as the American colonies on the eastern seaboard fractured away from stodgy British governance, a smaller but more significant group of Spaniards trekked across the unforgiving landscape of what would come to be known as the Arizona Strip.⁵ Bound on the north by the Utah state line, on the east and south by the Colorado River, and on the west by Nevada, the land was an unmapped mystery until two Franciscan fathers, Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez Escalante, piloted a mission with the intention of spreading Christianity. The party's goal was twofold; religious conversion and finding an overland route from Santa Fe to the new Spanish colonies lining the California coast. Their march took them north into Utah, then down the Virgin River to the Arizona Strip. The arrival of winter and depleted provisions forced the fathers to divert south. Unaware that the massive canyons of the Colorado River hindered their journey, they were fortunate to meet a magnanimous band of Paiute who warned them of the impassibility. They heeded the warning and turned eastward, footsore and parched.⁶ Their new course took them across the interior of the Arizona Strip in search of the only possible crossing point in a four hundred-mile expanse of the ominous Colorado River. Until 1869, when John Wesley Powell and his crew shot the rapids, the plateau country surrounding the river was the most uncharted region of the continent. Pipe Spring was located in the southwestern sector of the Colorado Plateau, an area characterized by towering walls of rock and parched alkali desert.

The fathers arrived at the junction of the Colorado and Paria [Pahreah] rivers, overjoyed to see a break in the unforgiving canyon country. Assuming this was the ford

⁵ House, Dorothy A. *Under Vermilion Cliffs: Man on the Arizona Strip*. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, c1994, p.22. Obtained from PISP Vertical Files.

⁶ House, p.22.

the Paiute described to them, the Spaniards attempted a crossing, only to find the water too deep.⁷ Three days later, after a harrowing jaunt up the Paria, the fathers reached the ford, an easement long used by Ute tribes for trading and combat ventures. Once across the treacherous river, “prayers of gratitude were offered, with muskets blasting heavenward.”⁸ The much-welcomed gap became known as The Crossing of the Fathers.

The Dominguez-Escalante expedition fell short of its projected goals but managed to set a precedent. The party members were the first white men to traverse the Arizona Strip and identify its principal geographic features. There was some indication that the group made camp at Pipe Spring, although Escalante’s diary did not sustain an interpretation of the route.⁹ The site on which Winsor Castle eventually rose was in fact several miles north of the fathers’ route.

With written records of the Arizona Strip available, others eager to engage in trade and commerce followed suit along the Old Spanish Trail. During the next half-century, explorers and trappers penetrated the upper region of the Colorado Basin and pushed southward into the desert. Others took a different direction, beginning at the junction of the Colorado and Virgin rivers and following the former to the Gulf of California.¹⁰ The 1820s witnessed a surge in Spanish ventures. The first Spaniard to make direct contact with the lands in the immediate vicinity of Pipe Spring was Antonio Armijo, who en route to southern California in 1830, recharged at the oasis. Many travelers passed

⁷ Ibid, p.23.

⁸ Cerquone, Joseph. *In Behalf of the Light: The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776*. Denver: Dominguez-Escalante Bicentennial Expedition, c.1976, p.19. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

⁹ Sandberger, Lloyd. *Pipe Spring National Monument*. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, 1957, p.6.

¹⁰ Brooks, Juanita. “The Arizona Strip.” *Pacific Spectator*, p.290-301.

through the corners of the Arizona Strip following the courses of the area's rivers, yet few permanent settlements were founded. It was not until the 1850s and 1860s, when Mormon colonization began, that the Arizona Strip's isolation was viewed as desirable for permanency.

"I love this place so much.....I totally believe that God and Jesus Christ appeared here."

--Annahir Cariello, an 18-year-old Madison, NJ student who recently read the *Book of Mormon* in the 10-acre wood at Palmyra, New York.¹¹

Theirs was a mosaic of trial and error. Caught in a chasm of war and peace, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [LDS], commonly referred to as the Mormons, attempted to build their own nation upon a massive swath of the arid intermountain west. On the Arizona Strip, the Latter-day Saints faced overwhelming odds. Unlike the verdant temperate zones in the New England and mid-Atlantic states, the Arizona Strip was a brittle and marginal environment, hardly able to sustain large-scale farming. Compounding the problem was minimal rainfall, weak soils, slow forest regrowth, and hostile native tribes. The settlement at Pipe Spring stood amidst a grove of cottonwood and ailanthus trees, shaded from the searing force of the desert sun. For the Mormons and others who braved travel in the area, it was a virtual oasis.

The saga of the Latter-day Saints was remarkable, a fascinating blend of persistence, courage, and righteousness. Founded during the pluralistic Second Great Awakening, the LDS Church was one of the most controversial organizations to develop in response to an ethos of determined religiosity. The Second Great Awakening was a chaotic period of evangelical outburst, giving rise, and in some cases rebirth of Quaker, Lutheran, and

¹¹ Estrin, James. "Observance." *New York Times*. Aug.31, 2005. p.B2.

Puritanical sects, all of whom competed for membership. Leaders of these religious movements were characterized by their fervent bellowing and emotionalism in the pulpit. These men were the mudslingers of their day, charismatic and polemical in support of their chosen camp. In the midst of the cacophony was Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Church.

Joseph Smith did not live to see his brethren colonize the upper reaches of the American desert. But it was his doctrines of faith, cohesion, and cooperation that shaped LDS activities in the settling of the Great Basin. Distraught by the bedlam of the Second Great Awakening, Smith was destined to establish his own theological organization. In the spring of 1820, the young Joseph Smith witnessed a series of visions, visitations from God in a secluded grove of trees near his family's home in Palmyra, New York. At the behest of the Creator, Smith was chosen to establish a new church, The Church of Jesus Christ. As indicated by God Himself, all other churches and religious organizations of the day were incorrect in their interpretations of divinity. Smith, wanting to "feel the spirit and shout like the rest," believed this new Mormon faith dissolved man as the mediator between God and congregation; all men were in fact earthly instruments of the Holy Father.¹²

Smith's series of visions, from which he transcribed the *Book of Mormon*, were similar to claims made by others in a wellspring of religious zeal. Smith's ambition had Jacksonian strains, blessed with the steely resolve and self-assurance needed to distinguish a natural leader from the common follower. Similar to the way that a

¹² Allen, James B. and Leonard, Glen M. *The Story of the Latter Day Saints*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976. p.11.

determined youth became a war hero, won the presidency, and inspired many, Smith's headstrong prophecy proved a shining light for those willing to embrace change.

Smith claimed there were flaws in the America of his time. He and his followers personified the *en vogue* antinomianism wrought by capitalism's fervor and the resulting agrarian crisis. This led to Mormonism being more social than theological in its appeal. Market economy temptations and the schisms they created drove the Mormons into the wilderness, where they perfected the intra-capitalism that later characterized their societies in the Great Basin.¹³ Though the Saints distrusted vice, they nonetheless sought ways to make a living.

The organization Smith founded suffered enormous ridicule and violent backlash from non-Mormons. As the church's leader, he possessed a self-assured yet benevolent manner of taking the fortunes of his followers to support his ideals. Troubled by the vagaries of the emerging market economy, Smith proposed a communal model for living, one that centered not on currency, but unconditional faith as the primary instrument of change.¹⁴ Anathema to the materialistic pursuits of the age, Smith's doctrines imposed order on a society suffering from the excesses of liberty and eliminated trappings of self-interest. Smith readily espoused the defining component of the LDS church, polygamy, which fatally sundered the Mormon faith from the American religious mainstream. The reprisals over polygamy drove Smith, his successor Brigham Young, and their worshippers westward in search of harmony.

¹³ Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. p.217-225.

¹⁴ Arrington, Leonard. *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. p.9.

In 1831, after harsh persecution in New York and Ohio, Smith suggested the Mormons venture further west in their recruitment of both Indians and Gentiles. They chose a site in Jackson County, Missouri, located near present-day Independence. Their prosperity in Missouri was short-lived and they eventually fled northeast to Nauvoo, Illinois beside the Mississippi River. In Nauvoo, their troubles did not cease. In 1842, Smith learned of a plot to assassinate him. The Gentiles in Illinois were less than receptive to the Saints' methods and wanted them out. Offended by the unorthodox teachings of Smith, they petitioned Governor Ford to take action. Newspapers called for Smith's death and the expulsion from Illinois of his followers.

In April 1844, Joseph Smith delivered an address to his faithful. Termed "America the Promised Land," a doctrine borrowed from his *Book of Mormon*, he claimed the destiny of the LDS church was to no longer be confined to the narrow strip of land at Nauvoo, Illinois. Rather, he envisioned a new kingdom of Zion spread over North and South America.¹⁵ On June 27, 1844, after a heated standoff, the prophet was gunned down outside the Carthage jailhouse in Hancock County, Illinois. Gentiles in the area felt Smith's politics bordered on theocratic dictatorship and that he had to be eliminated after the state's courts failed to rein him in.¹⁶

After Smith's assassination, Mormon thinking for the remainder of the nineteenth century was never free from the principles set forth in his speech. With their founder dead, the Mormon community at Nauvoo decided it was time to move on. The Council of

¹⁵ Peterson, Charles S. *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973. p.5.

¹⁶ Wicks, Robert S. and Foister, Fred R. *Junius and Joseph: Presidential Politics and the Assassination of the First Mormon Prophet*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. p.4.

Twelve, with Brigham Young as the new president, convened and stated “the exodus west forms a new epoch.....wake up to this glorious emergency in which God has placed you to prove your faith.”¹⁷ The Saints packed their trunks, sold their homes and farms, and began their fourth major relocation in sixteen years. Land lay at the crux of the Mormon future, for territorial acquisition drove Young even more than his unshakeable faith in the prophet Joseph Smith’s teachings. From stakes along the Little Colorado to the wards stretching southward from Salt Lake City into the California desert, the church would amass a fortune in real estate under the command of Brigham Young.

On July 24, 1847, the Saints landed in a remote corner of alkaline desert near the edge of the Great Basin. On the shores of the Great Salt Lake, Young proclaimed that “this is the place.” From that point forward, Young and his flock worked tirelessly to create a self-sufficient world to assure they would never have to move again. Within ten years, nearly 100 communities were established, all with a uniform layout. They were walled in for protection, lined with broad intersecting streets, and equipped with a meetinghouse and schoolhouse that usually occupied the same building. The new kingdom was called Deseret.¹⁸

The establishment of Deseret was a valiant attempt to combine religious idealism with self-governance. As a nation within a nation, it became a construct for the Mormon people along which to ally themselves against the persecution that tarnished their previous attempts at colonization. From their ill-fated Nauvoo colony, the Mormons carried to the Great Basin their tradition of and capacity for social organization.

¹⁷ Allen, James B. and Leonard, Glen M. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976. p.215.

¹⁸ Creer, Leland H. *Mormon Towns in the Region of the Colorado*. Glen Canyon Library: Glen Canyon NRA. Pub. 1957. p.1. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

Millennialist in orientation, certain that man-made institutions would shortly fail, the Saints sought independence through mutual cooperation under a uniquely theocratic leadership. There now was an opportunity to apply their brand of social order in an environment where they would be the majority.¹⁹

Deseret was massive, encompassing all of Utah, all but a north-central portion of Nevada, Arizona south to the Gila River, Colorado east to the front range of the Rocky Mountains, California west to the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada and south to the Mexican border. It even included segments of Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and New Mexico.²⁰ Compared with other western territories, Mormon Utah was founded by a closely integrated group with an extraordinary consciousness not seen elsewhere.²¹ Couched in that consciousness was a desire to evade the antagonism that threatened their way of life and to find an isolated location for their faith to flourish.

In 1847, the United States and Mexico were at war, with the fate of the Southwest undecided. When Brigham Young and his faithful arrived on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, the area was still under Mexican ownership. By August, the Saints had explored the country north to the Cache Valley, south to Utah Lake, and to the western boundary of the Great Salt Lake. Brigham Young planned immediate exploration of the valleys to the south, for it was realized that the area in and around the capital was too limited in

¹⁹ Poll, Richard D. *Utah's History*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. p.110.

²⁰ All geographic references are relative to present-day boundaries and borders. The boundaries of this Deseret were set at the Convention of the Provisional State of Deseret on March 8, 1849 in Salt Lake City. Map of Deseret compiled by E.R. Varner from an 1848 original by Charles Preuss, "State of Deseret, 1849-1851." Reproduction appeared in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Apr., July, Oct. 1940, vol.8 Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

²¹ "The State of Deseret." *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Apr., July, Oct. 1940, Vol.8, Nos. 2, 3, and 4. p.68.

resources to sustain the projected population of seventy-five thousand.²² From Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, from Tempe to Toole, the LDS church expanded at an astonishing rate. Its explosive growth was due in large part to their firmly ingrained credo of determination and persistence in the face of insurmountable odds. The lands they colonized were of unforgiving terrain and harbored hostile elements, both natural and human. The Zion pioneers, offspring of the steadfast Palmyra-Nauvoo generation, built permanent homes within united communities, antithetical to the fleeting Spanish and quick-riches Gold Rush dregs who hunted for their own versions of glory in the American west. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, signed February 2, 1848, ceded to the United States the whole Alta California claim, which included the areas the Saints had settled.

In March 1849, the Saints petitioned Congress for recognition of a territorial government in Utah. The petition, with 2,270 signatures, was finally authorized by Brigham Young on April 30th and sent to Washington. The document stated that since the Mormons were far removed from any civilized society or organized government and “isolated by natural barriers of trackless deserts, everlasting mountains of snow, and savages more bloody than either,” they in fact deserved territorial recognition.²³ Additionally, nearly 30,000 Mormon faithful had traveled to Utah and thousands more were on their way.

Deseret was an anomalous creation on the evolving American frontier. Compared with patterns of settlement in California, where at the close of the 1840s, a swarm of gold seekers and adventurous speculators created a boomtown culture from Sacramento to San

²² Creer, p.1.

²³ “The State of Deseret.” p.83.

Francisco Bay, Deseret was an orderly undertaking.²⁴ While the California coast was explored and sparsely settled by Spanish missionaries for more than three hundred years, Gold Rush California was a rogue's gallery of cultures, far more inclusive of the world's ethnicities. The influx centered primarily around San Francisco due to its proximity as the gateway for immigrants heading west from the Plains.²⁵ This social melting pot was absent in Mormon Utah, save for a handful of Gentiles. The moral conduct of the Saints during the Forty-Niner era left an impression on some outsiders, who found them "honest and industrious citizens, even if clannish and peculiar."²⁶

The California experience differed greatly from the rigidity of the Utah Territory. In Utah, there existed no legal system or Anglo society until the Saints' arrival. The Mormons desired homogeneity, while California welcomed people from all walks of life: English, Celtic, Scottish, German, Hawaiian, and Chinese all came upon the fabled lands of gold. Brigham Young, distrustful of poly-ethnic societies, thought California's treasure hunt infernal. The Gold Rush had a double-edged impact on the insular world of Deseret. It was impossible to reach California without passing through a portion of the Mormon land. All over the west, a new pulse was given to industry, changing social and economic values. In the crosshairs was the Mormon empire, which while apprehensive about Gentile advances, capitalized on the speculators who passed through Utah in need of supplies.

²⁴ Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote extensively about both California and Utah, in 1888's *History of California* and in 1890's *History of Utah*. Robert G. Robert Athearn discussed extensively Brigham Young's abhorrence of mining booms and the nefarious elements produced in their wake in 1971's *Union Pacific Country*.

²⁵ Bancroft, Hubert H. *History of California, 1848-1859. Vol.23*. San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888. p.4

²⁶ -----*History of California, 1846-1848. Vol.22*. San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1886. p.551.

As a self-sufficient entity, the fate of Deseret was inevitable. More an ideal than a geographically determined state, the boundaries of Deseret were not impregnable from the thousands of settlers and speculators coming across the continent. Its hermetic design undermined its longevity. Its founders had among them a capacity for social organization unlike any other provisional government of the day. California and its western counterparts were born of a precarious mix of individuals with divergent aspirations. Deseret was a collective project, uniform in thought and style. The Saints' extraordinary group consciousness was their downfall; outsiders viewed them as an obstacle. Once the whole of Alta California was ceded to the United States, it was a matter of time until Deseret's boundaries were reduced. Young felt that since he and his brethren had taken great pains to settle and irrigate the lands of Deseret, the land was rightfully theirs. The federal government was mindful of westward migration and the pending Gentile influx to Deseret. Recognizing the need for a strong national government, federal authorities were wary of Young's governance in that it would prevent uniformity from developing.

The Arizona Strip was hardly conducive to sustaining large-scale agricultural enterprises. Like the Great Basin, the Strip lay in the midst of the American desert, beset by massive barriers. Here, there were no natural aqua-phenomena, such as the "inundation" of the Nile River in the Egyptian desert.²⁷ Unlike the verdant temperate zones of the northeast, where the yeoman ethic flourished, the Arizona Strip lacked natural attributes. Despite the dearth of rainfall and poor quality of the soil, the Latter-day Saints launched a massive economic offensive on the Strip, fostering a proto-capitalistic

²⁷ "The Inundation of the Nile" refers to the annual event during which the Nile River floods its banks, depositing a nutrient-rich layer of mud on surrounding farmland. By comparison, agricultural pursuits on the Arizona Strip required some method of manmade irrigation.

network of commerce. Church elders desired an isolated existence, though the spread of the market economy and its related technology made it impossible for them to avoid conducting business with Gentile enterprises.

“This Pipe Spring country is right between us and the Navajos, and it is the best country for stock raising that I ever saw if it can be made safe against the raids of these marauding Indians.”

--Joseph W. Young, October 16, 1870

Pipe Spring was one of many satellites in the vast Mormon empire that stretched across the interior west. It functioned as a cattle ranch, dairy, hostel, telegraph office, polygamist refuge, way station, home to LDS families, and fortification against the harsh elements of the Arizona Strip. Pipe Spring received its name when Jacob Hamblin, the “buckskin apostle,” led a party of Mormon missionaries through the area in the fall of 1858. Spreading the word of God among the North American natives was considered the chief duty of the enlightened Saints and Hamblin was hopeful in pursuit of converting the area’s Hopi tribes to the more civilized ways of Christianity. On October 30, while camped at the site, a marksmanship contest took place. William “Gunlock Bill” Hamblin, Jacob’s brother, was challenged to shoot a hole through a silk handkerchief from fifty paces away. The sluggish velocity of his bullets failed him, causing the party members amusement. Unphased, Gunlock Bill turned to a companion, Dudley Leavitt, who had a meerschaum pipe. He asked Leavitt to place the pipe in his mouth so Bill could shoot it out. Leavitt refused, but laid the pipe on a rock with the bowl end facing Bill, who

proceeded to shoot the bottom out without grazing the rim. Following the event, the site was named “Pipe Spring.”²⁸

The Mormons had several settlements in Arizona in the years before Deseret was carved down to its present size. In addition to the sites on the Arizona Strip, the Saints founded other clusters of towns, known as stakes. Mormon trails fanned out all over Arizona linking the Little Colorado, Gila River, Salt River Valley, and San Pedro stakes with those on the Arizona Strip. Many of these towns south of Pipe Spring exist today, albeit not as Mormon cities. While there remained an LDS presence in Arizona in the twenty-first century, its magnitude was greatly reduced by the federal government’s objection to the church’s practice of polygamy.

Polygamy continued to be a red flag issue for the Latter-day Saints in the present day. In June 2005, Warren Jeffs, the president of the Fundamental Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS), was charged in Mojave County, Arizona with sexual conduct with a minor and conspiracy to commit sexual conduct with a minor. It was further learned that Jeffs arranged an underage girl’s marriage to an unnamed twenty-eight-year old man, who was already married. The man faced charges similar to those of Jeffs, with a possible sentence of two years in prison.

The indictment of Mr. Jeffs and the pending indictment of his co-conspirator rekindled the moral flames of the FLDS, a group that split from mainstream Mormonism after the church renounced polygamy in 1890.²⁹ More vehemently than the prophet Joseph Smith, Jeffs upheld the belief that a man must have at least three wives to enter

²⁸ Sandberger, Lloyd. “Pipe Spring National Monument: Historical Events and Use of the Area.” Copy. Moccasin: PISP, Vertical Files, 1957, p.205.

²⁹ “Sect Leader Indicted in Arizona on Sexual Misconduct Charges.” *New York Times*. June 12, 2005. p.A19.

what Smith termed the celestial kingdom. Former FLDS members claimed that Jeffs had at least seventy wives, all of whom lived within the group's compound under surveillance cameras and armed guards. As of this writing, Warren Jeffs had not been seen in public for several months. His exact location was the subject of speculation; his possible whereabouts included Mexico, Texas, even Canada. The attorneys general of Arizona and Utah offered a \$10,000 reward for his capture.³⁰

Mr. Jeffs' fugitive status recalled the bygone days of federal abhorrence of polygamy and the raids conducted on the Arizona Strip. The FLDS resided in Colorado City, Arizona, formerly Short Creek, and neighboring Hildale, Utah for decades, refusing to abandon polygamy.³¹ In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, state and federal authorities conducted systematic raids on Short Creek, arresting members of the FLDS.³² This polygamous conglomerate remained a fascinating anomaly in the twenty-first century. By 2005, it was the nation's largest polygamist community with nearly 10,000 members. One defector, who fled with her eight children, described the FLDS as a "dangerous and destructive cult" that oppressed its women and children.³³

Those who lived in the neighboring towns adhered to strict rules of conduct. Almost every female was required to wear long braids and to be fully clothed from their neck to their ankles. The men obliged by a dress code of long pants and long-sleeved button-up shirts and were not allowed to have facial hair. Despite the Arizona Strip's searing heat,

³⁰ Penaloza, David Carrillo. "Arizona: Reward for Sect Leader." *New York Times*. July 14, 2005. p.A20.

³¹ The town of Short Creek, AZ was renamed Colorado City in 1985.

³² CNN. "End of the World? Sect Withdraws Kids from Utah Schools." Sept. 12, 2000. <http://www.cnn.com/2000/US/09/12/polygamists.schools.ap/>.

³³ Madigan, Nick. "After Fleeing Polygamist Community, an Opportunity for Influence." *New York Times*. June 29, 2005. p.A16.

both sexes wore long underwear. FLDS members were prohibited from speaking with outsiders, while their children were instructed to hide from anyone flashing a camera.

Polygamy was the albatross of the Mormon church, the bane of its very existence. By 1879, Utah had a population of more than 150,000. The arrival of the railroad in 1869 helped integrate Utah into the national market and its economy diversified at a healthy pace, giving the territory the requisite conditions for statehood. But the Mormon majority was unwilling to conform to the late-nineteenth century norms of American social behavior. Coupled with the static over polygamy was the gruesome fate of the Fancher party in 1857, who while crossing the continent from Arkansas was ambushed by a group of Mormons and Paiute Indians. Known as the Mountain Meadows massacre, the horrid confrontation painted a grim portrait of Utah in the national consciousness and caused federal lawmakers in Washington to view the Saints as proponents of a renegade lifestyle. Not until federal authorities imprisoned hundreds and disenfranchised thousands over polygamy did Utah give way to pragmatic acceptance of the nation's demands.³⁴

Polygamy was an umbrella term, referring to both *polygyny* [one husband taking multiple wives, the preferred method of the Latter-day Saints] and *polyandry* [one wife taking multiple husbands]. Though Smith's revelations stated plural marriage was the key to attaining the highest place in heaven, its practice ostracized the Saints from mainstream America and proved the factor that kept federal officials interested in the Utah Territory. The lands of the Arizona Strip, particularly the sparsely populated stretch between Short Creek and Fredonia, were safe harbor for the plural wives, victims of the church's vilified tenet. Ironically, federal polygamy raiders who invaded Short Creek in

³⁴ Poll, Richard D. (ed.) *Utah's History*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. p.257.

the first half of the twentieth century often stopped at Pipe Spring for rest and hospitality during their pursuit of those guilty of multiple marriages.

When the Republican Party gathered for their first national platform before the 1856 presidential election, two topics fueled their debates: slavery and polygamy. Slavery was the more pressing, for half of the United States still adhered to the loathsome practice. At their seminal meeting, the Republicans deemed slavery and polygamy as “twin relics of barbarism,” calling for their eradication.³⁵ In 1857, Utah Judge W.H. Drummond resigned his post and sent a letter to President James Buchanan, claiming that the “Mormons looked only to Brigham Young for leadership” and were bound by secret oath to resist the laws of the country.³⁶ Later that year, Republican congressman Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, the state that became a center of vapid anti-polygamy sentiment, argued that because “a territory is a creature of the Congress,” Congress had the responsibility to remedy the “indecent by which artful men” sought to twist the Constitution.³⁷ In 1862, Congress initiated the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act. Specifically designed to prevent polygamy in Utah, the legislation coincided with the rejection of the Saints’ third petition for statehood.³⁸ The LDS challenged the law in a Supreme Court case in 1879 and were struck down when the court upheld the constitutionality of the 1862 law.

³⁵ Davidson, Lee. “Anti-LDS Mood in 1880s Altered Constitutional Law, Author Says.” *Deseret News*. Dec.15, 2002. p.3.

³⁶ Van Wagoner, Richard S. *Mormon Polygamy: A History*. Salt Lake City: Signature, 1989. p.87.

³⁷ Morrill, Justin S. *Speech of the Honorable Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, on Utah Territory and its Law-Polygamy and its License*; Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 23, 1857.

³⁸ Larson, Gustive O. *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood*. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1971. p.60.

A heated crusade against polygamy pronouncing the Mormon practice morally unsound followed the Supreme Court's decision. To combat what it viewed as a scourge on society, the federal government passed scathing pieces of legislation beginning in the 1880s. In 1882, Senator George Edmunds of Vermont introduced his eponymous bill, effectively an amendment to the Morrill law. The main precept of the Edmunds Act, besides making polygamy a punishable offense, was to disenfranchise polygamists and declare them ineligible for public office. In Edmunds' eyes, Mormon polygamy was a direct challenge to federal law as well as to the sacred bonds of matrimony. Edmunds believed the state of the nation and that of individual marriage was mutually dependent.³⁹

The Latter-day Saints defended their practices with eloquence. One year after the Edmunds Act, *The Woman's Exponent* published several interviews of Mormon women by Emmeline Wells to gain a clearer sense of their beliefs. Wells, born in Massachusetts and graduated from a select girl's school, had converted to Mormonism and moved to the doomed colony of Nauvoo, Illinois. Years later, after relocating to Utah, she became the seventh wife of Daniel H. Wells, the mayor of Salt Lake City. Despite financial troubles and the disintegration of "protection and comfort" in her husband, she maintained an unshakable commitment to plural marriage.⁴⁰ Most gentiles viewed polygamy as an "iron heel" that kept "ignorant" Mormon women in a state of confinement. Wells, determined to proclaim contrary evidence, made this statement:

³⁹ Ibid, p.95.

⁴⁰ *The Woman's Exponent* was a widely read newspaper for Mormon women, of which Wells was editor. "The West: Episode Five (1868-1874): The Grandest Enterprise Under God." *New Perspectives on the West*.
<http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/program/episodes/five/womansexponent.htm>

“These noble women are like other good, pure, virtuous women, industrially, morally, and intellectually. The women who entered into these sacred covenants of marriage for time and all eternity accepted this holy order as a divine revelation....and in all sincerity, with the purest motives obeyed the same. Mormon women have as sensible ideas upon marriage as any people in the civilized world.”⁴¹

Wells’ findings were supportive of the embattled Mormon practice, though her opinions were in the minority. With the scourge of polygamy, the Utah Territory allowed female suffrage, having established the law in February 1870. Wells fought for the right to vote prior to the federal attack on polygamy. In this pursuit, she found an ally in Brigham Young, who thought granting Mormon women the right to vote would promote his supremacy in the church and therefore the land. Crusading lawmakers thought polygamy tyrannical and believed that it undermined American democracy, while no other state or territory allowed women a place at the polls. Congress simply would not stand for a renegade territory operating without constitutionally provided restraint. In 1887, five years after the passage of the first Edmunds bill, the Edmunds-Tucker Act increased exponentially the federal government’s power to restructure the laws of the Utah Territory. The improved law was multi-purpose; it abolished the female suffrage that the territory enacted to increase voter potential, it no longer required federal officials to prove marriage in the case of a polygamous relationship, for the 1882 act banned cohabitation. The near-fatal blow dealt by the 1887 law provided for the seizure of a large amount of LDS land holdings, stating the LDS could not own more than \$50,000 in land. At the time of the law’s ratification, the Mormon church had over \$2 million worth of

⁴¹ Wells, Emmeline. “Is It Ignorance?” *The Woman’s Exponent*. July 1, 1883. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

real estate. In 1890, beleaguered LDS President Woodruff issued a manifesto declaring that polygamy was no longer endorsed by the church. The Edmunds laws gave rise to the rapid prosecution of Mormon polygamists, and without a public renouncement of the practice, the Saints' leadership realized statehood would remain elusive and federal authorities would not grant the territory the kind of autonomy its leaders sought.

The wave of anti-polygamy sentiment crested during the 1880s. In addition to members of Congress, there were those outside Washington who rallied the masses against the degrading institution of polygamy. In 1886, Kate Field, a political activist and arbiter of popular fashion and taste, held a series of lectures that were passionately contemptuous of the Mormons' matrimonial practices. Her "Mormon Monster" speeches drew sellout crowds, and were crafted to appeal to the broadest number of listeners. She spoke of the "dynamite of law," in which polygamy was a rock that needed "blowing up."⁴²

Field's opinions were not couched in idealism. In 1884, she traveled to Utah to personally investigate the Mormon lifestyle. She spent eight months in the territory, interviewing hundreds of women, conversing with Mormon officials, and attending concerts, plays, and lectures. Recognizing the importance of making a favorable impression, the Saints spared no expense as hosts. When she returned to the East, her attack on polygamy was no less fierce. She charged that the Mormon marital system

⁴² Gordon, Sarah Barringer. "The Liberty of Self-Degradation: Polygamy, Woman Suffrage, and Consent in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Journal of American History*. Dec.1996, p.815.

undermined morality and democracy and that their favored western isolation was a transparent attempt to obscure the threat such abuse posed to the entire nation.⁴³

Field was not alone in her rancorous outrage against polygamy. Anti-polygamist sentiment was the common cry among those of the cloth, media editors, politicians, novelists, and temperance leaders. Her firebrand sermons and references to a forceful solution were acerbic. Most who opposed polygamy sought to dismantle the practice through legal reconstruction of the Utah Territory. Reformers saw an implicit connection between the health of marriage and the health of the state, a theory highlighted in the Edmunds legislation. Because Utah allowed female suffrage, the powers in Washington sought to remove their right to vote as punishment. The scarcity of women in the West often was mentioned as the primary reason for placing a higher value on them, and as a result, on suffrage as well. Many women in the West, in particular the wives of Latter-day Saints missionaries, would go for long periods without seeing their husbands. This was one explanation as to why Utah adopted female suffrage: the Mormon men were largely stable and conservative and by giving their women the right to vote strengthened the home element against transient bachelors. Another reason for suffrage in Utah was a desire among church elders to offset the political power of gentiles in Zion. Though Gentile voting preferences posed no serious political threat at the time of passage, Brigham Young thought it prudent to organize a large reserve force in case of need.⁴⁴

The pressure placed upon the Latter-day Saints only sharpened their resistance. In May 1873, Brigham Young and House Speaker James G. Blaine engaged in a discussion

⁴³ Moss, Carolyn J. "Kate Field: The Story of a Once-Famous St. Louisian." *Missouri Historical Review*. Jan. 1994, Vol.58, p.166-7.

⁴⁴ Larson, T.A. "Dolls, Vassals, and Drudges: Pioneer Women in the West." *Western Historical Quarterly*. Vol.3, No.1, 4-16. p.13.

regarding federal force thrust upon the Utah Territory. Young stressed that Washington's meddling was "a breach of faith and that they should be left just as the organic law left them, and have full power to do all legislation without hindrance."⁴⁵ Blaine, maintaining his position, reminded Young of the supremacy inherent in federal power of its territories. He cited Lincoln's legacy of emancipation, that Congress exercised its power by abolishing the relations of master and slave, and that equal authority was plenary in Utah. Any enactment of the territorial legislature was of only the slightest validity if Congress chose to annul.⁴⁶

In a morally rigid east, many people feared the Mormon cult of personality. On overland journeys westward, travelers bypassed a stay in Salt Lake City, choosing to remain on the train past the stop at Ogden. Editorials claimed that the capital city's streets "ran with gore" and that tourists were deterred from visiting from "fear of bullets and butcher knives."⁴⁷ The specter of the Mountain Meadows atrocity provoked unfounded paranoia among Gentiles, giving the Saints a worse reputation than they already had.

It was a common misconception that all Mormons practiced polygamy and gave the doctrine unwavering support. From its inception, the Mormons belief in polygamy was precarious. Prophet Joseph Smith received the revelation on the bounties of celestial marriage. But even he grew anxious to teach the doctrine, for he knew it might lead to his death. When the leadership of the Saints was passed on to Brigham Young after Smith's

⁴⁵ "Brigham Young and Speaker Blaine: Fuller Accounts of their Interview." *New York Times*. May 28, 1873. p.1.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ "Brigham Young's Domain: The Excitement in Utah." *New York Times*. June 4, 1877. p.2.

untimely death, the new president had reservations about the future of the church and the role of polygamy.

The actions taken by the federal government, inspired by Congressional backlash in the East and its cultural and intellectual circles, directly impacted life at Pipe Spring and in the surrounding area. The legislation drafted by polygamy's detractors in Vermont set into motion a restructuring of the political climate in Utah. The number of federal marshals in Utah and northern Arizona increased by 300 percent, and with the new focus on tracking down polygamists, Pipe Spring's Winsor Castle became a hiding place for polygamous families on the run. Edwin Dilworth Woolley Jr., a son-in-law of Erastus Snow, sequestered his wife Flora and their children at Pipe Spring due to the unlikely event that federal agents could locate such a remote refuge.⁴⁸

Though not simultaneously, nine other polygamous wives lived at Pipe Spring,. Their names were Josephine Snow Tanner, Georgie Snow Thatcher [sisters of Flora], Linda J. Marriger, Ellen and Ann Chamberlain, Caroline Woolley, Emma Carol Seegmiller, and Mrs. Bringhurst and Mrs. Sangford of nearby Toquerville.⁴⁹ With their children, these women lived at Pipe Spring in relative peace without federal interference. The women from Toquerville and the Chamberlain sisters had husbands serving time in the penitentiary, convicted on charges of polygamy. During what those women termed the "raiding years," the wives at Winsor Castle gave birth to nine children. The haven at Pipe Spring was nicknamed "Woolley's lambing ground" and the "Adamless Eden."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ McCoy, Kathleen. *Cultures at a Crossroads*.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "The Pipe Spring Story." No author named. Woolley/Snow Family Collection. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

The natural isolation of the Arizona Strip served as a deterrent to healthy economic integration. Given the changing demographics of the American West, the seclusion was a boon for polygamous wives during the “raiding years.” The Short Creek settlement had the infamous distinction of being the largest polygamous community in the country, but on the Arizona Strip, it was not the sole hideout for those adherents of the *Book of Mormon*.

Fredonia was the largest village on the Arizona Strip. During the 1880s, with federal officers bent on stamping out polygamy among the Latter-day Saints, Fredonia’s isolation just south of the Utah state line was a convenient refuge for extra wives. Zane Grey, one of the most prolific writers on the American West, envisioned Fredonia in his *Riders of the Purple Sage* as a place occupied only by women and children, while mysterious husbands rode into town on horseback after dark, only to leave before daybreak. The town was also unique as being the farthest from its seat of county government of any city in the United States. The gorges of the Grand Canyon forced overland travel in a wide circle through southern Utah, northwestern Arizona, the southern tip of Nevada, into California, and back through much of Arizona, a total of more than 1,000 miles.⁵¹

Fredonia was founded in the wake of a damaging flood that poured out of Kanab Canyon. In the summer of 1882, the handful of Mormons at Kanab were blessed by plentiful rains that broke a long period of drought. Cattle raising was the main industry in Kanab, while the sporadic flow of the creek running through town sustained large fruit orchards. The rains, at first welcomed, became torrential cloudbursts, creating a serious

⁵¹ Fredonia sits in Coconino County, Arizona, the second largest in the United States in terms of square miles. Flagstaff is the county seat. Until the bridge at Marble Canyon was completed, this arduous overland journey was the only way to travel to the county seat. Brooks, Juanita. “The Arizona Strip.” *Pacific Spectator*, p.294.

overflow of Kanab creek. To avoid complete destruction, the townspeople erected an irrigation dam to catch the rushing water. The force of the water caused the dam to fail and the flow continued southward past the limits of Kanab. The large surplus of water that eluded capture settled in a valley covered with rabbit bush.⁵²

In May 1884, Apostle Erastus Snow christened the new town “Fredonia,” a conjunction of “free’ and “*dona*,” the Spanish term for women. Snow was the apostle in charge of church affairs in the Utah, Arizona, and Nevada territories and was also commissioned specifically to seek places of refuge during the tumultuous 1880s. He was instrumental in establishing communities in Arizona and Nevada, and from 1885 to 1887, labored to erect the Mormon colonies in Sonora. In the early stages of Fredonia’s development, a handful of men invested time, capital, and physical strength to construct a dam and irrigate the surrounding lands for agriculture. Initial projections stated that twenty-five families could live comfortably on the area’s available resources. A pleasant and vibrant town, Fredonia’s prosperity attracted additional Mormon settlers. Contrary to Snow’s moniker of the town site and its fated purpose as a polygamist refuge, many of those who settled in Fredonia came across the village accidentally on their way south to Mexico.

Construction of the dam commenced in October 1886 along with the townspeople’s residences. Snow claimed to have named the fledgling town, although its residents continued to quarrel over other names, such as “Stewart” and “Union.”⁵³ Many of the residents disagreed with their town’s primary purpose as a place of refuge. Some, such as Hyrum Church, had a wife in Fredonia and one in Utah, but her presence there was based

⁵² “History of Early Settlement of Fredonia.” Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

⁵³ “History of Fredonia, Arizona, 1885-1985.” Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

more on choice of residence than fear of arrest. A.B. Brown also had two wives, both of whom lived in Fredonia. Again, their move was precipitated by choice rather than sanctuary. The Jensen and Jackson families, who fled Utah and were bound for Mexico, ended up staying on at Fredonia instead of continuing what was sure to be an arduous journey. Still others who built up the town in its infancy were never polygamists. It was Pipe Spring, the “Adamless Eden” that was considered the hotbed of plural wives in hiding. The town was not officially referred to as Fredonia until 1889, one year after Snow’s death. After then-LDS president Wilford Woodruff issued the manifesto renouncing polygamy in 1890, it was made clear that there would no longer be any plural marriages within the Utah Territory. There were births to plural wives in Fredonia long after the manifesto, though no new marriages were enacted.

The specter of polygamy continued to haunt the Arizona Strip for generations after Woodruff’s manifesto. Indeed, it was a strange practice in an even stranger land. It would have been sensible to allow polygamy a place in the huge expanse of the American West, where institutions of questionable regard flourished. The isolation of the Arizona Strip was ideal for such pursuits; if it was a land deemed inaccessible, then the Saints should have been able to find a way to be left to their own devices. But the notion of Manifest Destiny was overpowering. There was a huge continent ripe for settlement and before the railroad’s incursion, many parts of it remained unfamiliar to the American public. In a nation intent on healing its wounds of division that resulted from the Civil War, the issues that surrounded the Utah territory provided a serious undercurrent of dissent.

“A year scarcely suffices to see it all.....You cannot see the Grand Canyon in one view, as if it were a changeless spectacle from which a curtain might be lifted, but to see it you have to toil from month to month through its labyrinths.”

--John Wesley Powell

In 1869, the last unknown stretch of the continent was breached by a man synonymous with the opening of the American West. Friend of both the Washington elite and the Mormon theocracy, John Wesley Powell proved the dominating force in the West's golden age of exploration, a time before the last unknown regions of the United States were revealed and solitary explorers became enmeshed in rivalry and Congressional committees. Powell and others, including F.V. Hayden, Clarence King, and Lt. George Wheeler, were among the last generation of great American explorers to gain fame and notoriety for individual achievement in opening the West for future settlement.⁵⁴

Major John Wesley Powell, pathfinder of the Colorado River, was an American legend whose persona was progressively augmented through each of his bold endeavors. Born in 1834 to English immigrants in Mount Norris, New York, Powell spent his life expanding the limits of what Americans knew, teaching a nation about its fragile ecology and suggesting policies with which to master it. In 1838, his family relocated to Jackson, Ohio where he received individual tutoring from George Crookham, a self-taught naturalist who had assisted William Mather with the first geological survey of Ohio. Powell studied at the Illinois College at Jacksonville, Oberlin College, and later at Wheaton College. He spent less than one year at any of those institutions and never

⁵⁴ Goetzmann, William. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966. p.577.

received a degree. During the 1850s, the already-adventurous Powell traversed the full length of the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Des Moines rivers, experiences that undoubtedly proved useful in his later years.⁵⁵

When the Civil War erupted, Powell enlisted in the 20th Illinois Infantry. In November 1861, he was commissioned Captain of Battery and on April 6, 1862, was seriously wounded at the Battle of Shiloh.⁵⁶ His injuries required the amputation of his right arm two days later. Powell remained in active duty, eventually being promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. After the war, he accepted a position as professor of geology at Illinois Wesleyan College. During his teaching years, he became intrigued by the mysterious Colorado River country.

Of his many adventures, Powell's magnum opus was his unprecedented exploration of the Colorado River, an odyssey that solved the mysteries of its bottomless canyons. The river's lithic carvings initially were a Spanish discovery. In 1540, Hernando de Alcaron came upon the Colorado, exploring its southern extremities after sailing north from the Sea of Cortez [Gulf of California]. One month later, Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, a former member of Coronado's Cibola mission, came upon the Grand Canyon, making the Spaniard the first white man to lay eyes on the massive spectacle.⁵⁷

The Colorado River plateau was the most inhospitable region of the United States. Highways and bridges had since penetrated the parched landscape of the river country, conquering the most formidable barriers of nature. But it was Powell who first plied the

⁵⁵ "Major John Wesley Powell, 1834-1902." *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Jan., Apr., July, Oct., 1947. Vol.15, Nos. 1-4, p.19.

⁵⁶ "Prof. J.W. Powell III." *New York Times*. Sept. 21, 1902. p.3.

⁵⁷ "Colorado River: Mr. Dellenbaugh's Story of it and the Canyons it has Sculptured Along its Course." *New York Times*. Jan. 10, 1903. p.BR7.

river, miraculously surviving great odds in a small boat. The Colorado, with its headwaters behind the front range of the Rocky Mountains, overtook the Green River in eastern Utah. For more than six hundred miles on southeasterly trajectory, it was possible to cross the river in only three places, confirming its authority over mankind.

"No roof but the old pines above us, through which we could see the sentinel stars shining from the deep blue pure sky."

--John Colton Sumner, member of the 1869 expedition

On May 24, 1869, Major Powell and eight volunteers departed from Green River Station in the Wyoming Territory and began the arduous journey south. Their primary goal was to meet the Colorado downstream while charting the topography and collecting scientific data of the canyons.⁵⁸ When asked by the *Chicago Tribune* about his purposes for the trip, Powell replied, "to make collections in geology, natural history, antiquities, and ethnology."⁵⁹ Little did Powell foresee the challenges that awaited him.

Powell's pending excursion charted the some of the last unknown portions of the continental United States. Funding for the expedition came from Illinois Normal University, Illinois Wesleyan, and various scientific organizations. Green River, Wyoming was selected as the embarkation point due to the railroad's accessibility to a Colorado tributary. The town was a collection of bland, unadorned wooden shacks, a makeshift boomtown amidst sagebrush. It was hastily constructed the previous year as a terminal for the Union Pacific. Powell and his brother Walter supervised the unloading of four vessels from a railcar while the rest of the party, which consisted of trappers, a mule

⁵⁸ Fowler, Don D. et. al. *John Wesley Powell and the Anthropology of the Canyon Country*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969. p.1.

⁵⁹ Miller, p.102.

driver, and an English adventurer, attempted to drink all of the whiskey in Green River. They failed only because Jake Fields, the tavern owner, “persisted in making it faster than we could drink it.”⁶⁰

Departing from Green River, the party traveled south through the Flaming Gorge, Desolation Canyon, and met the Colorado River at its confluence with the Green in present-day Canyonlands National Park. During the trip, Powell’s crew grew agitated. Army Sgt. George Y. Bradley recalled Powell’s admiration and his distaste of wilderness:

“If he (Powell) can only study geology, he will be a happy man without food or shelter, but the rest of us are not afflicted with it to an alarming extent.....if I had a dog that would like where my bed is made tonight I would kill him and burn his collar and swear I never owned him.”⁶¹

Clearly, Powell’s mystic gazing alarmed the rest of his crew, who themselves lacked a visceral appreciation of the never-before-seen beauty they encountered. His men were exhausted by the extreme wilderness. Food supplies ran dangerously low and their top speed for much of the journey rarely exceeded five miles per hour. The men complained about their dwindling provisions, the oppressive heat, the mosquitoes, and the painful work of portaging the boats around the rapids. None of those negative factors seemed to break Powell’s concentration. When the party passed the outlet of the Paria River, the rapids became treacherous, overflowing the gunwales of the small watercraft. Incessant rains pounded Powell and his crew for hours.

⁶⁰ Miller, Peter. “John Wesley Powell: Vision for the West.” *National Geographic*. Apr.1994, Vol.185, No.4. p.100.

⁶¹ Worster, Donald. *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell*. New York: Oxford Press, 2001. p.184.

On the ninety-sixth day of the journey, the flaring tempers among the crew exploded. Three of the trappers, longing for the sense and stability of a saloon, told the major they'd had enough. Bill Dunn and the brothers Seneca and Oramel Howland, climbed out of the canyon, determined to find the nearest Mormon settlement. Powell, whose notes judged the nearest town to be at least four days away, tried in vain to persuade the men to remain with the group. Despite his warnings, the three men emerged out of the canyon and made it to the North Rim. Sadly, they were ambushed and killed by a band of Shivwits.⁶²

On August 30, 1869, after a truly enervating summer along the temperamental river, the expedition came to an end at the mouth of the Virgin River. The grueling 900-mile trip left the six remaining men weary on the brink of starvation. At St. Thomas, Joseph Asey, his two sons, and their Paiute guide received the party, for they had been notified to keep watch for any remnants of Powell's team. They were immediately taken into the Asey home for food and rest. The party was clearly "intoxicated with joy."⁶³

The completion of the trip made Powell a national hero. A hero as only an explorer could be in the nineteenth century, Powell was a star of the lecture circuit at a time when the American public craved larger-than-life figures of the West. His talks focused on the geological forces that shaped the Grand Canyon, which were at the time foreign concepts for even the most prominent geologists.⁶⁴ After his milestone voyage, Powell received a \$10,000 endowment from Congress to establish the Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. The funding allowed the famous major to conduct a

⁶² The Shivwits were a band of Paiute who dwelled in the vicinity of Washington County, Utah. They were historically more aggressive than their Kaibab counterparts.

⁶³ Darrah, William C. "The Powell Colorado Expedition of 1869." *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Vol.15, 1947. p.72.

⁶⁴ Miller, p.103.

second trip from Green River to the Grand Canyon's western edge. The sequel to 1869 lacked the romance and uncertainty of the original; the trip was for surveying and mapping only.

The one man with unparalleled familiarity of the western region, he was on assignment for the United States government to officially survey the lands bisected by the mighty Colorado. To Powell, the federally commissioned project was second nature. The expansion of the nation into the last mysterious stretch of desert mirrored his personal religion. With a visceral bond to the natural world, Powell sought to educate and enlighten the uninformed public about the Colorado Plateau.

For the Mormons who made their homes in the Colorado country, Powell's voyage provided them greater geographic bearing of their adopted homeland. Powell first came to the Pipe Spring area during his first expedition in 1869. In his diary entry for September 13th, he recounted his visit to site:

"Climbing out of the valley of the Rio Virgen, we pass through a forest of dwarf cedars, and come out at the foot of the Vermilion Cliffs. All day, we follow this Indian trail toward the east, and at night camp at a great spring, known to the Indians as Yellow Rock Spring, but to the Mormons as Pipe Spring; and nearby is a cabin in which some Mormon herders find shelter. Pipe Spring is a point just across the Utah line in Arizona and we suppose it to be about sixty miles from the (Colorado) river. Here the Mormons design to build a fort another year as an outpost for protection against the Indians."⁶⁵

Powell's contributions to the history of the Arizona Strip were undeniable. When his first party departed Green River in 1869, the Colorado River and its environs was the

⁶⁵ Powell, John Wesley. *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875. p.112.

least known portion of the North American continent. At that time, the course followed by the veteran major remained sparsely populated, with few roads to speak of. Much of the land had been set aside for the use of national parks, recreation areas, and Indian reservations. It was a befitting legacy for a trail so boldly blazoned.⁶⁶ Powell was the man responsible for opening the West in the American consciousness.

Although Powell's exploits helped familiarize the Saints with portions of their adopted land, geographic isolation between their far-flung settlements was a major obstacle. Privacy and seclusion, particularly from the federal government, were core components of the Saints' creed and they recognized the need for a reliable communication network, one that would link the vast reaches of their desert empire. While Powell's famous voyage introduced the canyon country to the world's imagination, there was now the task of physically connecting the remote region to the rest of the nation as well as mastering its challenges. Before railroads and roadways filled the vacancy of the Great Basin, the telegraph reduced spatial concerns and connected the previously separated hamlets of Mormon society.

⁶⁶ The following are points of interest located between Green River, WY and the now-submerged village of St. Thomas (under Lake Mead), which are bisected or bordered by the Green River/Colorado River course that Powell followed: Flaming Gorge NRA, Ashley NF, Dinosaur NM, Ouray NWR, Uintah-Ouray Indian Reservation, Canyonlands NP, Glen Canyon NRA, Vermilion Cliffs NM, Kaibab NF, Grand Canyon NP, Havasupai Indian Reservation, Hualapai Indian Reservation, and Lake Mead NRA.

CHAPTER 3

TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

The telegraph was one of the most important inventions of the nineteenth century. An achievement of immense proportion, it allowed the country to shrug off spatial and time constraints while accelerating the pace of trade and commerce. With a giant continent to traverse, the United States could not rely on the instability of the ill-fated Pony Express. The telegraph, while crude by modern standards, made communication almost instantaneous, thrusting America into a techno-industrial age.

The telegraph was the forerunner of modern electronic communication equipment. The basic principle on which today's computers function also was the fundamental precept of the telegraph; the controlled interruption and pulsation of an electric current.⁶⁷ The first working model of the telegraph was constructed in 1836 by Samuel Finley Breese Morse, a moderately successful portrait painter. While traveling abroad years before, Morse's first wife died and it took over two weeks for the grim news to reach him. On the return trip, Morse conceived of the electric telegraph, stating there was "no reason why intelligence might not be instantaneously transmitted by electricity to any distance."⁶⁸

⁶⁷ "Samuel F.B. Morse and the Telegraph." Chicago: Morse Telegraph Club, Inc., Feb.14, 1996. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Morse's 1836 prototype was a crude assemblage of a picture frame, a printer's port rule, and clock parts. He later joined forces with Alfred Vail, whose family owned an iron works in Morristown, New Jersey. Vail aided Morse substantially in the further development of the machine, including the universally recognized Morse Code, a system of short and long pulses, or "dots and dashes." In 1843, Morse and Vail received a \$30,000 grant from Congress to prepare a demonstration telegraph circuit, and after a series of difficulties, Morse sent his first message from Capitol Hill to his associate Vail in Baltimore. Fittingly, the May 1844 transmission read, "What hath God wrought!"⁶⁹

The Morse telegraph was the first practical harnessing of electricity. Overnight, the success of the system made the crude Pony Express obsolete and enhanced the nation's ability to transcend thousands of miles of separation. As for the Latter-Day Saints, the telegraph proved invaluable; it ended the conceptual and physical isolation of many small communities, especially those lining the Arizona Strip. On October 24, 1861, the Western Union Company, formed in 1856 when a dozen competing telegraph companies consolidated, completed the first nationwide line. Linking Sacramento to the east coast via splicing at Salt Lake City, the country witnessed the initial vestiges of modern communication. It was from Salt Lake City that the Mormon church established their own wire service, the Deseret Telegraph Company.

The Deseret Telegraph Company was a central fixture in the history of Pipe Spring. The company formed in 1867 at the behest of Brigham Young, who after purchasing the necessary infrastructure from the defeated Southern states, proceeded to string together

⁶⁹ "Fact Sheet on Telegraphy." Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, date unknown.

his communal archipelago. Two years before, in a circular published by the *Deseret News*, Young proclaimed to the bishops and presiding elders throughout the Utah Territory the importance of a telegraph system:

“The proper time has arrived for us to take the necessary steps to build the telegraph line to run north and south through the territory, according to the plan which has been proposed....”⁷⁰

Each ward and settlement was responsible for the financing of its own lines. The supplies from the South and East arrived in Zion via wagon trains, with the cutting of logs done during the winter months and hauling done in the spring. In October 1866, a freight convoy of sixty-five wagons arrived in Salt Lake City and construction of the massive undertaking commenced. By December 1867, Zion had more than 500 miles of lines fusing its various colonies. From the main office at Salt Lake City, which was connected to the larger national Western Union system, lines ran north to Logan and Ogden and to the south, bridging together Manti and St. George. In addition to the communication system, the Mormon church funded a telegraphy school in Salt Lake City.

As an instant warning system born in the wake of the Black Hawk War, the Deseret Telegraph was especially useful as a safeguard against Navajo raids, although by its premier in Arizona in the early 1870s, the *Dine* threat was largely neutralized through treaties and the establishment of a reservation in northeastern Arizona. In December 1871, before the completion of Winsor Castle, Pipe Spring became the Deseret

⁷⁰ Woodward, p.19.

Company's first telegraph station in the Arizona Territory.⁷¹ The first telegram was sent from Pipe Spring on December 15th, at 12:31pm by Eliza Luella Stewart, daughter of Margery Wilkerson and Levi Stewart, the first bishop in Kanab.

Sixteen-year old Eliza was Pipe Spring's first telegraph operator. She was born in Salt Lake City on May 21, 1855. A child of considerable privilege, "Ella," as she was affectionately called, attended private schools with gifted instructors. She received a well-rounded education with instruction in cooking, the making of soap and candles, and business and finance. In 1870, when her father was called upon by Brigham Young to move his family and livestock for the resettling of Kanab, Ella stopped at Toquerville to learn telegraph operation.⁷² At fifteen years of age, Ella's first assignment was Pipe Spring. She stayed at the Winsor Castle office for one month before moving to Kanab where she was telegrapher for seven years.

The telegraph office at Pipe Spring was unique, for no messages were ever sent to or received from Arizona. Instead, all lines ran northward into Utah, eventually connecting with the web's origin at Salt Lake City. The telegraph's importance was obvious. In an unforgiving land with Navajo raiders in close proximity, the wire proved vital in preventing the theft of livestock and bloodshed between the Saints and the *Dine*. While the treaties of the late 1860s ended much of the hostilities on the Arizona Strip, some Navajo bands desired "one more grand fling at raiding white people across the river from

⁷¹ "Arizona's First Telegraph Station in Pipe Springs Turns 120." *The Spectrum*, Jan.6, 1992, p.4.

⁷² Christensen, Vera A. "Untitled Biography of Eliza Luella Stewart." Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files. p.2.

their homeland.”⁷³ The Navajo thrived on conducting heated raids on Mormon settlements west of the Crossing of the Fathers, namely Kanab and Pipe Spring. Navajo raids west of the Colorado River were often carried out for the thrill of victory or as a scare tactic to deter further white encroachment. The offensives were stealthy, coming without warning. The telegraph effectively prevented any further raids on Winsor Castle and its precious livestock.

In the summer of 1872, just months after the Pipe Spring telegraph office commenced transmitting, a band of Navajo, perhaps numbering 100, arrived in Kanab seeking horses, their most prized possession. The Saints in Kanab were accommodating and peaceful, withstanding the combative provocations of the Navajo. During their time in Kanab, the band learned of Anson Winsor’s numerous horses at Pipe Spring and made their way to the fort later that evening. Before their arrival, a telegraph message was sent from Kanab to the office at Pipe Spring. Winsor, determined to uphold Brigham Young’s policy of “it is better to feed them than fight them,” welcomed the Navajo and had them camp on the east side of the fort while putting their horses in pasture along with his own.

After nightfall, Winsor sent a dispatch on foot to St. George, where Captain James Andrus, commander of the Utah State Militia was stationed. Andrus, advised of the potential situation, immediately set out for Pipe Spring with a contingent of fifty men. They arrived at Pipe Spring overnight, hiding their horses in a small canyon west of the castle. The following morning, as the Navajo attempted to steal Winsor’s horses, Andrus’ regiment marched out of the fort, armed to the teeth. The Navajo, taken by surprise, surrendered what items they had stolen from Kanab and retreated eastward. Winsor

⁷³ “Pipe Spring National Monument, Moccasin, Arizona: Guide for Lecture to Visitors.” Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, p.9.

played to their superstitions by claiming he could send for additional support over the wire running through his fort. This incident marked the last documented Navajo raid on the settlement at Pipe Spring.⁷⁴

The telegraph served the occupants of Pipe Spring until 1888, when ranch superintendent Edwin D. Woolley installed the fort's first telephone. Coinciding with the telegraph's glory days, there came a greater technological achievement, one that not only reduced geographic limitations, but increased the mobility of a nation. In May 1869, the final spike of the transcontinental railroad was hammered into the earth at Promontory, making the Utah Territory again the junction of an advancing civilization.

The United States long recognized the need for a railroad network to span the continent. In the aftermath of the Mexican War, America's land holdings grew exponentially, adding the entire northern tier of the defeated Mexico to its roster. The millions of acres between the Rio Grande, the Rocky Mountain frontage, the Oregon Territory, and the Pacific Ocean were now under American control, ceded to the insatiable Polk administration in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. Under no other presidential administration in United States history was there such a massive acquisition of land. The imperial aspirations of James Polk were confirmed when he confided to his naval secretary that his chief objective while in office was to bring California under the American flag.⁷⁵

The outcome of the Mexican War opened the Southwest to American settlement, introducing the region to the vagaries of capitalism. A forceful ethos of expansionism

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.9-10.

⁷⁵ Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States: 1492 to the Present*. New York: Perennial, 2003. p.150.

pervaded the American mind, for a virgin frontier now lay ahead, ripe for colonization and the erection of lasting communities. The railroad was the dominant agent of settlement in the newly won Southwest, which included the lands of Zion. In 1862, through the congressional Enabling Act, the Union Pacific Company was born. Additionally, Congress designated the transcontinental route, which heading westward from Omaha would merge with the Southern Pacific line moving eastward from San Francisco. With this amalgamation, ground was broken for the project in December of 1863, yet the specter of civil war caused some in Congress to express reservations regarding the undertaking of such an expensive project.⁷⁶

After Lee's surrender at Appomattox, rail construction into the West increased. The industriousness of the Saints made the Utah Territory the best developed region between the Missouri River and the Pacific coast. Mormon leader Brigham Young harbored ambivalence towards the railroad's passage through Zion. On an economic level, he welcomed the railroad; it cut transportation costs. Mule-drawn wagons proved too slow and were reliable only in favorable climatic conditions. Though the railroad's top speed in the 1860s was just above twenty-five miles per hour, inclement weather was not an obstacle. To strengthen the church's ranks, railway passage into Zion allowed more converts to the Mormon faith, many of whom came over great distances, to settle in Utah and therefore contribute to the communal standards set forth by the prophet Smith himself. Just after the Civil War, many converts were foreign transplants whose main point of embarkation was Liverpool, England. In November 1868, in correspondence

⁷⁶ Huneke, William F. *The Heavy Hand: The Government and the Union Pacific, 1862-1898*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1985. p.10.

with a foreign missionary, Young stated, “We want the railroads, and we are not afraid of its results.”⁷⁷

From a social standpoint, Brigham Young was distrustful of the railroad’s entry into Zion. Young feared commercial interaction with Gentiles for its impact on the moral fiber of settlers who inevitably sought passage into the West. His particular peeve was the mining of precious metals, which had exploded in California and Nevada with the Gold Rush and Comstock Lode. Mining camps symbolized licentious behavior, lawless transience, and were a detriment to the insular world of the Saints.

Young’s wavering opinion of the railroad could not prevent its penetration into Utah or the questionable elements that appeared in its wake. The Great Basin succumbed to progress and instead of being stubbornly combative, Brigham Young, in his signature enterprising manner, seized the opportunities that the Union Pacific afforded his church. There were many Mormons who desired more efficient passage in and out of Zion, as well as access to new markets for their wares. Young himself brokered deals with the Union Pacific brass, whose services provided a more fluid entry for new LDS converts into Zion; from as far away as the eastern seaboard, those wishing to settle in Utah had only to change trains once or twice. Within Utah, Mormons contributed manpower to the track-building effort. Perhaps antithetical to their founding doctrines, the fever of greater markets and broadened horizons gripped the Latter-Day Saints.

As the completion of the transcontinental line approached, excitement spread nationwide. In Utah, the Mormons were of two minds. The Latter-Day Saints long emphasized a community of agriculture and manufacturing, one that was independent

⁷⁷ Athearn, Robert G. *Union Pacific Country*. New York: Rand McNally, 1971. p.68.

from the economic powerhouse of the eastern establishment. Those in the east also were eager for the railroad to pass through Utah, albeit for different reasons. In January 1870, *The New York Times* at once applauded the railroad and slandered the cult-like society of the Mormons:

“We have only to wait for the great inlet of civilization, the Pacific Railroad, to get at its full work, when we shall see the beginning of Utah to become assimilated with the rest of the country. Polygamy and every other relic of barbarism would soon melt away. Mormon civilization is too inherently rotten to last.”⁷⁸

By the summer of 1871, predictions about the fate of Mormonism and the seclusion of Zion in the wake of the completion of the transcontinental line were gaining plausibility. The joining of the rails in 1869 engendered an amicable economic, but perhaps not cultural, relationship between the Saints and the Gentiles who poured in Utah in the early 1870s. Yet the Mormons who openly associated with the Gentiles eventually grew into a splinter faction known as the “Godbyites,” that opposed the autocratic rule of Brigham Young. After the railroad became a fluid conduit for arriving Gentiles, Young desired to maintain his policy of exclusivity. The treatment of the Godbyites by the church authorities widened the breach, for LDS leaders [even those who succeeded Brigham Young] routinely excommunicated members for speaking the truth, questioning long-held beliefs, and exposing secrets of the church.⁷⁹ Increasing numbers of Mormons

⁷⁸ “Shall We Have Another War With the Mormons?” *New York Times*. Jan.17, 1870. p.4.

⁷⁹ Abanes, p.398.

renounced their faith, preferring to integrate Gentiles into their societies so as to undermine Young's preference for insularity.⁸⁰

Notwithstanding the resulting fractures from Young's determinism, the benefits of the railroad bypassed Pipe Spring and the Arizona Strip. William S. Rust was the brains behind the ill-fated Short Creek Project, an ambitious push to bring the railroad to Arizona Strip. Born in 1867 in Payson, Utah, Rust developed a river freight company that operated in western Utah, crossing the San Rafael Desert using the Green River southward through present-day Canyonlands National Park. Rust recognized the primitive, and dangerous, methods of river travel, especially on the tributaries of the mighty Colorado. In 1910, Rust learned of an irrigation company in Chicago that was interested in building a railroad in southern Utah and northern Arizona, through the heart of Pipe Spring country.⁸¹

The architectural plans for the railroad were hopelessly complicated. The surveyed route was to be an extension line from the nearest railroad head, which in 1910 was located in Lund, Utah, roughly 100 miles from the Pipe Spring area. It was to be a separate spur line from the Cedar City branch of the Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, and San Pedro line. The new track was to move south from Lund, through Long Valley, and then to the Arizona Strip, with stops at Short Creek, Cane Beds, and Moccasin. Rust's project met resistance; the Lauritzen family refused to relinquish their water rights along the proposed route and funding subsequently failed to materialize. After his foray into rail commerce, William Rust moved to Manti in north-central Utah. In 1913, he and his

⁸⁰ "The Decline of Mormonism." *New York Times*. June 5, 1871. p.4.

⁸¹ Rust, William Slauson. "The Story of My Life." Salt Lake City: Latter-day Saints Historical Archives, Microfilm Call# MS11677.

family moved Short Creek and then to Pipe Spring, where he rented accommodations for ten dollars a month. Rust later offered to purchase the facility, but the Heaton family declined to sell.⁸²

With ambivalence towards the railroad, it may have been fate that the most remote corner of the Saints' domain never acquired a reliable transportation network. The commercial hubs of the Mormon empire were miles away from Pipe Spring, with the closest being a four-day journey to St. George. The intra-communal capitalism the Saints perfected suited them well, but in the age of an advancing frontier and expanding markets, the fruits of their labor on the Arizona Strip and the profits it could bring them were not easily accessible to the rest of the country.

The most common Mormon activity in the Pipe Spring area was cattle ranching. From this venture stemmed all others, whether directly or indirectly related. The longhorn business made the Arizona Strip a teeming center for the cattle trade. Major cattle companies and cooperatives were not established until after the cessation of Indian hostilities, though a handful of bold entrepreneurs staked claims on the Strip as early as the 1860s. These cattlemen possessed a degree of bravery, persistence, and in some cases, impetuosity, defining the prevailing Mormon principle of success through sacrifice. The Saints lived by an edict opposed to instant riches. They desired permanent settlements woven into a larger united fabric of cooperation.⁸³

Shortly after Hamblin's visit to Pipe Spring in 1858, Mormon entrepreneurs created cattle ranching outfits on favorable sites in the general vicinity. In 1862, William B.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Porter, Rulan E. *The Little Colorado River Valley: Its Description, Its History, Its Settlement by the Mormons*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Folder 34, Box 13.

Maxwell set up operations at Short Creek, south of the yet-to-be-designated Arizona-Utah state line. Known as Maxwell's Ranch, it was located twenty-five miles to the west of the oasis. Joseph Berry and his family launched a livestock mission north of the Maxwell Ranch, founding the town of Berryville. The following year, Ezra Strong, a resident of Rockville, Utah, settled his cattle venture on Kanab Creek, just west of present-day Kanab. Dr. James Montgomery Whitmore, a native of Texas and recent convert to the Mormon faith, founded in 1862 the first ranching operation at Pipe Spring.

Whitmore was one of the most prolific cattleman to inhabit the region prior to 1870. Before his tenancy at Pipe Spring, he was a zealous pioneer, dutifully invested in the exploration of the intermountain west and the promotion of Mormon commerce. Among his many expeditions and projects, he assisted Anson Call in erecting a large warehouse and ferry crossing along the Colorado River for receiving goods destined for San Francisco. The port site was named Callville and, located near present-day Boulder City, Nevada, thrived as a river port until 1869.⁸⁴

A resident of St. George, Whitmore acquired a certificate for 160 acres of land surrounding Pipe Spring from the Washington County, Utah land office, dated April 13, 1863.⁸⁵ Along with his brother-in-law Robert McIntyre, Whitmore built infrastructural amenities at the site, including a cedar and earth dugout, as well as a corralled eleven-acre parcel for the cultivation of fruit trees and grape vines.

Whitmore's enterprise flourished for three years. Along with his herd of cattle, he also raised sheep. He and his family lived in relative peace, though the threat of Indian

⁸⁴ Woodward, Arthur. *A Brief Historical Sketch of Pipe Spring, Arizona*. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files date unknown. p.5.

⁸⁵ Capps, William M. *Where Did All the Grass Go? A Brief History of the Livestock Industry on the Arizona Strip*. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, March 1999. p.11.

raids always loomed. Beginning in the mid-1860s, Navajo raiding parties heading west crossed the Colorado River and attacked many settlements in the vicinity, often stealing livestock and murdering the stalwart pioneers. This campaign of terror was known as the Black Hawk War, named for the Navajo leader. Ultimately larger in scope than the Mountain Meadows massacre, it affected in crucial ways every contemporary Mormon and Indian in the area. Numbering more than 10,000, the Navajo was the strongest, wealthiest, and most stable of all Southwestern tribes. As skilled agriculturalists, they cultivated thousands of acres and owned immense herds of cattle, sheep, and horses. In large, well-organized bands, the nettlesome Navajo assaulted farms, ranches, and villages in northern Arizona, systematically burning and looting everything in their path.⁸⁶ Not until 1864, when Kit Carson led Navajos on their “long walk” to a reservation at the Bosque Redondo in New Mexico, did Navajo hostilities begin to subside.⁸⁷

Amidst this brutality, the Whitmore homestead was not spared. The savagery of the Navajo towards the Whitmore enterprise was the seminal event of Pipe Spring’s tenure as an on-the-defensive way station and large-scale cattle cooperative. During the early years of the Navajo raids, Whitmore spent much of his time in nearby St. George. In December 1865, a Navajo band conducted a series of horse thefts at Kanab, the Shirts Ranch on the Paria River, and Whitmore’s herd at Pipe Spring.⁸⁸ Upon learning of the raid on his

⁸⁶ Long, James A. “Mormons Versus Navajos.” *Frontier Times*, Feb-March 1972. p.25.

⁸⁷ Peterson, John A. *Utah’s Black Hawk War*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998. p.3.

⁸⁸ Shirts Ranch was owned by Peter Shirts and was located roughly forty miles east of Kanab.

property, Whitmore quickly returned to Pipe Spring. William Maxwell, whose own holdings were under siege, wrote in desperation to the temple in St. George:

“The Indians have made a break on Brother Whitmore’s ranch and have driven off all of his sheep. Whitmore and Brother McIntyre went out on the range on Monday morning (Jan. 8, 1866) and have not been seen since; and we think they are killed.”⁸⁹

Orders were at once issued for a counteroffensive party to pursue the raiders. On January 12, a company of men departed St. George bound for Pipe Spring. Anger over the Whitmore-McIntyre murders brewed into seething hatred, and by January 14, the Mormon battalion numbered over seventy-five men. On the 18th, a group of Navajo were captured, interrogated, and tortured by the cavalry, but with minimal results; the captives refused to talk. Later, a Paiute Indian admitted to the Saints he knew the whereabouts of the bodies and led the enraged men to the site. Upon discovery, the two bodies had been stripped of garments and accessories and were viciously mutilated. Compounding the horror was the sight of other Paiutes in possession of the murdered men’s articles. In an explosive fit of revenge, the Paiutes were lined up and executed. It was later learned that the Paiute had acquired the clothes and goods in trade through a band of Navajo. Caught with damning evidence, the innocent Paiute were murdered.⁹⁰

The isolation of the Saints’ colonies invited Navajo raids. Whitmore’s untimely death and the seizure of his livestock was undeniable proof of the dangers facing Mormons who were bold enough to attempt settlement on the Arizona Strip. Pipe Spring’s seclusion was desired by the persecuted Saints, but quietude came with a sometimes heavy price. Other

⁸⁹ Bleak, James G. *Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Vol. 1*. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1974. p.167.

⁹⁰ Long, p.60.

start-up towns in the area suffered similar attacks. Around the time of Whitmore's arrival at Pipe Spring, another pioneer made inroads at nearby Kanab, just over the present-day Utah state line. In the fall of 1863, Levi Savage arrived on the site of Kanab with a small flock of sheep. He recognized the area's potential for livestock raising as he discovered the valley carpeted with knee-high grasses.⁹¹ Complementing the abundant grasses was a small stream originating in the canyons north of the town site that ran down towards the west side of the valley. During the summer, the creek dried up before running its full course through the valley. Nonetheless, there was plentiful game and fertile soil, an irresistible find for the ever-enterprising Mormons.

The following year, after relative peace in Kanab, Levi Savage constructed the first house in the town. This prompted others to join the fledgling village, and by early 1865, fifteen families resided in Kanab. The Navajo raids chased the settlers away, leaving their fruitful efforts to wither with the other abandoned settlements in the vicinity of the southern Utah mission. The Saints, reluctant to surrender their bounties to the Navajo, were persistent in their attempts to resettle Kanab. By 1866, many returned to the area despite the looming Navajo menace. Mary E. Hicks, writing in her *Pioneer Memoirs*, described the Saints' perseverance in those tense situations:

"A number of men in March, 1866, left Kanab to go to the rescue of Carl Shirts who was then living at Pahreah. Shirts had fortified himself, his wife, and his three children against the Indians in a rock house.....His weapons of defense were an axe, a gun, and a

⁹¹ Mace, Blanche Hicks. "History of Kanab, Utah." Reprinted from the Deseret News, Feb. 9, 1935. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

pitchfork. Only after a great deal of persuasion would Shirts leave his farm and go with them to Dixie.”⁹²

The Whitmore-McIntyre murders and the raids on Kanab and Pahreah were not the final Navajo attacks against the Mormon colonies on the Arizona Strip. Three months after the raid on Whitmore’s property, Joseph Berry was slain in a hail of Navajo arrows while defending his herds at Berryville. Similar to the gruesome fate of Whitmore and his brother-in-law, Joseph Berry, his wife, and son were horribly beaten and mutilated. Shortly after this tragedy, the Mormon church and military authorities ordered the abandonment of all settlements east of Pipe Spring. After years of persecution from Gentiles in the east, the Mormons found the idea of fleeing inconceivable. The once-hopeful pioneers of the Arizona Strip were now a frightened and angered band of refugees who fled to the older and established towns of St. George and Cedar City.⁹³

Mormon fears on the Arizona Strip of the Navajo were justified. From their point of view, they were strangers in an equally strange land, seeking not only religious refuge, but a place to establish permanent roots of community. The Navajo, quick to defend the lands they had inhabited for centuries, struck without warning, leaving unsettling carnage in their wake. Four miles north of Pipe Spring was the tiny hamlet of Moccasin, Arizona. The first land claim was made there in 1865 by William Maxwell, who upon finding an Indian’s moccasin print in the sand, called the site Moccasin Spring.⁹⁴ Like other start-up communities on the Strip, Moccasin was founded due to the area’s possibilities for agriculture and ranching. Maxwell’s claim included three springs; two in close proximity,

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Malach, Roman. *Mohave County Northland*. Kingman: H&H Printers, 1979. p.2.

and one a short distance away known as Sand Spring because of the surrounding white sands. Maxwell later sold his claims to a man by the name of Rhodes, who exchanged eighty head of sheep for Maxwell's plot.⁹⁵

Despite the marauding Navajo, the Latter-day Saints forged ahead. In 1868, the Utah militia, under the command of Colonel J.D. Pearce, set up a base of operations at the abandoned Whitmore homestead. From there, detachments of troops were placed at various locations throughout the area. Several Navajo raids were prevented by the Mormon sentries and after a series of cat-and-mouse skirmishes, the Utah militia arose victorious over their persistent nemesis.

By 1870, the Navajo threat was significantly neutralized by treaties and the subsequent designation of reservations. For the Mormons who initially settled on the Arizona Strip, native pacification was indeed a boon and a blessing. Their relations with the Paiute were generally congenial, but the atmosphere with the Navajo was acrimonious. With the ominous clouds of danger dissipated, the Saints resettled the lands they were forced to vacate and Pipe Spring entered the most productive period in its history.

An unabashed imperialist, Brigham Young wanted to expand the Saints' territory into lands south of the Utah line. While operations at Pipe Spring were bearing fruit and the cattle cooperatives witnessed marked degrees of success, Young, with the guidance of Thomas L. Kane [for whom Kane County, Utah is named] announced plans to expand southward through Arizona as far as Sonora in northern Mexico.⁹⁶ For Young, *his*

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Kane arrived in Salt Lake City in February 1858, as an unofficial emissary from President Buchanan. Kane, a gentile, earned the trust of the Mormon church in 1846 as

Manifest Destiny had a two-fold approach: religious faith and business acumen. He believed the Latter-day Saints were the people chosen to hasten the second coming of Christ. At the same time, his beliefs and pronouncements caused many gentiles to believe the Mormon president bordered on delusional. The coming of the Gentiles into Zion, acting out their own version of Manifest Destiny, led Young and Kane decide that the move south was necessary. Growing conflict with federal powers in Washington augmented Young's fears and he sensed Salt Lake City would someday fall under gentile rule. With those concerns in mind, the securing of Arizona and Sonora was imperative; it was deemed "too good" to lose to the gentiles.⁹⁷

In securing the Arizona domain, Brigham Young recognized the grazing potential of the lands surrounding the old Whitmore estate. After passing by Pipe Spring in early 1870, and impressed by the area's abundant grassland and water supply, Young was determined to develop the tract for the church's southern Utah cattle herd. Acting quickly, Young purchased the former Whitmore site from his widow Elizabeth for the sum of one thousand dollars.⁹⁸ Young entrusted Anson Perry Winsor, who figured very prominently in Pipe Spring's history, to negotiate the sale.

The Whitmore-LDS transaction marked the beginning of the cattle cooperatives on the Arizona Strip. From the inception of the LDS Church in 1830, and especially in the

liaison between the Saints and President Polk. Kane masterminded a battalion of five hundred Mormons to serve in the Mexican War, a move that ultimately financed the move to the Great Basin a year later. Abanes, Richard. *One Nation Under Gods: A History of the Mormon Church*. New York: Four Walls, Eight Windows, 2002. p.262.

⁹⁷ Peterson, Charles S. *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973. p.5.

⁹⁸ The sum of one thousand dollars was not actually paid to the widowed Whitmore until 1873. Clemensen, A. Berle. *Historic Structure Report: Pipe Spring National Monument Arizona*. Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, Dec.1980. p.5. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

wake of federal incursions into Utah in the late 1850s, there was a widespread tendency among Mormons to distrust Gentile motives. Their skepticism fueled the cooperative movement, prompting the Saints to form those companies in virtually all of their settlements.⁹⁹ The cooperatives were comprised of factories and retail stores, owned and operated by church brethren. All adults within a given town were encouraged to invest in and trade within those companies. Designed to prohibit Gentiles from profiteering at the Saints' expense, the cooperatives barred outsiders from acquiring any portion of Mormon property, thereby allowing the church to control virtually all of the renegade Utah Territory. The Mormon cooperative system first appeared on the Arizona Strip in the 1860s, reaching its peak years in the 1870s.

In April 1870, Brigham Young cabled Erastus Snow to appoint Anson Perry Winsor manager of the Canaan Company:

“Proceed with Kanab Business Cooperative Herding etc. Have Brother Winsor go out as soon as convenient and commence putting in grain and other planting, suitable to the soil and climate. Hope you have arranged matters satisfactorily with Sister Whitmore.....Am well, Brigham Young.”¹⁰⁰

Winsor, who brokered the sale of the Whitmore estate to the church, both managed the Canaan herds at Pipe Spring and oversaw tithing operations. Born in Elliotville, New York in 1818, he converted to the Mormon faith at age twenty-three, and followed the persecuted sect to their former capital at Nauvoo, Illinois. The Saints fled their riverside colony in 1847, yet Winsor and his family did not make the pilgrimage to Utah until

⁹⁹ Beckstead, James H. *Cowboying: A Tough Job in a Hard Land*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991. p.37.

¹⁰⁰ President Brigham Young in correspondence with Erastus Snow via telegram, April 18, 1870, Salt Lake City to St. George. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

1852, when they relocated to Provo. A true embodiment of Mormon frontier versatility, Winsor took on many duties before his later vocation as a cattleman. In 1861, he was part of a colonizing stake along the Virgin River, founding the hamlet of Grafton and presiding as bishop. He held the position at Grafton until February 1865, when torrential flooding of the Virgin River destroyed the settlement.¹⁰¹ He also was a member of the hunting party that recovered the slain bodies of Whitmore and McIntyre, who ironically resided at his future home site. Before his stint as tithing officer and manager of his eponymous cattle company, he served as colonel under Apostle Erastus Snow in the third regiment of the Utah Militia, having a hand in several skirmishes with the Navajo.¹⁰² Winsor's most notable contribution to Pipe Spring was his namesake fortress. Construction of Winsor Castle began in 1870. It was designed to withstand any offensive mounted by the Navajo and Ute bands in the vicinity. In October 1870, Joseph W. Young, the chief architect of Winsor Castle, detailed the plans of the fort in a letter to Horace S. Eldredge, president of the Latter-day Saints in England:

"I am appointed to superintend the building of a fort, which the church is building at Pipe Spring, the place where Dr. Whitmore was killed. It is to be a big affair on the plan of Cove Creek Fort. It will be 152 feet long and 66 feet wide, the walls next to the bluff 30 feet, with two story dwelling inside and the wall on the lower side 30 feet high. This work will keep me out most of the winter, but it is a very necessary work."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Winsor, Anson P. III. *A Short History of Anson P. Winsor III: Written By Himself in 1958*. Murray: Fendel's Printing, 1958. p.1. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

¹⁰² "Anson Perry Winsor." *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, Vol.3, p.569. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

¹⁰³ Woodward, Arthur. *A Brief Historical Sketch of Pipe Spring, Arizona*. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

Winsor's operations at Pipe Spring coalesced with the larger economy of the Mormon frontier satellites positioned on the rim of the Great Basin. J.H. Beadle, visiting Winsor Castle in the summer of 1872, recounted the success and determination of the Bishop's endeavors as well as the challenges of mastering the laws of nature:

"The spring from which the place takes its name sends down a large stream of cold, clear water, which the Bishop leads in stone troughs through his houses, using one of them for a cheese factory. He milks eighty cows, and makes the business a splendid success. All this section is rich in pasture, but has so little arable land that most of the few inhabitants have to import their flour, paying for it in butter and cheese. Even with this large stream, the Bishop can cultivate but fifteen acres."¹⁰⁴

Beadle's observations were telling; on some of the most difficult terrain in the country, the Saints' pioneering spirit and desire for economic cohesion allowed them to flourish.

In 1871, the Canaan Cooperative was formed. Headquartered at Short Creek, the Canaan group was the largest livestock cooperative on the Strip. It was comprised of several smaller outfits in northern Arizona and the extreme southern tier of Utah. During its twenty-five year existence, the Canaan group managed cattle herds at Kanab, Pipe Spring, Antelope Springs, Cane Beds, Parashant, and Moccasin Springs. In addition to its vast herds, the Canaan company operated dairies, mills, and mercantile establishments. The Canaan herds originally grazed in the vicinity of St. George, with the ranchers having been present in the valley since 1861. The newly formed Canaan Cooperative, with its main herd located at Short Creek, was incorporated for one hundred thousand

¹⁰⁴ Beadle, J.H. *The Undeveloped West: Five Years in the Territories*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1873. p.659.

dollars, with shares priced at one dollar each.¹⁰⁵ The operation was by most measures a success. At the helm of the Canaan company was Captain James Andrus, the famed Navajo hunter and Utah militia commander, and Apostle Erastus Snow, who later named the town of Fredonia, Arizona. In the cattle boom that swept the West after the Civil War, the Canaan outfit saw a 38.5% return in its first two years of operation.

After the completion of Winsor Castle in 1872, the Canaan officers moved their base of operations to Utah and a second cooperative was formed at Pipe Spring. On January 3, 1873, a preliminary meeting convened in St. George to organize the new company, fittingly named the Winsor Stock Growing Company. Present were key investors of the LDS cattle empire: President Young, Erastus Snow, Joseph Young, Alexander Macdonald, and Anson Winsor. At the meeting, \$17,350 was subscribed as capital stock with shares placed at twenty-five dollars, a high price for 1873. President Young himself invested \$2,350, while Winsor held \$3000 worth of shares, the most of all individual shareholders.¹⁰⁶ The Mormon Church, as a group shareholder, owned slightly more than \$10,000 worth of stock.

The 1870s marked the pinnacle of the Saints' cattle ranching business on the Arizona Strip. With a water source at Pipe Spring and adequate grasslands suitable for grazing, the Winsor Company, along with smaller outfits in nearby Kanab, flourished. Anson Winsor continued his job as superintendent, living at Pipe Spring with his family and hired hands. Under his supervision, the Winsor Company was a success; in 1874, dividends of forty percent were paid to its investors while thirty percent returns were seen

¹⁰⁵ Atkin, Rodger C. *My Classification as a Cattleman*. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, date unknown, p.1.

¹⁰⁶ Jenson, Andrew. *Pipe Springs Mohave County Arizona*. Kanab: Kanab Stake Ward History, August 1985. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

in 1875. As the monetary profits grew, so too did the size of the Winsor herd. At the time of the company's inception, there were roughly five hundred head of cattle. By 1879, the herd had mushroomed to over 2,200 at Pipe Spring and 4,000 at Short Creek. The Canaan Cooperative fared well, with a majority of its proceeds financing the construction of the temple at St. George. The workers were given free meat from the company's herd in exchange for their labor.¹⁰⁷

The 1880s marked a shift in the fortunes of the Mormon cooperatives. Extreme overgrazing on the range led to smaller dividends, causing the Canaan Company, which absorbed the Winsor herds in 1879, to shed its peripheral holdings in Kanab, Moccasin, and Parashant to private investors, many of whom were Gentiles. The Canaan company remained in business through the 1880s, but its scope and presence on the Arizona Strip greatly diminished. In 1888, the company was forced to borrow \$7000 to meet expenses. This pittance of a loan was embarrassing when contrasted with the company's heyday. At the end of the 1870s, Canaan had excess of \$34,000 in its cash reserves. The company's holdings consisted of forty-three bulls, six oxen, two yearling bulls, 644 steers, 1,185 cows, 211 steer calves, and 158 heifer calves, with total valuation assessed at \$44,601. There also were 162 horses, valued at an additional \$9,493.¹⁰⁸ The shareholders of the failing cattle company witnessed the demise of their cooperative and a period of private ownership began, with some owners lasting less than a year. Ecological factors hastened the demise of the co-ops, but it was the Edmunds-Tucker legislation that clamped down on the church's vast real estate holdings.

¹⁰⁷ Atkin, Rodger C. "My Classification as a Cattleman." Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

¹⁰⁸ Olson, Robert W. "Pipe Spring." *Arizona History*. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

Prior to the federal government's confiscation of the property in 1887, Edwin D. Woolley secured the forty acres on which the buildings were located and transferred ownership of the last 1,400 head of cattle to Daniel Seegmiller and his wife Artemesia. Woolley, aware that the federal authorities wanted to escheat the Saints' valuable assets, engineered a deal with U.S. Marshal Frank H. Dyer to retain the cattle in the hands of the church. In the compromise between Woolley and Dyer, other church property was turned over in lieu of the cattle. The stock was then sold to John W. Young, who moved the herd east to House Rock Valley. The forty acres, including the buildings, corrals, and infrastructural improvements remained in Seegmiller's hands until 1888.¹⁰⁹

On July 23, 1895, the weathered facilities of Pipe Spring and the leftovers of the Canaan Cooperative were sold to Benjamin. F. Saunders, an aspiring cattleman from Salt Lake City. The sale to Saunders at once signaled the end of the LDS cooperative as an institution on the Arizona Strip and the inauguration of private investment. Saunders himself was a player on the scene years before he finalized his purchase of the Pipe Spring facilities. Massive and rather forbidding, he was an impressive-looking baron, a stalwart workhorse with aristocratic bearing. Little documentation on the man existed, for he was a gentile in Mormon country and consequently was not entered into any records kept by the LDS church.¹¹⁰

Like many of his Mormon counterparts, Saunders was an enterprising force unto himself. Besides his holdings in St. George and nearby Kingman, Arizona, he had operations in Wyoming, Nevada, and Colorado. He even sent an emissary to Alaska

¹⁰⁹ Sandberger, Lloyd. "Pipe Spring National Monument." Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, 1957. pps.19-20.

¹¹⁰ Capps, p.20.

during that region's gold rush to evaluate the grazing potential for his cattle to be raised and sold to mining camps. In 1883, Saunders inadvertently began to chip away at the Canaan powerhouse. According to Canaan Company documents, Chairman Erastus Snow said to his directors in an 1883 meeting: "B.F. Saunders desires to buy stock and if the circumstances were right favorable, to buy into the company."¹¹¹

For his first venture on the Arizona Strip, Saunders purchased five hundred head of the Canaan herd and for an additional \$2000, purchased the far-from-center Parashant [Parashont] herd. When overgrazing and drought impeded the efforts of the Canaan group in the early 1880s, it resorted to selling its outlying operations. Saunders immediately recognized a plan; he bought up several small outfits on the western Strip and then filed fraudulent claims on water sources to prevent others from trespassing and utilizing his springs.

On May 3, 1888, Seegmiller filed an application in Prescott, Arizona for an unsurveyed parcel of land that contained Pipe Spring.¹¹² Knowing full well that the land was already church property, Seegmiller was motivated by self-interest. His business acumen paid off; ownership became so confused that Saunders was forced to sell out to Seegmiller in lieu of a quit claim deed. The logic was that Saunders desired a clean title to the land, which he thought he had when he made the initial purchase from the church in 1888.¹¹³ Seegmiller's subterfuge was a common practice among Mormons in the years following the Edmunds-Tucker legislation; it was one of many attempts to hide rightfully

¹¹¹ Alder, Douglas D. and Brooks, Karl F. *A History of Washington County: From Isolation to Destination*. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1996. p.98.

¹¹² Geerdes, Raymond J. "The Ownership of Pipe Spring: A Legal and Historical Brief." Unpublished Manuscript, January 1, 1970. p.43. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

¹¹³ Capps, p.23.

owned property under legal auspices. From 1895, when Saunders claim was undisputedly his, until 1909, Seegmiller's original claim changed hands several times. In a case of poetic justice, Saunders eventually acquired Seegmiller's House Rock Valley herd in 1899.¹¹⁴

Saunders now-legal claim to the Pipe Spring facilities was an indicator of economic change, both for the Arizona Strip and the Mormon Church. On the lands around Pipe Spring, the amount of grazing cattle increased exponentially as new private operators brought in thousands of head. For the church, it was irrefutable proof that their dominion was weakening. The large firms, including Edwin Woolley from Kanab, Carrol, Bowers, and Esplin from Orderville, and others from St. George and Cedar City all shared the lands during the 1890s. In this new era of vitality, the cattle grew fat on plentiful grasses and the total number of cattle exceeded 500,000.¹¹⁵

The years of prosperity did not last. Signs of overgrazing and grass depletion, which began to appear just before Edmunds-Tucker, grew severe in the mid-1890s. Between 1896 and 1900, a crippling drought sucked the moisture out of the Strip's fertile acres and nearly half of the cattle perished. Rotting bovine carcasses littered the slopes of the Vermilion cliffs. In December 1895, as the dust began to swirl, Benjamin Saunders sold his holdings to a competitor outfit run by David Bullock and Lehi Jones of Cedar City. Bullock and Jones held the deed for only two years before selling to A.D. Findley in 1897. In 1909, the Heaton family bought the deed from Findley, making them the last Mormon family to own Pipe Spring before it was purchased by the National Park Service in 1923.

¹¹⁴ Geerdes, p.49.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.26

After Navajo pacification at the close of the 1860s, Pipe Spring and its environs grew from small-time ranching hamlets into one of the most productive livestock areas in the southwest. Large cooperatives, owned by the Mormon church, had thousands of steer grazing on the gentle slope of land south of Pipe Spring. During the 1880s, the cattle industry of the southern stakes was at its peak, booming in production and rife with colorful characters who embodied the pioneer spirit. By the end of that decade, overgrazing, prolonged periods of drought, and economic instability caused the cattle industry to decline. At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Pipe Spring livestock industry rested in private ownership. The Mormon Church, divested of much of their real estate through federal laws, relinquished their claims to Pipe Spring. An exhausting list of Gentile cattle barons owned the parcel for a time until a Mormon family, the Heaton, regained the property in 1909.

Life at Pipe Spring during the heyday of the cattle cooperatives was productive. Like settlers in the stakes and wards scattered throughout the Utah Territory, those who resided in the area were industrious, engaged in various activities for the greater good of faith and community. The men at Pipe Spring performed the most demanding tasks, such as chopping wood, branding livestock, trapping wild horses, blacksmithing, cabinetmaking, and general maintenance of equipment. Women were saddled with domestic duties, including cooking, curing meat, shearing wool, making clothing, hosting travelers, operating the telegraph, and tending chickens. For the children, life was not always fun and games, for they too were required to contribute to the livelihood of those at Pipe Spring. They mixed mud for plaster, made wooden roof shingles, watered the

fledgling trees, and assisted in the making of dairy products.¹¹⁶ The Saints at Pipe Spring and in nearby towns possessed a firm work ethic. At the same time, they enjoyed leisure activities such as horseback riding, storytelling, singing and playing guitar, learning the Paiute language, and even smoking with their adopted native counterparts.

Pipe Spring was part of an extensive trade network on the Arizona Strip. The goods made at Winsor Castle were sold or traded to other wards in the area. Moccasin supplied alfalfa and molasses, Kanab protected the Saints against the elements with mittens, quilts and blankets, straw hats, and moccasins, and Fredonia had extensive fields and orchards that produced squash, corn, beans, cabbage, plums, pears, apples, and peaches. The goods made or harvested on the Arizona Strip were then sent to outlying communities such as St. George, Washington, and Santa Clara in exchange for items needed locally. The agrarian system of cooperation would have made the prophet Joseph Smith proud of his brethren.

¹¹⁶ Edwards, Elizabeth. "Pipe Spring Specific Activities, 1870-1880." Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

CHAPTER 4

RELATIONS WITH THE NATIVES

In October of 1858, Jacob Hamblin was sent south from Salt Lake City to the Hopi country in northern Arizona. With a party numbering twelve, the famed missionary and explorer had orders to expose the natives to the edicts of the church. It was on this excursion that Pipe Spring received its name. More importantly, the trip was the beginning of the often congenial, but sometimes volatile intercourse between the Saints and the tribes that inhabited the Arizona Strip. Until Hamblin and John Wesley Powell brokered the peace with the Navajo more than a decade later, tensions on the southern Mormon frontier ran high.

September 11, 1870 was a furnace-like day at Pipe Spring. Gathered at the site were some of the most important and influential men in the Mormon west. A general survey of the area was in progress to determine the feasibility and locations of defense installations to secure the vast land holdings of the Mormon empire. Those present were Brigham Young, president of the Latter-day Saints; Jacob Hamblin, the famed Mormon missionary and explorer; John Wesley Powell, the former army major and noble pathfinder; John Doyle Lee, ferryman and infamous Mormon fugitive; and Levi Stewart, founder of Kanab and father of Ella Stewart, Pipe Spring's first telegrapher.

Powell's relations with the Saints were amicable. They had taken in his enervated party the previous summer after the grueling journey through the Colorado's canyons. A year later, he was visiting the newly resettled towns on the Arizona Strip on an inspection tour with Brigham Young and John Doyle Lee. They were engaged in a survey of the area, making stops at Panguitch, Kanab, and then on to Pipe Spring. On September 11th, Powell assisted Young, Lee and others in the layout of Winsor Castle. The next day, Young departed for Short Creek, while Powell remained at the spring for another three days.¹¹⁷

The Major had unfinished business in the area. On August 27, 1869, just three days before the conclusion of the famous trip, Bill Dunn and the Howland brothers separated from the group. Their decision to split from the party was based in part on extreme fatigue, but also due to Powell's recklessness. Just after dinner, Oramel Howland approached the major, asking for a word in private. Howland forcefully suggested that to venture further down the treacherous rapids was suicidal and that they all should abandon the river and take their chances hiking out of the canyon to safety.¹¹⁸ No matter what Powell deemed the proper choice, Howland announced that he, his brother Seneca, and Bill Dunn were leaving. For more than a week, the whereabouts of the defectors were unknown. On September 8, 1869, the *Deseret Evening News* reported the fate of the three crewmen in a one-paragraph story; the men were found by a peaceable band of the Shivwits Paiute, who fed them and then directed them on the trail towards Washington in

¹¹⁷ Olsen, Robert Jr. "Chronology of Events in the Area About Pipe Spring." Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files, p.6.

¹¹⁸ Dolnick, Edward. *Down the Great Unknown: John Wesley Powell's 1869 Journey of Discovery and Tragedy Through the Grand Canyon*. New York: Harper Collins, 2001. p.269.

southern Utah. Once on the trail, the three men came upon a Shivwits woman gathering seed. They allegedly raped and shot the woman, and were later killed by three Shivwits that followed them.¹¹⁹

By all accounts an intrepid man, Powell announced he would traverse the river a second time. With the help of the Mormons, who outfitted his second mission, Powell would no longer worry about the dearth of provisions. In securing manageable routes down the mighty river, Powell traveled with the “Buckskin Apostle,” the legendary explorer and missionary Jacob Hamblin, a man of unsurpassed and even equal bravery and confidence. Hamblin, whose sobriquets evoked fearlessness, spent nearly two decades among the Indian tribes that populated present-day Arizona and Utah and in many cases, befriended them through benevolent diplomacy. His skillful brokering was crucial to the success of Powell’s survey, for he served as the chief guide and interpreter during the Major’s mission. In addition to charting the expansive Arizona Strip country, Powell and Hamblin reaffirmed the delicate peace that was established in 1868 between the imperial Mormons and the menacing Navajo, quelling the friction that once divided the two camps.

While out on surveying errands, Powell and Hamblin encountered a group of Shivwits. With Hamblin translating, Powell questioned the band about the fate of his men. The Shivwit chief responded to Powell’s queries:

“Last year we killed three white men. Bad men said they were our enemies. They told great lies. We thought them true. We were mad; it made us big fools. We are very sorry. Do not think of them; it is done; let us be friends.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p.280.

The bodies of Dunn and the Howland brothers were never found, nor were any of their weapons or gear. For Powell, confirmation of his colleagues' fate was bittersweet; "that night I slept in peace, although these murderers of my men were sleeping not five hundred yards away."¹²¹ The encounter between the major and his apparent nemeses highlighted the sometimes violent interaction between the Mormon pioneers and the tribes native to the Arizona Strip.

Prior to the 1920s, standard depictions held that before European contact, natives wandered the west aimlessly, with little more sense than to etch out an existence eating rodents and draping themselves in animal hides.¹²² This misconception manifested in concert with the expansion across North America, as each new territorial acquisition [such as the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848)] drove explorers and settlers west into confrontations with native bands. Revisionist arguments of the twentieth century stated that pre-contact tribes in fact achieved more than just fulfillment of basic needs. Contrary to the narrow scope of nineteenth-century vision, Native Americans possessed appreciation for art and music, developed written languages, and lived by forms of hierarchical governance, lending the term "civilization" an arrogant elasticity. Conquering parties of Europeans deemed colored races inferior, and their distaste was more a matter of ignorant preference than incontrovertible fact. In the case of the Mormons at Pipe Spring and the tribes that populated the Arizona Strip,

¹²⁰ Powell, John Wesley. *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875. p.130.

¹²¹ Dolnick, p.282.

¹²² Churchill, Ward. *Struggle for the Land: Native North American Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Colonization*. San Francisco: City Lights, 2002. p.3

there existed an anomalistic relationship between the Latter-day Saints and the tribe in closest proximity, the Kaibab Paiute.

With the arrival of non-Indians, the Paiute tribes on or near the Arizona Strip were forced to adapt to a new social and economic environment. There were several tribes of Paiute in the southwest. The Panaca, Moapa, Las Vegas, San Juan, Shivwits, and Uinkaret all resided on or in close proximity to the Strip.¹²³ The Kaibab occupied the land where Winsor Castle was eventually built and where the Kaibab Reservation was established in 1907. For centuries, the water source at Pipe Spring was a vital lifeline for the Paiute tribes that dominated the Arizona Strip. As was the case for indigenous societies throughout the world, the fate of the inhabitants of the Strip represented a cruel irony; while they held the lands in a living trust for thousands of years, they suffered afflictions of dire magnitude due largely to Anglo pursuits. In the process, they were forcibly shuttled to reservations that were empty lands devoid of natural or financial resources. This relocation policy, unapologetically adopted by the American government, fed a growing seismic power shift on the frontier.

Beginning in 1830, the Kaibab Paiute witnessed many Euro-Americans traverse the region of the Arizona Strip. The austere terrain and dearth of water sources prohibited the establishment of any significant settlements. The wave of Spaniards seeking mirages of precious metals moved on to points west and south. Mexico, which until 1848 possessed the entire southwest, had little specific interest in the Arizona Strip, though there was a long-active slave trade in the region among the Spaniards and the Navajo who preyed

¹²³ Bunte, Pamela and Franklin, Robert J. *From the Sands to the Mountain: Change and Persistence in a Southern Paiute Community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. p.2.

upon the meek Paiute. Even the starry-eyed fortune hunters of the Gold Rush saw little else than dreams of their own El Dorado, and effectively bypassed southern Utah and northern Arizona. Even the federal government had little vested interest in controlling relations with the Paiute. With socioeconomic migrations swarming across the desert, the Paiute remained relatively unengaged.

The arrival of the Mormons forever altered Paiute existence. From 1847, when the first wave of fleeing Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, to 1852, when their imperial motives claimed all lands from the Wasatch Front south to St. George, the Mormon tide all but washed away preceding societies. Upon their arrival into the Great Basin, the industrious Saints drastically outnumbered the Paiute ranks.

The Mormon philosophy regarding the Paiute was unique. The Saints' genuine interest in Native Americans dated back to the publication of the *Book of Mormon* in 1830.¹²⁴ The fundamental scripture in Smith's text stated that Indians were ancient ancestors, who had come from Palestine six hundred years before Christ. Because of disobedience, a portion of those people were cursed with dark skin and were known as Lamanites, later to be called Indians. The Indians were of the blood of Israel, suggesting an inevitable promise that they might become a "white and delightsome people."¹²⁵ That axiom became prominent among the Mormons. Six months after the founding of the church, Joseph Smith called upon its members to serve as missionaries in hope of civilizing their "barbaric brethren." One of those chosen for the first wave of duties was

¹²⁴ Brooks, Juanita. "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier." *Utah Centennial History Suite*, Vol. 3, 1998. p.2.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

Parley Pratt, who later recalled the 1830 mission that departed from Palmyra, New York and traveled west, beyond the banks of the Missouri River:

“We had performed most of the journey on foot through a wilderness country, in the worst season of the year, occupying about four months, during which we had preached the gospel to tens of thousands of Gentiles and two nations of Indians; baptizing, confirming, and organizing many hundreds of people into churches of Latter-Day Saints. Thus ended our first Indian mission.”¹²⁶

The friction between the Saints and the federal Government hindered the Mormons from extensive proselytizing among the Lamanites. Conversion missions in the eastern and Midwestern portions of the country continued following their arrival in Salt Lake, after the church’s primary missionary interest was redirected on the tribes of Utah and northern Arizona. From the time the Mormons established a hold on the lands of the Great Basin, they were precisely aware of the challenges posed in securing amicable relations with the natives. The Kaibab offered minimal resistance to the Mormons. Their limited social and technological aptitude did little to thwart the Saints’ advance, for a single wagon train delivering a Mormon community was several times larger than any group of Paiutes in the targeted location.¹²⁷

The Ute tribes of northern Utah were the initial obstacle in establishing permanent settlements. In June 1849, Brigham Young held a conference with Chief Walker, or Wakara, the Ute leader known as the “Hawk of the Mountains.” During their meeting, Walker was impressed by the cordiality of Young ; the chief was baptized and even

¹²⁶ Pratt, Parley P. *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*. New York: Russell Brothers, 1874. p.55.

¹²⁷ Knack, Martha C. *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775-1995*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. p.53.

ordained as an Elder of the Church.¹²⁸ During their talks, Young announced his wishes to create a settlement in the valley of the Salt Lake. Young was skillful in his negotiations with Chief Walker, prompting the Ute leader to suggest that the Saints also set up a town site in the Sanpete Valley, near present-day Manti. By December 1850, Issac Morley had established a colony in the valley while George A. Smith founded the Iron County Mission to the south. Both men were wise to remain on favorable terms with Walker, who, if he had been hostile, would have never permitted the Saints their places on the Utah landscape.¹²⁹ In 1851, Smith recalled comments made by Walker pertaining the Mormon presence in Utah:

“Walker told me he had visited all the bands of Indians in this country. He had told them that the Mormons were good people and that if they settled on any of their lands, they must not molest them or disturb even a brute of theirs.”¹³⁰

Despite their auspicious meeting, tensions grew over the next few years between the Saints and the Ute. The Mormon practice of adopting Ute children caused much consternation among the natives. In many cases, the starved and malnourished Ute traded their children for food, clothing, and even dead animal carcasses. In what was described as the first Indian child secured by Mormons of the Southern Mission, George A. Smith recounted the conditions of the transaction:

“The thermometer 8 below zero. In the morning, I found the ox, Balley must die, so I ordered him to be knocked in the head, out of his misery. I showed the ox to the

¹²⁸ Roberts, B.H. *A Comprehensive History of the Church*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press. Vol.3. p.464.

¹²⁹ Brooks. *Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier*, p.5.

¹³⁰ Smith, George A. “Journal of George A. Smith.” Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society. Excerpt obtained Dec.9, 2004.

Indian....who sent up an angry cry for the ox. I told him it was too late to cry, but if he would let me have the boy he might have the ox, to which he readily agreed. I told him the boy should be well fed, comfortably clothed, and made a man if he would be a good boy. The Indian said he wanted to see him dressed like a white man on his return.”¹³¹

The Iron County Mission was a model for the Indian “slave trade” that was supposedly frowned upon by church elders. There was a reversal of this edict after Brigham Young visited the small colony of Louisa [later renamed Parowan] and witnessed the success of raising the Ute children who were received in trade of dry goods and provisions. Young concluded this system was more humane than the indentured servitude of Indian children conducted by the Spanish in previous decades. The Spanish obtained Paiute children who were abducted by the stronger Ute and traded for goods, particularly horses and rifles. Mexican trading companies often made trips to trade such goods to Chief Walker and his brother Sanpitch. When the Saints gained a firm hold on the Iron County lands for settlement, it was the Spanish slave economy that Young protested; if the same activities were undertaken by the Mormons, Young had little objection, for in his mind, the trade was for the economic benefit of his expanding frontier empire.

In his 1852 gubernatorial address to the Utah legislature, Young stressed the distinction between the slavery espoused by the Mexicans and the purchasing conducted by the Saints, insisting that the latter case provided the natives their freedom, even though the Indians were kept by his brethren for their services:

“This may be said to present a new feature in the traffic of human beings; it is essentially purchasing them into freedom instead of slavery. But it is not the low, servile

¹³¹ Smith, George A. “Journal of the Iron County Mission: Friday, December 27, 1850” Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society. Excerpt obtained Dec.9, 2004.

drudgery of Mexican slavery, to which I would doom them, not be raised among beings scarcely superior to themselves, but where they could find that consideration pertaining not only to civilized, but humane and benevolent society.”¹³²

The excerpt from Young’s speech publicly unmasked his insular attitude regarding outsiders within the confines of Deseret as well as his distaste for the fleeting Spanish. His deeply rooted faith in the *Book of Mormon*, with its altruistic instructions in dealing with lesser Lamanites superceded the fact that his church practiced a form of chattel, albeit not as demeaning as the Spanish version. After the *Deseret News* reported Young’s address, the institution of Indian slavery leapt into the limelight. Mexican traders, who operated their exchanges within Deseret, were often charged with unlawful conduct and expelled from the area, forced to leave their slaves behind. In early 1852, the Utah legislature passed a law called “A Preamble and an Act for the Further Relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners.” The act provided that whenever any person within the Utah Territory secured a child, he had to appear before a probate judge of the county in which he resided to make out an indenture agreement. The agreement provided that said apprenticeship could not exceed twenty years, that the child should be properly schooled and clothed according to his master’s financial status.¹³³ In 1853, after tensions escalated between the Saints and Ute, a brief conflict ensued known as the Walker War. Hostilities ceased the following year, with Young and Walker meeting once more at the town of Nephi to hammer out the peace.

Out of religious duty, the Mormons adopted a more benevolent attitude towards the weak Paiute. Observing the Paiute in their natural environment, they initially thought

¹³²“Brigham Young’s Gubernatorial Address.” *Deseret News*, January 10, 1852.

¹³³ Brooks. *Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier*. p.8.

their way of life crude and existence meager. Of all the tribes that the Saints came into contact with, the Paiute were by far the most primitive. For the Mormon pioneers to envision the tribe from becoming “white and delightsome” was surely problematic, for the missionaries among the Paiute saw only squalor and poverty.¹³⁴

The Paiute resided in wickiups, hastily constructed huts typical of nomadic southwestern tribes. Their pottery was angularly incongruent and of slipshod quality, their clothing extremely minimal, and their dietary choices deemed inedible by sophisticated Anglo palates. Joseph Young, a Mormon missionary, remarked in 1868 that the Paiute “were the worst specimens of the race, living a state of near-total nudity.”¹³⁵ More optimistically, Young went on to say that “through the kind and determined course of our brethren, they are changed for the better and are the best workers of all the tribes.”¹³⁶

The Saints’ opinion was that the Paiute were primitive, though documentation existed that suggested their society possessed a degree of sophistication. They were accomplished agriculturalists, growing acres of maize, squash, and beans in close range to stable sources of water. Father Escalante, who came upon their fields during his 1776 expedition, described the Paiute as “cultivating all irrigable lands within their territory.”¹³⁷ They incorporated all viable sources of nutrition into their diet, from tree bark to small rodents. Nothing of the desert’s extremely limited bounty was overlooked

¹³⁴ “White and delightsome” were explicit instructions from Brigham Young to George A. Smith on how newly acquired Ute children should be raised. From a letter to Smith from Young, May 13, 1851. Brooks, p.7.

¹³⁵ McClintock, James H. *Mormon Settlement in Arizona: A Record of the Peaceful Conquest of the Desert*. Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, 1921. p. 109.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Stoffle, Richard W. *Kaibab Paiute History: The Early Years*. Fredonia: Kaibab Paiute Tribe, 1978. p.12.

as a potential source of sustenance. Culturally, the Paiute espoused a bio-cosmic viscera, believing in the omnipresence of spirits. They had a rich oral tradition, including myths, tales, songs, and proverbial adages. They engaged in circle dances, celebrating events from scalping to gambling. Socially, the Paiute lived in multi-family units bound together by marriages and friendships. Furthermore, these units worked in concert with neighboring Paiute groups, often sharing resources if one band experienced a shortage of basic needs.

The Paiute's agricultural practices were perhaps their most advanced cultural tenet. In 1858, John Doyle Lee, the Mormon fugitive-turned-ferryman, marveled at their adroit farming methods, noting that all of the Southern Paiute were capable of irrigated farming before Anglo-European dominance of the region. The Paiute were in tune with the seasons. Winter was the most difficult season; they faced near starvation and survived in the lowlands on juniper berries and stored provisions. With the thawing of the land in spring, they hunted rabbits and fished. Spring also marked the planting of the fields in preparation for the growing season. During the summer months, they ventured into the highlands in pursuit of high-ground fruits and mountain sheep. Autumn was the busiest time of year, which witnessed the mass harvest of spring planting as well as large communal hunts for antelope and deer. For hundreds of years, this system was unmolested. Even during the Spanish colonial era, little negative impact was made on the Paiute way of life, save for a moderate level of decimation by foreign pathogens. Before the Mormon arrival in Salt Lake City, the Paiute made contact with many Euro-Americans, but none had any claim to permanence in the western unknown.

Though the Mormons were noble in their intentions to raise the Paiute standard of living, they primarily sought economic gain cloaked by religious zeal. Unlike their Spanish predecessors who treated the Paiute caustically, the Saints intended to remain permanently in Utah and believed securing working relations with the tribe was essential. They lived among the Paiute, bestowed upon them Anglicized names, and in some cases, married them.¹³⁸ Regardless of the true purposes of the Mormon pioneers towards Indians, the federal government was suspicious. Their Indian agents, vested with the distrust of the Saints that was so prevalent in Washington, did not approve of Young's desire to lift the Paiute out of desperate poverty. The agents recognized Young's craft in altering the frontier balance of power and felt that Young's absolute control over his own people would overflow into the native populations of the Arizona Strip. The agents correctly surmised that Young, through giving gifts and trinkets to the Paiute, tried to implant in the native mind a clear distinction between Mormons and Gentiles.¹³⁹ Given the thorny relations between Salt Lake City and Washington, befriending the natives in Utah and northern Arizona was, on Young's part, providently brilliant. The courtship of the Paiute in the southern tier of Deseret was especially important. Real or imagined, the Mormon leadership felt they were at war with the federal Government. Deseret's southern extremities were sparsely populated and ripe for offensives, and having locally based allies was sound strategy.

¹³⁸ Stoffle, Richard W. and Evans, Michael J. *Kaibab Paiute History: The Early Years*. Fredonia: Kaibab Paiute Tribe, 1978.p.3.

¹³⁹ This distinction was identified by Garland Hurt, Indian agent for the Utah Territory, in correspondence to George Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs on May 2, 1855. The original letter is in the records of the Utah Indian Superintendency, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

When lasting Anglo settlement penetrated the Great Basin, Paiute societies subsequently fell victim to varying policies of assimilation. Five years after Young and his flock entered Utah, their settlements threaded lands from the Wasatch Front south into present-day Iron and Washington counties. Beginning with Salt Lake City, the Latter-day Saints fanned out and established the town sites of Fillmore, Parowan, and Cedar City. When St. George was founded at what was the center of Kaibab Paiute land, it was impossible for the natives to mount significant resistance. In less than a generation, the Mormons outnumbered the Paiute on their own turf. Many of the Saints complied with Brigham Young's policy of assistance towards the tribes in Deseret. They knew that if and when an "American" invasion of Utah took place, the combined forces of the Mormons and their Lamanites might prove an impenetrable defense.

The Saints were generally benevolent in their treatment of the Paiute bands they came into contact with. The federal government, historically noted as lacking sympathy towards what it regarded as uncivilized ways of life, had little vested interest in the Paiute, for its primary concern in the southwest naturally was the Navajo, the fiercely antagonistic warrior tribe. The first official contact between the United States government and the Paiute was in Arizona in 1856, when Indian Agent George W. Armstrong witnessed their extensive irrigation and farming projects. While he noted the crude subsistence manner in which the Paiute lived, he remarked that they were relatively unthreatening. A more pressing issue for federal authorities was the renegade behavior of the Mormons, which created a political schism between Salt Lake City and Washington.

The methods and beliefs of the Saints had long been at odds with federal social expectations. Polygamy was the most divisive topic between Mormons and Gentiles and

was undoubtedly the main source of the persecution felt by the former. In the eyes of many in the eastern establishment, the Saints operated without any decency or restraint. In 1870, the *New York Times* equated this “Mormon heathenism with Indian savagery” and labeled the Mormons the “most anomalous people of the western wilderness.”¹⁴⁰ By and large, the Latter Day Saints were viewed with contempt, for their intransigence was synonymous with Indian stubbornness.

The moral debate between Washington and Salt Lake City was fierce. Brigham Young recognized his church’s precarious position and the ill repute its practices received from Congress. Furthermore, he adopted a triangular diplomacy in the confines of the Utah Territory. In his view, both his brethren and the Paiute were refugees, suffering the same denial of basic human rights by the federal government. In the late 1850s, when tensions between Mormons and Gentiles were at their peak, the Saints heavily valued their relationship with the Paiute, for they had taught the Indians the ability to distinguish between Mormons and those who sought to eradicate their presence. Paiute bands often acted at the behest of church superiors, who on occasion blamed the unsuspecting tribe for the atrocities at Mountain Meadows.¹⁴¹

The Saints superficially coddled the Paiute tribes, assisting them in procuring basic needs, but evidence suggested Mormon motives pertaining to their neighbors were not entirely altruistic. The acquisition of land was at the crux of the Saints’ creed, for it fueled their aspirations for community and cooperation. In simple terms, the Paiute may

¹⁴⁰ “Shall We Have Another War With the Mormons?” *New York Times*. Jan. 27, 1870, p.4.

¹⁴¹ It was clearly documented that both Mormons and Paiute took part in the murders of the Fancher party. Bagley, Will. *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002 ed. p.208-209.

have been less troublesome than the Ute or Navajo, but they still were a physical hindrance blocking the destined path of the Mormon settlers. Brigham Young, ever mindful of the national perception of his sect, remarked in 1864 on the state of the Paiute in northern Arizona and the Utah Territory:

“It is not our duty to kill them, but it is our duty to save them. We could kill them.... this is what others have done, and if we were to do it, what better are we than wicked and ungodly?”¹⁴²

Although President Young boasted of his church’s charitable treatment of the Paiute, the Mormons nonetheless used the blood and sweat of their weaker counterparts for their own benefit. Many Paiute that inhabited the Arizona Strip were brought into the labor force as wage work became the sounder choice over the inconsistency of subsistence farming. The wages were in many cases insufficient and as a result, many Paiute tribes fell into debt.

More divisive than claims to the lands around Pipe Spring was the issue of water rights. The Kaibab Paiute’s primary source of water came from both Moccasin and Pipe Spring. The Mormon church effectively donated the local Indians one-third of the water from Moccasin, which constituted their sole water source for the reservation’s buildings and crop fields. The water from Pipe Spring was a more contentious issue. Cattlemen had used it for many generations and by the early 1900s claimed they needed continued access. The BIA asserted that it needed the water for a herd of cattle it was trying to establish in the vicinity. The non-Indian cattleman submitted a bid for the water, but were rejected. When the National Park Service acquired the land in 1923, an executive order

¹⁴² Brooks, Juanita. *Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier*. Utah Centennial History Suite, 1998. Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

was issued stating only “the Indians of the Kaibab Reservation shall have the privilege of utilizing waters from Pipe Spring for irrigation, stock watering, and other purposes.”¹⁴³

Yet quarrels over the water persisted among cattlemen, the Paiute, and the National Park Service, which needed water of its own to sustain the tourists who visited the old fort.

There were many bands of Paiute in the Great Basin and along the Arizona Strip. Those in the vicinity of Santa Clara and St. George remained on the Latter-day Saints’ dole until the 1890s, when the United States Government purchased a tract and established a reservation in Washington County. In 1906, the Utah Congressional Delegation was awarded \$10,500 “for the support and civilization” of the disenfranchised Kaibab Paiute, who at the hands of nationalized forests and the implementation of federal game laws lived in “deplorable conditions.”¹⁴⁴ The following year, the commissioner of Indian Affairs requested that a 12-by-18-mile rectangle be removed from the public domain and put into use for “Indian purposes.”¹⁴⁵ When the reservation was opened, there were a mere one hundred-twenty Kaibab Paiute living within the perimeter. Thirty years later, only half of that number remained.¹⁴⁶ After nearly fifty years of generally productive labor relations and civilizing methods, the Mormons were relieved of their responsibilities in uplifting the Paiute of the Arizona Strip.¹⁴⁷

The displacement of the Paiute from their land and water resources was not a unique phenomenon. Throughout the country, the federal government established reservations as

¹⁴³ Knack, p.159.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p.140.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p.140.

¹⁴⁶ Vandiver, Vincent W. “Pipe Spring National Monument.” *Southwestern Monuments*. Feb.1937, p.114.

¹⁴⁷ Taylor, Eli F. “Indian Reservations in Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Jan. 1931, p.29.

the primary solution to the “Indian problem.” The Latter-day Saints approached the Indian question with more tact and brooding than their lawless Gentile counterparts. The Paiute experienced less death and destruction at the hands of the Mormons than they might have from others. A 1938 oral account from Quagant, a Paiute who lived near Kanab, described the resentment and hardship he felt from years living among the white invaders and being duped by the menacing Navajo. He told his story to Brigham Adelbert Riggs, a cattleman of Kanab, Utah :

“I have hated the white man all my life and have had a good cause for doing so. One evening, two Indians came to our camp driving some cows that some Navajos had given them to pay for helping drive cattle over the Buckskin. The Navajos had stolen the cattle down around St. George somewhere. We killed one cow to have meat. Next morning about sun up white men came close to our camp and began to shoot. Our men got their guns and started to shoot at the white men. My sister and I ran and hid in the rocks. When we dared come out, we looked around and found all the Indians dead. We were afraid to go over the mountain because we were afraid of the white men and it was late in the fall and it may snow so deep that we would be snowed in and freeze to death.”¹⁴⁸

Quagant’s recollection revealed more than just a harrowing and frightening experience. As a Paiute, the weakest tribe in the power politics of the Arizona Strip, he witnessed the cunning of the Navajo, who pawned off their crimes on unsuspecting tribes. To a larger extent, he shuddered to think of how white men were indiscriminate in their acts of vengeance. His elders simply engaged in the centuries-old barter system with

¹⁴⁸ Riggs, Brigham A. “The Life Story of Quagant, a Piute Indian, told to Brigham A. Riggs, a cattleman of Kanab, by the Indian himself. June 11, 1938.” Moccasin: PISP Vertical Files.

the Navajo, a system devoid of currency, but after the Anglo penetration of the interior West, a trade system developed that was increasingly reliant on materialism and market value. His tale of hiding in the wilderness to avoid the white man's bullets was similar to the mistaken identity and wrongful murders of his brethren when the Navajo raided Whitmore's encampment at Pipe Spring in 1863, only to trade the unsuspecting Paiute the doctor's possessions, for which innocent natives were slaughtered.

Once the cattle industry became the dominant economic force on the Arizona Strip, the Kaibab Paiute found themselves embroiled in eminent domain squabbles over water rights. It was the cattlemen's contention that since more than one generation of their families worked the land, they in turn should hold rights to the water. When the National Park Service took over the management of Pipe Spring, the Kaibab were dead last in line for water allocation. When the site was granted national monument status in 1923, campgrounds and other tourist-minded activities left little water for those few Paiute inhabiting the reservation. After pressure was applied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the water at Pipe Spring was divided into equal thirds; a third for livestock, a third for Paiute usage, and the final third for leisure pursuits.

As the twentieth century approached, William A. Jones, the commissioner of Indian Affairs, released his department's findings concerning the educational well-being of the nation's native tribes. He believed that education was in fact the greatest asset in solving the status of the country's marginalized societies. As of October 1898, there were nearly 150 boarding schools and an equal number of day schools for Indians in the United States. The enrollment in those schools, according to 1898 estimates was 23,952 pupils,

with attendance rising steadily.¹⁴⁹ Schools located on government reservations showed the largest gain in enrollment and Indian agents were urged to place every child of school age and physical capability in the classroom. Jones' annual report requested that the bulk of future federal endowments be made to the tribes of the southwest, including the Navajo, Ute, and Hopi.¹⁵⁰

For the Paiute tribes, efforts by the Saints to fully assimilate them into the Mormon culture were sporadic at best. In the early 1900s, employment for the Paiutes remained intermittent, with their labor being needed only during times of harvest. For the rest of the year, they survived through the welfare of the Saints by doing odd jobs. Most important to note was that the Mormons never compensated the Paiute with money. Payment was rendered in the form of food and other consumables, causing the Paiute to remain in a paternalistic existence.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ "Education for the Indian: His Untutored Mind Receiving the Attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: Annual Report." *New York Times*. Oct.10, 1898, p.5.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Holt, Ronald L. *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992. p.52.

CHAPTER 5

PIPE SPRING IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY

When the cattle industry became a footnote in the history of the Arizona Strip, there was little else to buoy the area's vitality. The cattle raised in the vicinity, particularly those owned by private enterprises, were driven to railheads in Utah towns to the north, with the villages on the Strip failing to become commercial centers in their own right. Once the importance of livestock trade diminished, the area no longer contributed to the national economy, which at the time was in the throes of industrialization. Due to its harsh terrain, far-flung isolation, and the specter of its polygamous past, industry and commerce never regained footing on the Strip. By the turn of the century, railroads and early highways dictated success of a given section of the country, allowing areas with quality infrastructure to develop both economically and culturally. The Pipe Spring area never experienced a railroad boom, nor were major thoroughfares constructed through it.

The twentieth century introduced a new industry to the parched Arizona Strip: tourism. The establishment of Pipe Spring as national monument became panacea for a land that lost its place in a rapidly industrializing country.¹⁵² During the 1880s and 1890s, Congress made efforts to provide protective legislation for prehistoric and historic points of interest. This groundswell was given a boost by Theodore Roosevelt, an unabashed

¹⁵² Rothman, Hal K. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998. p.10.

lover of nature who on his excursions with Sierra Club founder John Muir, recognized the importance of securing certain lands for purely aesthetic purposes. Roosevelt laid the groundwork for the National Park Service by signing the Antiquities Act of 1906, which gave American presidents the power to preserve lands from the threat of extractive industries or industrial development. During his presidency, Roosevelt created eighteen national monuments. His legacy was undeniable; by 2000, nearly one-fourth of the units in the National Park system originated in whole or part from the Antiquities Act.¹⁵³ According to Interior Secretary Franklin Lane, the National Park Service was a federal bureau designed to oversee the country's "playground system," one that would promote tourism and public health while consolidating park management into a single entity.¹⁵⁴ In theory, it was entrusted to protect public lands by guarding it from invasive development. The Park Service acquired those lands through donation, purchase, exchange, or eminent domain.¹⁵⁵

Before the world's first national park was created at Yellowstone in 1872, the concept of wilderness was thought of as unpredictable, erratic danger. The development of the national park idea owed much to the colonial precept of the pursuit of happiness, upholding a policy of preserving landscapes of grandeur for the greater public good. Moreover, the ideal was a result of America's ongoing mastering of nature. Rivers were rerouted and dammed while forests were razed for construction. By the first decades of the twentieth century, there were nearly a dozen national parks, preventing what some

¹⁵³ Mackintosh, Barry. *The National Parks: Shaping the System*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1991. p.14.

¹⁵⁴ Burnham, Phillip. *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks*. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2000. p.59.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.61.

believed was a rapid loss of wilderness areas. The founding of the early parks was a concession by Congress to a small minority of zealots, with most poorly funded and receiving little more than custodial care.¹⁵⁶ In 1912, with mounting pressure from an increasingly vocal pro-wilderness lobby, President William Howard Taft sent Congress a message stating his belief that the dearth of unified administration threatened the survival of the park system. His letter began, “I earnestly recommend the establishment of a Bureau of National Parks.”¹⁵⁷

The National Park Service was created in August 1916 to the great delight of one of its chief proponents, Stephen T. Mather, who served as the agency’s first director. Congress appropriated a half-a-million dollars for its operating costs, slightly more than previous amounts. The initial agency was miniscule by bureaucratic standards, with a \$19,500 annual cap placed on expenditures. The fledgling organization oversaw seventeen national parks and twenty-two national monuments.

The inception of the National Park Service coincided with the exponential growth of automobile travel. Technological advancement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to the birth of the internal combustion engine. While working as an engineer for the Edison Illuminating Company in the 1890s, Henry Ford focused on a private project of mounting the engine on a vehicle. His first two companies went bust. Ford, a staunch perfectionist, labored into a third attempt. In 1903, Ford explained to a colleague:

¹⁵⁶ Everhart, William C. *The National Park Service*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972. p.14.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p.15.

“When you get to making the cars in quantity, you can make them cheaper, and when you make them cheaper you can get more people with enough money to buy them.”¹⁵⁸

Ford’s mantra proved one of the most pivotal in American, if not world history. The initial price of his “Model T” was \$850. His assembly line debuted in 1913, producing 189,000 cars. By 1916, output grew to 585,000 and in 1923, to a jaw-dropping two million.¹⁵⁹ Other companies followed suit, as automated factories in Detroit, Indianapolis, and elsewhere churned out new vehicles at astonishing rates. Turnpikes and streets that were in use on the heavily populated eastern seaboard for over a century were retrofitted to accommodate automobile traffic.

The introduction of automobile had a profound effect on American culture. No longer was the American populace dependent on limited railroad routes and slow-moving stagecoach travel for their personal mobility. The “horseless buggy” engendered a new freedom and spontaneity for the public, feelings emblematic of the vast openness of the American continent.

Railroads once facilitated tourist traffic to park areas such as Yellowstone, but were trumped by the personal mobility of the automobile, which funneled more people to more places with greater access.¹⁶⁰ The park service and the automobile production blossomed concurrently, melding into a successful relationship. Cars entered the parks remarkably early, as soon as 1908 at Mt. Rainier. By 1924, the year when Henry Ford’s company

¹⁵⁸ Watts, Steven. *The People’s Tycoon: Henry Ford and the American Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005. p.183.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ The Northern Pacific Railroad once lobbied for the establishment of Yellowstone National Park by underwriting lecture tours in promoting the park as well as constructing hotels that by the 1880s, served the park’s visitors. Burnham, Phillip. *Indian Country, God’s Country: Native Americans and the National Parks*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000. p.61.

produced the ten-millionth Model T, there existed only twelve miles of paved roads in all of the national parks.¹⁶¹

Pipe Spring and the surrounding area slowly caught car fever. Adequate roads on the Arizona Strip did not exist and the recent collapse of its cattle industry brought in a heavy air of obsolescence. The coming of the automobile was the vital link that connected its once-remote towns with the larger national economy. The failure to procure railroads on the Strip became irrelevant as the car served to combine the rural hinterlands of northern Arizona and southern Utah with the explosive industrial capitalism that was sweeping the country. While the railroad was not long destined to carry the bulk of tourist traffic in the west, the automobile dispensed a certain independence that allowed technology to compensate for the social dislocation of the residents of the Strip.

In the summer of 1909, Edwin Gordon Woolley, whose family had ties to Pipe Spring, took advantage of America's newfound independence by taking a car trip from Salt Lake City to Kanab. In Kanab, Woolley picked up family members and headed towards the north rim of the Grand Canyon. The roadways the party encountered were potholed strands of wagon ruts and Woolley realized that if sufficient roads were built, those who owned automobiles would be enticed to venture across the Arizona Strip and marvel at the area's grandeur.¹⁶² In neighboring Utah, politicians championed the establishment of better-quality roads to facilitate the coming wave of nature's tourists. In May 1919, Senator Reed Smoot introduced a bill for the creation of Zion National Park. The bill was approved by Congress and in November, President Wilson signed the bill into law. Horace Albright notified Stephen Mather of the law's passage and suggested he

¹⁶¹ Everhart, p.24.

¹⁶² McCoy, Part II, p.1.

visit the park. Mather agreed and in 1920, after his first visit, he developed a fondness for the area that lasted the rest of his life. It was during his first trip to Zion that Mather came upon the old homestead at Pipe Spring.

Mather was a native Californian, a self-made millionaire who made his fortunes in borax mining. He also possessed a love of nature and outdoor adventure. A member of the Sierra Club, Mather was a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, an avid climber of mountains, and a fervent supporter of the national parks of the western United States.¹⁶³ Despite his roots in big business, Mather was convinced that a conspiracy, led by private businessmen, existed to steal acres in the west on which giant sequoia trees grew, while the Department of the Interior [the bureau that had the parks under its jurisdiction] ignored its sacred trust to defend the land against illegal encroachment. Mather drafted his concerns in 1914 in a letter addressed to Franklin K. Lane in Washington, then-secretary of the interior. Lane was intrigued by the letter, later claiming:

“.....I thought that he [Mather] would be a good man at taking up the question of improving the National Park administration - that we need more good citizens who are able and willing to relinquish the pursuit of the dollar and undertake public service.”¹⁶⁴

In January 1915, Mather traveled to Washington, to see Secretary Lane and finally accept an offer to be his assistant. Taking Horace Albright along to handle the red-tape

¹⁶³ Stephen T. Mather became a Sierra Club member in 1904, during the controversial proposal of damming the Hetch-Hetchy Valley of Yosemite. Albright, Horace M. and Schenck, Marian A. *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999 edition. p.30.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p.31.

affairs of the capital, of which Mather knew nothing, he took an annual salary of just \$2750. The low pay hardly was a concern for Mather, for he was already very wealthy.¹⁶⁵

In 1920, Stephen T. Mather realized his long-standing dream: the National Park Service's park-to-park loop. A circular route that passed through nine western states, the loop road intersected every major transcontinental highway, linking together the scenic beauty of the nation's recently designated parklands. At its inception, the road covered nearly 4700 miles. By 1923, the year Pipe Spring achieved national monument status, the road expanded to cover 6000 miles of the west.¹⁶⁶ The establishment of the loop road had three purposes. First, to make the scenic areas of the West more accessible to the increasing desire of the public, emboldened by their newfound liberation with the automobile. Second, it was hoped that increased visitation to those lands would entice permanent settlement. Third, its architects strove for the recognition and development of the area's valuable natural resources. Mather, audibly excited about the region's inevitable future, expressed his sentiments in the *New York Times*:

"Every transcontinental highway merges into the park-to-park highway, and all become feeders to this, the most scenic road in the world.....to the Americana and to the European in years to come, this road will be of compelling interest and its attractiveness will bring thousands to spend their summers."¹⁶⁷

Pipe Spring's linkage into the national park's road system was the result of a famous car trip. In 1921, Mather was on a sightseeing tour around the southwest in his Packard. Always in the company of powerful men, he was joined on this road trip by Union

¹⁶⁵ Horace Albright became director of the National Park Service after Mather's tenure. Ibid, p.38.

¹⁶⁶ McCoy, Kathleen. *Cultures at a Crossroads*.

¹⁶⁷"To Link the National Parks by One Road." *New York Times*, Nov.26, 1916. p.XX2.

Pacific Railroad president Carl Gray and Senator Thomas Hampton of Montana.

Mather's goal on this particular journey was to expose his friends to the area's untapped potential for tourism. On a perfect autumn morning, the party departed from Zion National Park, heading for the north rim of the Grand Canyon. Along the way, Mather's Packard encountered poor roads and outside Short Creek, became lodged in the sand. The men hiked to the Heaton homestead at Pipe Spring, formerly the Winsor Castle.

When the party arrived at Pipe Spring, the fort itself was in a state of disrepair. Most of the original interior was gutted, plagued by neglect and the passage of time. The exterior also suffered from severe weathering. The large wooden gates at the fort's entryway were missing, the roof was in dire need of re-shingling, the crow's nest required replacement, the second floor verandas were crumbling, and several bricks in the chimney were missing.¹⁶⁸ The fort's simplicity appealed to Mather's sensibilities. He felt Winsor Castle and the surrounding structures offered the American mainstream evidence of its Manifest Destiny ideals. As tangible proof of Mormon persistence and the ability to establish permanence in a foreboding country, Pipe Spring was a perfect auxiliary site for the larger and culturally tangible national parks. While standing at Pipe Spring and marveling at its historic subtleties, Mather decided that the fort and its adjacent land had enough merit to qualify as a national monument.¹⁶⁹ He felt Pipe Spring's inclusion into the park system as a monument was vital; as an intermediary site, it would serve as a building block from which to fashion the grander national parks.

¹⁶⁸ Clemensen, p.52.

¹⁶⁹ Stephen Mather to Charles Burke, then-Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 6, 1921. National Monuments, Pipe Spring File (June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: National Archives.

When Mather initially expressed his interest in acquiring Pipe Spring for the National Park Service, the grounds were owned by the Heaton family. In a July 1973 interview conducted by Park historian Richard Wilt, Margaret Heaton, Charles' sister, recalled the visit Stephen Mather and Carl Gray made to the fort and their interest in purchasing Pipe Spring for the Park Service:

“Well I can remember one time when he (Mather) came here. He.....and a Mr. Gray, the one who was the president of the Union Pacific Railway.....at that time he came with Mr. Gray to let him know about it because the U.P. was then going to run busses from Cedar City to Grand Canyon and they had to go by Pipe Spring.”¹⁷⁰

Margaret Heaton's further recollection of Mather's visit was limited to her describing the meal she served and how she turned on Mr. Gray to her homegrown watermelon, a fruit for which Gray previously expressed distaste. Mather was intrigued by the history of the Latter-day Saints. He also recognized the benefit of including Winsor Castle as part of a package tour offered by the Union Pacific Railroad. In January 1922, Mather contacted Apostle George A. Smith and asked if he would negotiate the possible sale of the Heaton homestead to the National Park Service. In his correspondence to Smith, Mather asked him to broker a purchase price with the Heaton family as well as act as spokesman to procure the funding. Mather's letter stated that establishing Pipe Spring as a national monument would “be a big stimulus to the work that is now going on to develop the tourist possibilities of this southern Utah and northern Arizona country.”¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Wilt, Richard. “Interview with Margaret Heaton.” Moccasin: July 23, 1973. PISP Vertical Files. p.10

¹⁷¹ Clemensen, p.31.

In July 1923, Arthur E. Demaray, Mather's assistant, led a delegation to Pipe Spring to secure funding for the fort's restoration. Mather, who was ill at the time, was advised by his doctor not to make the trip. With Demaray was Representative Louis C. Cramton of Michigan, chairman of the Interior Department appropriations committee. Upon arrival to the fort, the group was confronted by an enraged Charles Heaton who learned that once the government acquired the ranch, it would also have exclusive rights to the spring's water, some of which Heaton had sold to local cattlemen. Heaton's fear was that the government would give all the water to the near-desperate Paiute. He threatened to back out of the deal if his property's caretaker, John White, was not retained to handle water allocation. Furthermore, Cramton denied Heaton's request for funding and the trip ended with no concessions made. Later that month, after regaining his health, Mather conceded to Heaton by allowing White and his family to stay on at Pipe Spring until the end of the year.¹⁷²

Stephen T. Mather suffered a paralytic stroke in November 1928 and died the following year. He was a man who possessed visceral emotions for the west's scenic wonder. While he was able to financially afford such lofty, starry-eyed pursuits, he nonetheless was fervently idealistic in his effort to provide the public with visions of grandeur and expansive freedom. His work and lobbying of powerful interests made the lore of western travel irresistibly inviting.¹⁷³ Among the thousands of tributes to his legacy, one that best reflects his accomplishments was given by John D. Rockefeller:

¹⁷² Ibid, p.34.

¹⁷³ Sherow, James E.(ed.). *A Sense of the American West: An Anthology of Environmental History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. p.197.

“I have the pleasure of telling you of my admiration and appreciation of what you have done in building up the parks and the park service.....there is perhaps no other department in the national government run on so high a plane and so wholly in the interest of the public which it serves.”¹⁷⁴

Nearly eighteen years after Arizona achieved statehood in 1912, there was no highway that connected the Arizona Strip with the rest of the state. In 1917, Arizona Governor Simon Bamberger remarked to national park enthusiast Doug White, “I will build no more roads to rocks!” That comment summarized the difficulties faced with road construction in that region of the country. Many roads in the southwest began as rudimentary wagon trails and remained so even after automobiles plied through the area. At the turn of the century, it was common practice to employ inmates from the state prison in Salt Lake City for road building projects. The regions surrounding Zion National Park benefited from such an arrangement; in October 1913, state prisoners completed Kolob Road, linking the park with its gateway town of Cedar City.¹⁷⁵ In the following decades, Hollywood came to southern Utah. Recognizing the area’s awesome natural endowments, MGM studios often included them for backdrops in film production. Between 1930 and 1950, Kane County Utah hosted several film crews. MGM responded in kind by saying that Kane’s residents were “excellent hosts.”¹⁷⁶

The boundless opportunities afforded by the car heralded a new destiny for Pipe Spring. The cattle were largely gone and the Mormon presence was reduced to a precious

¹⁷⁴ Everhart, p.27.

¹⁷⁵ Alder, Douglas D. *A History of Washington County*. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1996. p.226.

¹⁷⁶ Bradley, Martha Sonntag. *A History of Kane County*. Salt Lake City. Utah Historical Society, 1999. p.277.

few, save for the polygamous holdouts. The main problem facing the impassibility of the area was the lack of suitable roadways. As road building in other parts of the nation were bearing significant fruit, efforts on the Arizona Strip needed a jumpstart. Road construction eluded the Arizona Strip during the first half of the twentieth century. On occasion, travelers would find themselves lost in the area and some perished from exposure. In the late 1920s, a steel bridge was constructed south of Page, Arizona at Marble Canyon to span the great barrier of the Colorado. Over seventy years later, visitors to the area were still crossing a bridge with a drop of over five hundred feet. In trying to imagine a bygone era when pioneers thought bridging the gap was an impossible feat, it was easy to recognize the anxiety they felt. The towns on the Arizona Strip remained distant from each other until the late 1950s, when in the wake of President Eisenhower's sweeping Interstate Highway legislation, roads were finally paved. In 1957, as the Glen Canyon Dam project was getting underway, US 89 was extended from Kanab to the dam site. In 1965, with an alternate spur of US 89 running south from Kanab, a road from Hurricane, Utah arrived in the town of Fredonia, effectively linking together the towns on the Arizona Strip. Forty years later, this road remained the only paved route that permitted traversal of the area.

In 2005, the Arizona Strip retained its prized solitude. There still was no highway that traversed the Strip from east to west, and thousands of square miles were reachable only on foot, horseback, or dirt roads deemed unsuitable for most automobile traffic.¹⁷⁷ Breached by only lonely segment of state highway 389 and a strand of telephone wires, the grandeur of the Vermilion Cliffs and Colorado Plateau was undisturbed. Only the

¹⁷⁷ Hafford, William. "History Beckons at Pipe Spring's Old Fort." *Arizona Highways*. May 1991. p.40.

occasional passing car caused a stir in the last quiet place in America. Faint traces of the area's once-thriving cattle industry were present, with a few steer basking in the sun. Besides the archaic fundamentalist sect residing in Colorado City and Hildale, the Mormon presence had vanished. They were the most industrious of people, with unparalleled persistence. Yet even they could not wholly tame the rugged expanses of the west's most formidable and stubborn province. The state of Deseret lived on only in historical memory, its imperial largess trimmed by a more powerful federal government. The Paiute had dwindled in number, with only a handful residing on the Kaibab Reservation. While the most curious tourists stopped at Pipe Spring to complement their visits to the Grand Canyon or Zion National Park, its true significance was not immediately recognizable. To fully grasp the importance of Pipe Spring, it was necessary to use a precise historical lens, for it was embedded in the land itself.

Pipe Spring's new life as a national monument was typical of pockets in the American west where industry and commerce had failed or simply never taken hold. Akin to shuttered mining towns or impoverished Indian reservations that redirected their economic emphasis to ski resorts or tribal casinos, Pipe Spring's days of livestock raising and clandestine polygamy yielded to tourism. During that transformation, Pipe Spring never lost the tenet most essential to its character; it was still one of the most isolated places in the country. Its early separation was due chiefly to geographic obstacles and extreme climate. Technology outsmarted those problems in other parts of the American West where the greatest mastering of nature occurred, with mercurial rivers and searing heat easily tamed. Despite those successes, the Arizona Strip remained marginalized. Warren Harding's proclamation of monument status ended the most transformative

period in the history of Pipe Spring. With its induction into the National Park system, the Whitmore dugout, Winsor Castle, and the surrounding structures were committed to the annals of American Western history.

CHAPTER 6

EPILOGUE

In response to the St. Joe white paper detailing the development proposals for its mosquito-infested pine barrens, columnist Lawrence Downes asserted that the company's usage of "Panhandle," like the geographic terms "mud flats" or "tundra," was not well-suited for selling real estate.¹⁷⁸ The rural lifestyle St. Joe scripted to entice people to purchase lots in the largest chunk of undeveloped land left in Florida was "not just poetry – it was a killer sales brochure."¹⁷⁹ The advertisements for that way of life bordered on deceit. The areas in question were miles from any major city or mentionable airport. No interstate highways were nearby. But the very action of carving up swampland and fashioning out-of-the-way subdivisions while passing them off as peaceful and quiet was misleading. The solitude among the forest would grow confining. There would be cries from residents about the lack of infrastructure, complaints about driving distances to the Cineplex, and stories about dangerous encounters with local wildlife. This *unreality* was precisely what St. Joe was offering future clients.

The promotions offered by the St. Joe Company and the desires of the Latter-day Saints who fled Nauvoo had striking similarities. Fashionable ruralism seemed a

¹⁷⁸ Downes, Lawrence. "Dream State: The Wily Art of Selling Florida." *New York Times*. Sept. 4, 2005. p.8.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

welcome alternative to the exurban pains of the twenty-first century just as the expansive emptiness of the Great Basin appealed to the Mormons who were intent on outrunning the proselytizing and persecution of the nineteenth century. The land in those remote Florida counties was seen as undesirable and inaccessible, much as the deserts of Alta California were occasional pathways for nomadic Spanish missions. In both the Florida panhandle and the Arizona Strip, a certain type of person could fashion a lifestyle antithetical to the trappings of congestion and despoiling.

In the end, all was quiet on the Arizona Strip. Pipe Spring's place in history was incontrovertible proof that a true ruralism once existed in America. It may not have been desirable land, but in a time when open acres were plentiful, those who chose to make permanent settlements on the Arizona Strip found it conducive to their faith in God and in each other.

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