

A HISTORY OF \_\_\_\_\_

*Millard  
County*



Edward Leo Lyman  
Linda King Newell

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

A HISTORY OF 

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Edward Leo Lyman

Linda King Newell

Fillmore in Millard County was designated as the site of the first territorial capitol of Utah. One wing of the capitol building was built in the early 1850s before the seat of government was returned to Salt Lake City. The eastern part of the large county was settled first, as Pahvant Utes under their leader Kanosh welcomed pioneers to their homeland. Relations were generally peaceful between the two groups as towns and farms began to grow and prosper in the county.

Development in the county initially centered on the east side; later, the diversion of water from the Sevier River transformed western Millard County into a rich farming area. However, the turbulent river and irrigation brought serious problems to homesteaders in the form of flooding and alkali ("Mormon snow") coming to the surface, making agricultural development a great challenge.

During World War II, a Japanese-American relocation camp was located at Topaz in the desert interior of the county. This vast region later housed the huge Intermountain Power Plant—a generator of electricity for Utah and southern California. The result of this has been a shift of population and political power from the east side to the west side of Millard County in recent years.

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Edward Leo Lyman  
Linda King Newell

1999

Utah State Historical Society  
Millard County Commission

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## *Preface*

Millard County's history is as rich and varied as any in the state. It has been a distinct pleasure for the authors, both county natives, to immerse themselves in the source materials in an attempt to distill many, but certainly, with the rigid length constraints of this book, not all of the most important developments in Millard County history. The county possesses one of the most diverse arrays of geologic landforms, along with vast mineral and fossil deposits, and anthropologists have fairly recently discovered prehistoric human habitation sites on both the eastern and western edges of the county. The Pahvant Utes and neighboring historic Native Americans, particularly Kanosh, deserve much more recognition than they have ever received. So too do the many explorers who traveled Millard trails prior to settlement of the area.

Almost everyone knows of Fillmore's designation as the first territorial capital of Utah. We have offered new insights into the plans for the area and some of the reasons they did not all come to fruition. While land and water were not particularly abundant in east Millard by today's standards, there was sufficient for a surprisingly large pop-

ulation in the last half of the nineteenth century. These people made the county one of the most important in south-central Utah.

East Millard certainly spawned west Millard, which because of its greater abundance of land and water resources would eventually surpass the parent area in agricultural production. Yet east Millard's consistent bent for innovation, demonstrated in dry land farming and drilling wells for irrigation, allowed its residents to continue to prosper. The coming of automobile transportation and tourism was a bigger boon to the region than has usually been realized—until it declined with the bypassing of the communities by Interstate 15. In a sense, much of west Millard's history is centered around the Sevier River lifeline and the impressive man-made desert oasis created through irrigation.

From the beginning of settlement, Millard County has had its two rather distinct regions of east and west. Through the years, the population centers of these two areas developed several rivalries, particularly expressed in politics and in high school sports. Even in the well-known *Daughters of Utah Pioneers* history of the county, *Milestones of Millard*, the history was divided, with Stella H. Day compiling the history of the east side and Sebrina C. Ekins that of the west. Yet, from mountains to desert, mundane to esoteric, forts to towns, farms to motels, all elements have combined to create the historical tapestry of Millard County. Rather than separate them by some arbitrary dividing line, the authors have tried to integrate the history of the two sides of the county, roughly following a chronology tracing interlocking settlement patterns and the development of both areas. With fax machines and other almost instantaneous communication devices of our modern age there is certainly room for at least two centers of the county. Although there have been attempts to divide Millard into two counties, accommodation has been made in this regard in the present era that some from earlier periods would not have believed possible. Early west-side resident Mahonri M. Steel argued that the two sides should stay together and work to make Millard the best county it could be. Many of the present generation have contributed to making his argument a reality.

Although it was intended that Linda Newell do most of the east Millard research and writing and Leo Lyman do that of west Millard,

because of time constraints on Newell (who was writing two other county histories), Lyman wrote of west Millard and most of east Millard in the twentieth century.

This volume is not intended to replace the several fine town and county histories that have been published both in the past and more recently. It is intended to augment those histories by providing in one work an overview of Millard County's history that is as accurate as possible and accessible to the general Utah populace, including present and former residents of the county. Readers should not expect to find detailed family histories here, but, rather, examples of people and families who have helped build the county. There are perhaps too many mentions of the Lyman and King families herein. There was no intention of favoritism, but both were important at certain crucial junctures and left easily accessible records for any historian to use. There were many other people of these and other families who could have been mentioned, and apologies are offered to any who disagree with the authors' decisions.

*Milestones of Millard* is not only one of the best of the entire Utah Daughters of Utah Pioneers county histories, it also has a fabulous collection of historical photos, particularly from the nineteenth century. There were almost none on the county from that era that we have seen that were not already published there. Since the number of photos we could include here was severely limited, we encourage readers to consult that rich visual storehouse in connection with our narrative. Similarly, it is frustrating that much rich detail, particularly that dealing with daily life in earlier generations, was cut in order to comply with guidelines for the county centennial history series. We have tried to resolve this problem to some extent by placing longer (and somewhat rougher) drafts of what was originally contained in our history of the county in local Millard County libraries.

This is not to say that the editorial staff was unappreciated. They had to make the various county volumes relatively uniform in length and, to some extent, in coverage. Kent Powell of the Utah State Historical Society and other staff, including Craig Fuller and Richard Firmage, have devoted countless hours to this project, as have we. We would also like to particularly acknowledge former county residents Carling I. Malouf, a retired anthropologist who participated in many

early digs in Millard County and offered access to his field reports, and Blair Maxfield, a retired geology professor from Southern Utah University, who generously wrote most of the geological material contained herein. Tanya Gentry, librarian at the Millard Fillmore Library and Charlotte Morrison of the Great Basin Museum also have been extremely helpful. Those who assisted with various aspects of some of the towns and in other ways include Leavitt Christensen for Kanosh and Cove Fort; Nadine Parks, Carol Wise, Patsey S. Iverson, and Tony Deardon for Fillmore; Rhea Dean Stephenson for Holden; Richard L. Stott and Marie Payne for Meadow; Ruth Hansen, Louise H. Lyman, and Jane Beckwith for Delta; Valene Finlinson for Oak City; Merrill Nielson for Lynndyl; Floyd Bradfield for Leamington; Lincoln Eliason for Deseret; and Roger Walker for Sutherland and Topaz.

We also thank Millard County Commissioner Lana R. Moon, who oversaw most of the production of this history and kept our feet to the fire, along with Frank Baker, Jere Brinkerhof, and John Henrie. Millard County Attorney LeRay Jackson was also helpful. Finally, we are indebted to our spouses, Jean C. Lyman and L. Jackson Newell, for their encouragement, support, and patience.

## *General Introduction*

When Utah was granted statehood on 4 January 1896, twenty-seven counties comprised the nation's new forty-fifth state. Subsequently two counties, Duchesne in 1914 and Daggett in 1917, were created. These twenty-nine counties have been the stage on which much of the history of Utah has been played.

Recognizing the importance of Utah's counties, the Utah State Legislature established in 1991 a Centennial History Project to write and publish county histories as part of Utah's statehood centennial commemoration. The Division of State History was given the assignment to administer the project. The county commissioners, or their designees, were responsible for selecting the author or authors for their individual histories, and funds were provided by the state legislature to cover most research and writing costs as well as to provide each public school and library with a copy of each history. Writers worked under general guidelines provided by the Division of State History and in cooperation with county history committees. The counties also established a Utah Centennial County History Council

to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

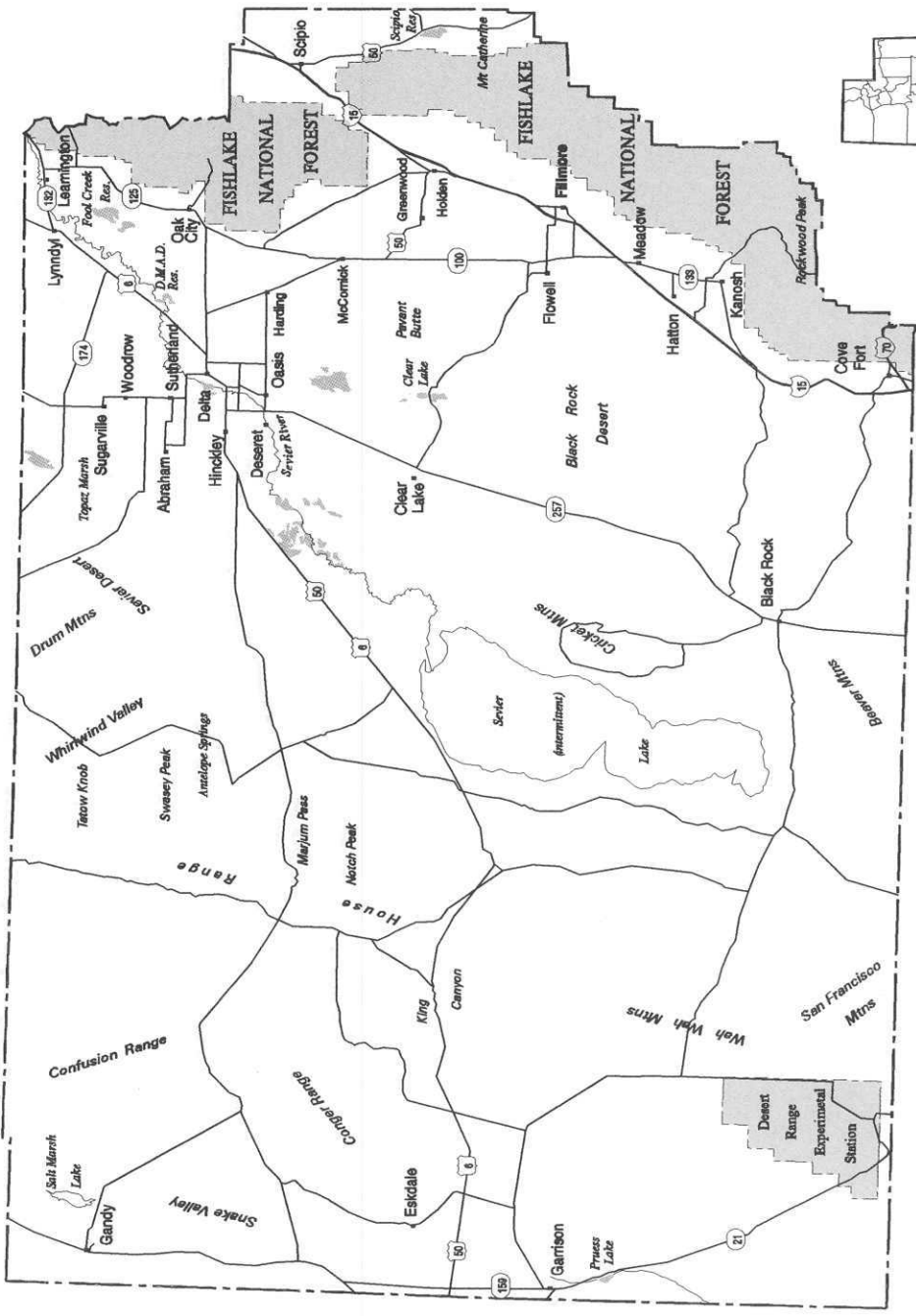
Each volume in the series reflects the scholarship and interpretation of the individual author. The general guidelines provided by the Utah State Legislature included coverage of five broad themes encompassing the economic, religious, educational, social, and political history of the county. Authors were encouraged to cover a vast period of time stretching from geologic and prehistoric times to the present. Since Utah's statehood centennial celebration falls just four years before the arrival of the twenty-first century, authors were encouraged to give particular attention to the history of their respective counties during the twentieth century.

Still, each history is at best a brief synopsis of what has transpired within the political boundaries of each county. No history can do justice to every theme or event or individual that is part of an area's past. Readers are asked to consider these volumes as an introduction to the history of the county, for it is expected that other researchers and writers will extend beyond the limits of time, space, and detail imposed on this volume to add to the wealth of knowledge about the county and its people. In understanding the history of our counties, we come to understand better the history of our state, our nation, our world, and ourselves.

In addition to the authors, local history committee members, and county commissioners, who deserve praise for their outstanding efforts and important contributions, special recognition is given to Joseph Francis, chairman of the Morgan County Historical Society, for his role in conceiving the idea of the centennial county history project and for his energetic efforts in working with the Utah State Legislature and State of Utah officials to make the project a reality. Mr. Francis is proof that one person does make a difference.

ALLAN KENT POWELL  
CRAIG FULLER  
GENERAL EDITORS

# MILLARD COUNTY



INDEX MAP

## CHAPTER 1

# THE LAND AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS

Millard County, the third largest county in the state of Utah, with an area of more than 6,640 square miles, is one of the most physically diverse counties in the state. The geology and environment of any area help to shape the human experience there, including where settlement occurs, mining, agricultural, and other economic activities, transportation routes, and communication facilities.

Approximately 575 million years ago, during the Cambrian period, an ancient ocean covered the western part of the North American continent. After millions of years of existence, including periodic withdrawal from the land, when the ocean eventually withdrew it left in its wake about 3,000 feet of deposition material over much of the Millard County area. In the Cricket Mountain area some 7,300 feet of sediments accumulated. As ancient seas gradually and intermittently spread over the lands and the waters periodically deepened or became more shallow, various kinds of sediment were deposited and layers of limestones, shales, and some sandstone accumulated to thicknesses of more than 8,000 feet.<sup>1</sup>

The commercial value of many of these deposits is evident today.



For example, the Leamington Canyon cement plant, just beyond Millard County, quarries Cambrian limestone, and the Continental Lime Corporation located south of Deseret and west of Clear Lake quarries carbonate rocks of the same geologic period.

Canyon Range, named for its jumbled appearance, reveals rock from the Cambrian period. Off the west edge of Notch Peak in the House Range, a sheer cliff almost mile high exposes banded Cambrian rock. The House Range is located in the west-central part of Millard County and was named in 1856 by Captain J.H. Simpson during his government survey work. Simpson wrote that this "range of mountains [is] quite remarkable on account of its well-defined stratification and the resemblance of portions of its outline to domes, minarets, houses, and other structures. . . . I call it the House Range."<sup>2</sup> The cliff is one of the highest in North America and, though not much publicized, is a scenic wonder. Similarly, Lehman Caves, the prime feature of Great Basin National Park, located just beyond Millard County in Nevada and once a part of the county, were formed in Cambrian limestone and dolomite formations.

The warm, shallow Cambrian seas teemed with marine life such as brachiopods, sponges, echinoderms, gastropods, and graptolites. Among the best known ancient animals are the trilobites, found abundantly throughout most of the Cambrian deposits. The oldest known animal fossils of Utah are a form of trilobite found in the House Range. The upper Lava Dam member of the Notch Peak geologic rock formation is considered by scientists to be an "excellent reference section that contains a virtually complete record of all trilobite and conodont zones known in uppermost Cambrian and lowermost Ordovician strata."<sup>3</sup>

During most of the Ordovician period (beginning about 500 million years ago) shallow warm seas covered the Millard County area. Remnants of the abundant sea life intermixed with sedimentary deposits continued to be laid down to thicknesses of up to 5,000 feet. Small sponge reef remnants are present in the southern end of the House Range and in the Ibex area of the Confusion Range. Fossil Mountain, located in the Confusion Range, is well known for the abundance of fossils found in the strata. Some of the world's best-preserved graptolite has been collected from that area. The trilobite-

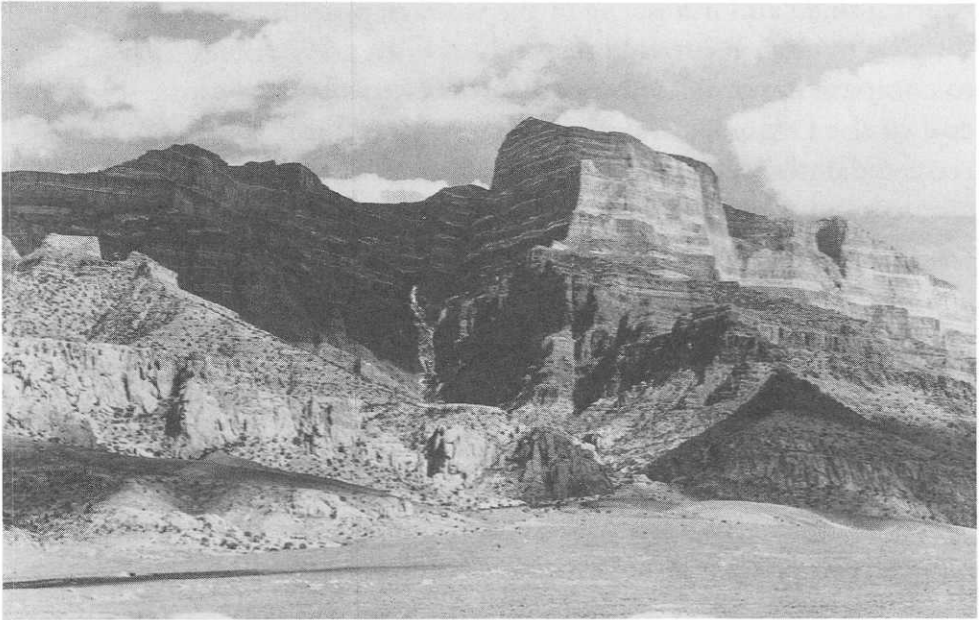
bearing shale and limestone of the western portion of the county and the nearby region provide researchers with an excellent opportunity to compare the evolutionary advances of this animal group. Near the end of the Ordovician period, some 440 million years ago, the seas retreated and several hundred feet of beach sands accumulated. These are now known as the Watson Ranch and Eureka Quartzite rock formations, and they are well exposed in the Confusion Range.

In Snake Valley within a barren hill called Gandy Mountain are two caves with features similar to those of the more famous Lehman Caves. George Frederick Sims discovered the 600-foot-long Crystal Ball Cave in 1956 while searching for some lost sheep. The Gandy Mountain Cave, located only about a quarter mile south, was discovered a year later. Calcite crystals called dog tooth spar and nail head spar were formed on the ceilings and floors of both caves. The caves naturally drained at least twice in their history, leaving platforms that mark the water levels. Stalactites and stalagmites, some as long as eight feet and one foot in diameter, were formed by dripping water. Large bodies of Iceland spar, used by optical companies to build double refracting prisms, are found on the caves' ceilings.

Gandy Mountain Cave's first room is long and narrow, with chimneys from twenty to seventy-five feet high formed by water under pressure. This hallway leads to another room, some seventy-five feet in diameter, with a dome-like ceiling fifteen feet high. Crystal Ball Cave contains a variety of fossilized bones, including those of small Pleistocene epoch horses, small camels, bighorn sheep, and musk oxen, as well as claws possibly from saber-toothed tigers.

During the Silurian and Devonian periods (440 to 360 million years ago) the shallow seas continued to cover most of the county, although there were some changes in the chemical composition of the water, causing large deposits of limestone and chert to form. Sea life was still abundant though not as prolific as earlier.

All of Utah and much of the surrounding region was inundated again during the Mississippian period (360 to 320 million years ago). The shallow seas deposited as much as 2,600 feet of limestone and shale in the Burbank Hills and the Confusion Range, and up to 4,000 feet of the same material in the Gilson Mountains of northern Millard County. During the Pennsylvanian, Permian, and Triassic



Notch Peak, House Mountains. (Utah State Historical Society)

periods (between 320 and 208 million years ago), the seas deposited more sedentary material. Millard County was then on the edge of what was the Oquirrh Basin (centered near the present mountains of that name), where the water gradually deepened and accumulated more than 30,000 feet of sediment. Some 8,400 feet of this is found in the Confusion Range along with fossil evidence of prolific animal life from the period. The only other remaining evidence in the county from these ancient seas is a few isolated outcroppings in the Confusion Range near Cowboy Pass where various fossils can be found.

Major mountain building began in the Millard County area during the Jurassic and Cretaceous periods. Mountains are generally considered to have formed from formerly low-lying regions as they were thrust up by great pressure within the earth from tectonic plate movement or volcanic activity. Some mountain sections are elevated through local folding (or displacement) of rock, others by faulting (or shearing) of rock, and still others by the intrusion of magma from beneath the earth's surface or by the extrusion of lava on the surface. Evidence of the first intrusive igneous activity in western Utah since the Precambrian epoch is found in the intrusion material

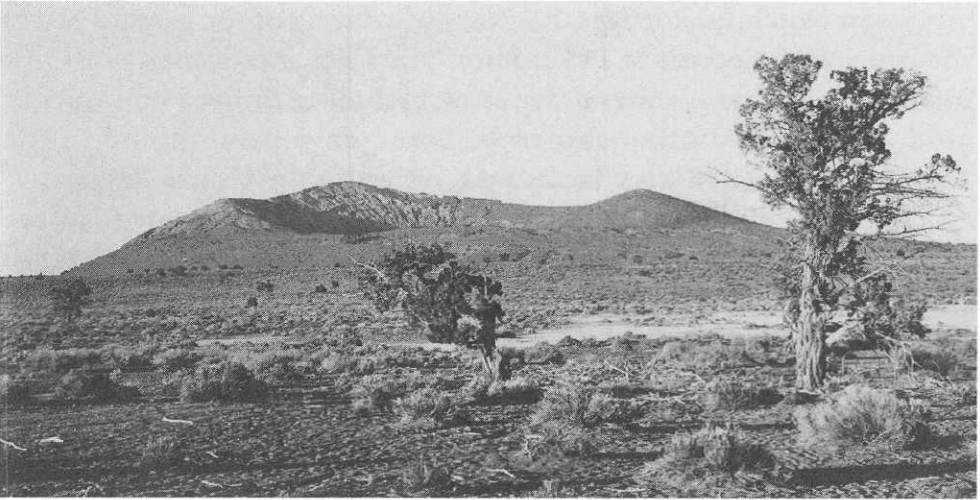
visible on Notch Peak ledges. Radiometric dating of the granite places the time of its deposit at 145 million years ago. Associated with this intrusion are many mineral deposits, including limited amounts of gold, copper, and other minerals. Some have been mined in the Amasa Valley and Swasey Peaks area, others in the House Range.

After having been relatively flat lands lying below or near sea level for hundreds of millions of years, during the Cretaceous period between 100 and 80 million years ago there was a spectacular upward rise of the region that would become the Great Basin. This episode has been called the Sevier Orogeny (or mountain-building period) after the Sevier Desert area where the ancient mountains that were then formed appear to have been the highest. During this period, an eastward movement of the Canyon Range sector of the Wah Wah Mountains along with other sections farther north and south broke the surface west of what is now the High Plateaus of central Utah.

During the latter part of this mountain-building episode, great amounts of course debris shed off the uplift to the west into the eastern parts of what is now Millard County. As much as 3,600 feet of course boulder conglomerate and slide blocks of limestone accumulated in the Leamington-Canyon Range, with similar amounts of material in the Pahvant Range. The Canyon Range demonstrates an overthrust of Precambrian sedimentary rocks, which lie above the younger Paleozoic and Cretaceous rocks, exposed by erosion on slopes of the mountains.<sup>4</sup>

In the last 20 million years, parts of the Sevier and Black Rock Deserts were created by stretching and detachment faulting of the earth's crust. They seem to show that Paleozoic rock of the Cricket Mountains south of Deseret formerly connected directly with similar rocks of the Pahvant Range. The gaping valleys created by this detachment faulting have been largely filled with volcanic rock and sediment washed from adjacent mountains.<sup>5</sup>

During the Tertiary period (65 to 1.8 million years ago) igneous activity of particular significance occurred in the future county and neighboring areas. A large number of volcanic centers such as the Crystal Peaks in western Millard County, the Needles Range in southwestern Beaver County, the Thomas Range (including Topaz Mountain) in northwestern Juab County the Tintic Mountains in



Pahvant Butte, Black Rock Desert south of Delta. (Utah State Historical Society)

northeastern Juab County, and the Twin Peaks area of south-central Millard County were scenes of explosive volcanic activity. Sometimes volcanic ash spewed forth, accumulating to depths of several thousand feet. Some ash was so hot that it welded together to form solid rock; at other times it was cool enough to remain as extensive deposits of ash. In the Burbank Hills there are volcanic deposits over 3,000 feet thick, and there is nearly the same amount in the Confusion Range. During this volcanic period and the extrusion of the rhyolitic material, most of the mineralization found in Millard County today took place.

The eastern portion of the county is believed to have had a slightly more subdued geological history. Lakes formed in the valleys, and shale, marl, limestone, and sandstone similar to that preserved in the Cricket Mountains, northern Pahvant Range, and the Canyon Range were deposited. During about the last 10 million years of this period the area underwent a tremendous amount of uplift and block faulting, forming the present configuration of block-type mountains and deep valleys, which were eventually partially filled with great amounts of sediment from the surrounding mountains. Several low, barren mountain ranges situated just north of Millard County were formed by both intrusive and extrusive geologic activity and eventu-

ally were important in the economy of the county.<sup>6</sup> In the 1990s geologists announced the discovery of calderas representing older volcanic activity east of the Thomas Range in the Keg-Desert Mountain area and Maple Peak. This may be significant in the eventual location of mineral wealth, which is often found in close proximity to such formations.<sup>7</sup>

The late Cenozoic era also was a time of important volcanic activity in the southern end of Millard County and in neighboring Beaver County, particularly the Sevier Desert region. The lava flows here were generally free to spread out on flat surfaces in all directions, sloping gently in pancake-like sheets around the vents from which the basaltic material emerged. Notable flows are found in the Black Rock area, the Ice Springs field closer to Flowell, and in the Thomas Range and Spor Mountain area of southern Juab County.

The well-preserved cinder cone known as Pahvant (or Sugarloaf) Butte features distinct shoreline markings on its slopes from Lake Bonneville of the Quaternary period some 20,000 years ago, as the great lake spread into central and western Utah. During and just after the period such geologic formations as Pahvant Butte developed where basalt magma rising through the earth's crust contained large amounts of steam. The escaping steam flung frothy blobs of lava from the volcanic vent to build the cone. Another area of basaltic volcanic activity is located northwest of Delta, especially Fumarole Butte.

Most of the geographic features we are familiar with were formed during the latest interval of approximately 1.5 million years, which, except for the last 11,000 years, is known as the Pleistocene epoch and featured numerous Ice Ages. During the last part of this time all but the mountains of eastern Millard County were covered by huge freshwater Lake Bonneville. Lake Bonneville remained about 1,000 feet above the level of present Great Salt Lake for about 1,500 years, carving its highest shoreline—the Bonneville Level. Then, about 14,500 years ago, the lake broke through what became Red Rock Pass into the Snake River drainage, lowering the level of the lake by some 350 feet. As the lake receded, various shorelines and benches were left on the mountain slopes, the most distinct being what is called the Provo Shoreline. Both the Bonneville and Provo benches are visible on

mountainsides throughout Millard County. The prehistoric lake curved around the mountains at the south end of Pahvant Valley to the east and south of present-day Kanosh, its waves creating gravel and sandy beaches that are still evident along Jacks Ridge. Remnants of Lake Bonneville today include the Great Salt Lake and the Sevier Lake bed in Millard County, which becomes a lake for brief periods of high water runoff.<sup>8</sup>

The name Delta is very aptly applied to the central town of western Millard County. The town lies at the toe of a large delta where the Sevier River discharged its sediments into the receding Lake Bonneville. Sediment found in Leamington Canyon was deposited by the Sevier River during the higher stages of Lake Bonneville. Smaller deposits were widespread in the eastern part of the present county wherever streams of the Pahvant Range entered the ancient lake. The heavy alkaline soils of west Millard County are due to the fine silts and salts carried by the Sevier River into the final local stages of the receding lake as are the mud flats of Sevier Lake.

Approaching Millard County from Eureka, near the old sheep-shearing center of Jericho, one encounters Utah's largest sand dune area, now known as Little Sahara Sand Dunes State Park. The dunes originated from sand from Pleistocene epoch delta deposits of the Sevier River. Picked up by prevailing southwest winds, the sand is blocked slightly by Sand Mountain just north of Lynndyl, causing it to form typical dune shapes. Some of the dunes' edges are overgrown by stabilizing vegetation, as is the case with Millard County dunes near Oak City, Flowell, and Black Rock.

A few miles farther east, near Leamington, the Sevier River slips through a canyon between the Gilson Mountains and the Canyon Range to enter the Sevier Desert, transversing the large valley from northeast to southwest. The term desert appears somewhat inappropriate because of the vast fields irrigated from the lifegiving stream; however, annual precipitation of eight to ten inches and the native vegetation are definitely characteristic of deserts. Much of the Sevier Desert is deep sedimentary soil, with surface rocks only visible on its fringes.

The terminus of the Sevier River is Sevier Lake, located south of U.S. Highway 6/50 west of Hinckley; more accurately, it is a Great



Clear Lake southwest of Pahvant Butte. (Utah State Historical Society)

Basin sink and receives little water in normal years because of the extensive use of the river for irrigation water upstream. Usually a dry lake, some of the areas near it are marshy. The soil, however, is so alkaline that only a few greatly salt-resistant plants grow there. Elsewhere on the western Sevier Desert, the plant life is generally sparse and mainly low-lying.

The House Range is rich in geologic data and is an increasingly popular scenic and recreational area. This range is one of several locations in the state which have the most complete exposure of Cambrian rock.<sup>9</sup> West of Sevier Lake is the Confusion Range, marked—as are neighboring mountains—by the shoreline of prehistoric Lake Bonneville. West of the Confusion Range is the Ferguson Desert, which drains west into Snake Valley. Like many Great Basin valleys, Snake Valley has no outlet. Salt Marsh Lake is a sink for water that flows from the surrounding mountains. Farmers and ranchers have turned the areas of Burbank and Garrison in the south end of Snake Valley into productive grasslands for cattle.

The Canyon Range and the Pahvant Range, on the east side of the county, technically are not separate ranges; rather, they are a dissected segment of the western escarpment of the Colorado Plateau.

Several mountain peaks in the county surpass the 9,500 foot



mark. Sunset Peak east of Meadow reaches 10,088 feet; Mt. Catherine between Fillmore and Holden is about the same height; and Notch Peak and Swasey Peak midway across the county reach 9,725 and 9,625 feet, respectively. The county's tallest peak, Mine Camp Peak at 10,222 feet, is located in the Pahvant Range east of Fillmore.

The large volcanic fields that lie between the communities of eastern and western Millard County have long interested amateur and professional geologists alike, one calling the area a "natural museum of volcanic manifestations."<sup>10</sup> The area also includes an ice cave and hot springs.

Like most of Utah, all of Millard County is in the rainshadow of the Sierra Nevada. Consequently, most of the region features a semi-arid to arid climate. While the higher elevations receive considerably more annual precipitation than the desert lowland areas—more than thirty-six inches on the tallest peaks—Kanosh has an annual rainfall of about fifteen inches and Fillmore averages slightly less than that. McCornick, which lies in the northwest end of the Pahvant Valley, receives 10.5 inches of precipitation annually, as do Oak City and Leamington. Communities around the Sevier Delta receive about seven inches of precipitation annually. Black Rock in the south-central portion of the county gets close to nine inches of water and Garrison to the west has seven inches of water per year.

The boundaries of Pahvant Valley long have been the source of some controversy among geographers, area residents, and others. Some have identified the valley as the southeastern section of the county between Holden and Kanosh, bounded on the west by the prominent chain of lava flows and on the east by the mountains. However, former county resident and Mormon historian Milton R. Hunter and others have argued that the valley extends from the Little Salt Lake, near Parowan, Iron County, to the Tintic Valley, south of Eureka in Juab County. Most west Millard residents have always considered themselves to be residents of Pahvant Valley, although the first known European explorers of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 had a more accurate name for much of it, calling it *Valle Salado*, or Salt Valley. General local notions of the boundaries of the valley hold that it runs from the mountains near Cove Fort and west past Sevier Lake to the House Range and then north to the west



The Great Stone Face south of Deseret—some see a resemblance to LDS church founder Joseph Smith in this rock formation. (Utah State Historical Society)

Tintic district. The valley is considered to be bounded on the east by the Canyon and Pahvant Ranges of the Wasatch Mountains.<sup>11</sup>

The county possesses few perennial waterways. The most important is the Sevier River. It is the longest contained river in the state and is one of the most carefully measured and completely utilized rivers in the United States. Annually only about 13,600 acre-feet of water reach the river's terminus—a very small portion of the total volume of the river. Most of the water is used to irrigate farms. However, beginning in the early 1980s about 45,000 acre-feet of Sevier River water was acquired for use by the 3,000 megawatt coal-fired electric generation plant of the Intermountain Power Project located near Delta.

The flora of most of Pahvant Valley is similar to that of other semiarid low-lying areas of the Great Basin. Much of the flora has changed since the time of first settlement of the area. Earlier visitors to the area noted much more grass growing on the foothills and alluvial slopes of the mountains. Largely due to overgrazing of the rangeland grasses, Utah juniper trees have migrated down the slopes of the formerly grassy areas. Sagebrush, tumbleweed, and June grass (cheat grass)—the latter two having come from Russia in seed grain during the nineteenth century—also have found their way into the grassy areas of the county.

The replacement of more nourishing grasses by June grass has been an unfortunate result of the misuse of area rangeland, although in recent years a non-native wheat grass has made great inroads, replacing less-desirable plants.<sup>12</sup> Sagebrush covers many areas where there is sufficient moisture and nonalkaline soil. In some well-watered but drained places rabbitbrush grows in abundance. Greasewood is the common shrub where the soil is more alkaline, and it is replaced by shadscale in the lower levels of the valley. In those same areas, saltgrass is also abundant where the water table is high. In some desert places very little vegetation exists.

Although some mountains have extremely sparse vegetation, many have stands of Utah juniper and pinyon pine at the lower levels, with Rocky Mountain red cedar at higher elevations along with white fir, Douglas fir, small clumps of quaking aspen, and greater stands of maple and scrub oak. Above the 8,000-foot level black fir and

Englemann spruce can be found, and, even higher, limber pine. Ponderosa pine has been introduced at several locales. Where it flourishes, it makes some of the few densely forested areas of the county. In the Antelope Springs and Swasey Mountain areas, along with the higher mountains on the Nevada border, bristlecone pine, the world's oldest-known living thing, is common.<sup>13</sup> Wildflowers and cactus abound in much of the county. In wet springtimes the foothills are vibrant with yellow, red, purple, orange, and white flowers.

There are more than fifty species of mammals, one hundred species of birds, and fourteen species of reptiles found in the county. A partial list includes coyote, fox, skunk, badger, rattlesnake, and various lizards. Antelope are still found in small herds on the extreme west desert, and mule deer, mountain lions, and bobcats roam at higher elevations. Today, a traveler might see some wild horses, part of a herd that numbers about seventy-five animals.

For the most part, the land in Millard County is harsh. The desert basin and range landscape has always presented a challenge for the people—ancient and modern—who have inhabited it. Still, the Great Basin and Millard County were long inhabited by prehistoric cultures and more recently by Pahvant Ute and other Indian tribes. Anthropologists believe that prehistoric peoples known as Paleo-Indians entered the region as early as 12,000 years ago, hunting and foraging along Lake Bonneville's shorelines. The marshes and sloughs produced abundant food in the warmer climate than presently exists. The Paleo-Indians used snares and nets to trap small animals and birds, occasionally they hunted larger animals with spears.<sup>14</sup>

By 9000 B.P. (before present) the lake had shrunk nearly to the present level of the Great Salt Lake. The climate had cooled and eventually became considerably dryer. Human survival depended on mobility and adaptation; and, by that time a new culture—called by archaeologists the Desert Archaic—inhabited the land. Whether the Paleo-Indians evolved into the Desert Archaic people or represent a different group altogether is not known, but some evidence suggests that the two were separate groups that did overlap. Although fresh water was most abundant to the north along the Wasatch Front, the Millard area had enough streams and springs for the Desert Archaic people to range broadly in the area. The altitude variations from the

cool mountains to the warmer but drier valley floors provided a wide assortment of plant and animal life for food.

Desert Archaic people were highly mobile hunters and gatherers who roamed widely over a variety of terrains and altitudes. They shifted from hunting in the high country to gathering a wide variety of plants for food, fiber, and medicine at lower elevations during different times of the year. They used simple, portable tools, including baskets for storing and harvesting plants, berries, and seeds; handstones and milling slabs for grinding; spears, knives, and scrapers of various kinds for larger game; and snares and nets for trapping birds and smaller mammals. Skins and hides were fashioned into clothing and footwear.

For some 10,000 years Desert Archaic people moved throughout the Millard County area, living in groups that ranged in size from small families to fairly large family groups. Their adaptability allowed them to survive—and in some cases, flourish—through drastic environmental changes. Then, around 1500 B.C., the lake waters rose again, flooding the area marshes that had provided much of their food. The Archaic people declined in population, then disappeared from the landscape, as far as archaeologists can determine.<sup>15</sup>

Beginning about A.D. 500 a new, more sedentary but still highly mobile culture called the Fremont was established throughout most of Utah. These people were distinct from the Anasazi, who occupied the southeastern corner of Utah to the Colorado River at about the same time, although the two groups both practiced horticulture and developed numerous material artifacts.<sup>16</sup> Where the Fremont Indians came from is still a puzzle. It may be that they were descendants of the Desert Archaic people, or perhaps they migrated from elsewhere in the American Southwest. They perhaps even could have been an early offshoot of the Anasazi culture which emerged around the time of Christ and flourished until around 1200, which is about the time that both cultures disappeared.<sup>17</sup>

Even though Fremont structures vary considerably in some of their features, the most common dwelling was a pithouse, accompanied by numerous storage rooms, or granaries, and firepits. In flatter terrains, of which the Pahvant Valley is an excellent example, their dwellings were built from carefully made adobe.

The Fremont people made pottery and exhibited an artistic flare in rock art and modeled clay figurines. Their earlier pottery consisted of well crafted and uniformly plain gray pieces, usually unadorned by paint or design. Later Fremont pottery makers used a red wash, painted black lines, or corrugated construction as decoration. Examples of Fremont rock art appear near Black Rock Spring on the southern edge of Millard County some twenty miles north of Milford. The panel of rock art includes many abstract forms picked into the faces of basalt boulders, but there are also complex human figures, footprints, and circles. Other forms of rock art—both picked (petroglyphs) and painted (pictographs)—are visible in Fool Creek Canyon on the northeast margin of the Sevier Desert. Some of those drawn with red pigment seem to have been created at three different periods. In the formation called “Devil’s Kitchen” about ten miles west of Fillmore is a series of faded petroglyphs pecked into the basalt boulders, which may be from the Fremont culture era. The volcanic deposits in this area were also the source for many of the projectile points used by both Fremont and later Numic-speaking peoples.

Their clothing also distinguished the Fremont from other cultures. For example, the Fremont-type moccasin is unlike any other. Made of three pieces of animal skin, the sole was cut from the hind leg of a large animal—bison, mountain sheep, deer or elk. The hide was untanned, with both the dewclaw and hair left intact. This possibly served to provide better footing in winter’s snow and mud.<sup>18</sup>

Although Fremont peoples shared the above cultural characteristics, there was considerable diversity in the local variants of the broader culture. Archaeologists have identified five regional Fremont subcultures based on artifacts and building techniques: Uinta, San Rafael, Great Salt Lake, Sevier, and Parowan. The latter two regions overlap in Millard County, where a number of important archaeological sites are located. Among them are the Kanosh and Garrison sites of the Parowan subculture, as well as Pharo Village, located south of Scipio, which represents the Sevier Fremont subculture.<sup>19</sup>

According to researchers, the Sevier Fremont people lived in the area of western Utah for about 400 years, from A.D. 800 to around A.D. 1200. Like those at other small Sevier settlements, the people of the Pharo site built their dwellings close together on an alluvial fan

near a creek that provided them with a year-round water supply. Downstream marshes also provided food. The compactly built village includes at least three quadrangular pithouses with thatched or brush roofs, which appear to have been repaired many times over a long period. These dwellings were about two feet deep, with sides constructed of both stone masonry and adobe. All had one or more inside storage pits or caches and a central unlined, unrimmed fire pit with a rounded, basin-shaped bottom. Leading out from each dwelling were deep, narrow trenches used either as crawlways or air vents.

The small Pharo Village most likely housed one or two extended families, who cultivated a drought-resistant type of corn with a short growing season, and gathered wild plants and herbs as well as hunting mule deer and bighorn sheep. They stored the corn and seeds in granaries built close to the dwellings. The marshes (now covered by Scipio Lake) provided them with fish, amphibians, ducks, and geese to supplement their diet. The Pharo Village site was rich in artifacts: some twenty-four pottery pieces that were either whole or could be restored were found along with several shallow bowls and wide-mouthed jars (of the Silver Gray variety), some with loop handles. Stone and clay pipes, tools made of stone, flint, and bone, broken clay dolls or figurines, and numerous milling stones have also been found.

Some of the earliest white emigrants passing through the area in 1849 noticed considerable evidence of previous cultures between later Fillmore and Kanosh. For example, Addison Pratt strolled out from a camp on Chalk Creek and recorded "in every direction are specimens of broken pottery exhibiting much ingenuity in its carving and coloring, showing that the makers possessed much mechanical genius." Jacob Stover recalled comments of Jefferson Hunt about the earlier inhabitants of the Pahvant Valley: "I could take you south of here where there are old remains of stone foundations and relics, showing that there have been people living here hundreds of years ago."<sup>20</sup> The first Mormon settlers in Millard County found remnants of a village that stretched out a good distance from Chalk Creek. However, as the pioneer plows turned the soil, they also obliterated the archaeological sites.

The Parowan Fremont ranged from Parowan Valley on the south

up into central Millard County north to Kanosh and west to Garrison. The Parowan Fremont relied heavily on horticulture, tending small irrigated plots to grow corn and squash. This is evident by the unusual number of granaries found at Parowan sites. Their diet also included a variety of game—deer and mountain sheep being the most common. They snared both jackrabbits and cottontails, a few fish, and birds. They also hunted antelope, prairie dog, gopher, porcupine, and muskrat.

Parowan Fremont artifacts made from bone and flint include perforated rectangular chips that were likely used for some kind of game, finger rings, and unique bone scrapers that are flaked and notched much like their flint rock tools, which include flint knives and a variety of projectile points.

The architecture of the Parowan people has details unlike those of any others in the broader Fremont culture. In the earlier phases circular dwellings were built; later, four-sided dwellings were constructed with long vents (crawlway shafts or tunnels leading to the outside) with deflector slabs inside the structure. Pithouses usually had a central fire basin with a hand-molded clay rim a few inches high. The Parowan Fremont people were not known to be basket-makers but they did make clay pots in Snake Valley Gray, Black-on-gray, and corrugated pottery styles. Pots were used for cooking, storing, and carrying items.

The Kanosh and Garrison archaeological sites are among the smallest of the Parowan Fremont villages and had granaries with hard clay floors laid over a surface of small stones. This may have been a preventive measure against rodents. Occupation of the Garrison village, whose structures are more widely spaced than are those at other sites, came later, from about A.D. 1050 to 1300. Unlike the Parowan Valley settlements to the south and Kanosh Village to the east, Garrison pithouses had no ventilation tunnels or deflectors. Because of the high ratio of granaries to dwellings, its inhabitants may have used it more as a winter encampment. The Garrison site is the region's only village in which antelope have been identified as a favorite game animal. During the summer months the people of the Garrison village traveled to the higher elevations of Nevada's Snake



Mountains to hunt deer, mountain sheep, and smaller game, and to gather pine nuts. There they made seasonal or transient camps.

Hundreds of remnants of adobe structures presumably of the Fremont period remain throughout Millard County. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century settlers and farmers plowed under or graded many more in their efforts to built farms and communities in the vast desert landscape. In 1916 Fillmore-born anthropologist Carling Malouf and associates did field work in his home county where a number of Fremont-era sites were located. Malouf and his colleagues reported, "Several mounds covering prehistoric habitations were razed during preparation of the irrigated fields that now surround Oasis, Deseret, and Hinckley [and] half a dozen prehistoric dwelling sites were examined. Each of these was identified by scattered potsherds, flint chips, and broken stone implements." According to the report, in Hinckley the previous summer a farmer preparing his ground for a haystack leveled three or four low mounds, and

each knoll . . . concealed a single room with adobe walls; two or three small earthen vessels, bone awls, stone balls, etc., were found during the work of demolition . . . fragments of burned roof adobe lay strewn over the surface, and in the loose earth were numerous shards of prehistoric pottery. . . . [T]he bowl fragments were a dull, slaty gray, ornamented with black geometric designs.<sup>21</sup>

Malouf found twenty-five similar mounds in one day's investigation immediately northwest of Fillmore. These sites too were littered with pot shards, bones, and tools. In the community of Meadow, Joseph S. Dame reportedly uncovered two small clay jars while digging a trench on his town lot to lay pipe. Malouf concluded, "it is quite obvious that Meadow occupies the very site of an ancient settlement. Many mounds have been razed there during expansion of the modern community. One of the largest . . . was completely obliterated when the street was graded."<sup>22</sup>

The Fremont culture in Utah disappeared between A.D. 1250 and 1350, paralleling the end of the Anasazi culture farther south. No one knows for certain what happened to these people. They may have dispersed into other regions because of a sustained drought or been

annihilated, driven out, or absorbed by more aggressive cultures that entered the area.

Southern Paiutes living south of Millard County have a legend that fills the void between the people who left only archaeological evidence of their existence and the Native Americans who occupied those same lands when white men first ventured in. This tradition tells of an ancient people who trekked eastward “from a place of high mountains and endless waters to the red mountains.” There, under the influence of their benevolent gods Tabats and Shinob, they tilled the soil, hunted, and prospered. When many years of drought dried streams and land, the game animals fled and the people began to starve. Shinob told them “to take council from the animals.” So these ancestors of the Southern Paiutes became a nomadic people, who followed the game from low land in the winter to high land in the summer and “gathered in gratitude the food which the gods distribute every year over the face of *tu-weep*, the earth.”<sup>23</sup>

The traditional lands for the historical Goshute, Paiute, and Ute Indians converged in Millard County. While the later Native Americans at Kanosh became closely tied to the Southern Paiutes, during the early historic period the Kanosh band of Indians is considered to have been Ute.

Two of the more than a dozen bands of Southern Paiutes—the Beaver and Panaca bands—occupied southern and western portions of Millard County. For the most part, these two bands maintained friendly trade relations with other Southern Paiutes as well as with their Goshute and Ute neighbors. However, Paiute Indian women and children occasionally were captured and sold into slavery by more aggressive Utes. There were no firm boundaries between the tribes and bands, only traditional hunting and gathering grounds. Only certain springs were considered “property” by the area Paiutes.

Paiute architecture was simple. Cone-shaped shelters with side entrances were made from brush laid over small branches of trees. Tools also were simple. Bones and sticks were used for digging and sewing. Smooth stones were used for grinding seed. Woven baskets and clay pottery—generally sunbaked—were used for cooking and storage. Paiute men hunted large game using atlatls with spears and bows and arrows. For smaller game, men used snares, traps, and nets.

Several family groups living in the same geographical area formed bands.

Paiutes utilized all parts of animals for food, clothing, or tools. Plant fibers woven by the women also provided clothing, hats, and baskets. The latter item, when tightly woven and covered with pine pitch provided adequate water containers. During the warmer seasons, Paiute women and men either went barefoot or wore sandals or bark moccasins. Men wore breechcloths or went naked, as did children. During cooler seasons, men and women wore double aprons which hung from the shoulders. Shirts, capes, hats, and moccasins made from skins were added when the weather chilled. More elaborate fringed dresses and shirts also sometimes were obtained from their Ute neighbors.

Men wore their hair cropped and on special occasions adorned their heads with eagle down and feathers; women wore longer hair. Both sexes painted their faces for special ceremonial celebrations. Ear piercing was common, and pierced ears adorned with shells and stones were a symbol of longevity. Men with stature pierced their noses and attached small bones or pendants there.

Most of the responsibility for gathering, preparing, growing, and storing food rested with the Paiute women. In the spring, small plots of corn and other vegetables were planted and tended. A wide variety of roots and bulbs was dug, and in the early fall ripened fruit and berries were picked, gathered, and dried. Later in the fall, a wide variety of seeds and pine nuts was harvested, much of it being stored for the winter. Pine nuts are found on pinyon pines throughout the Great Basin, and some of the best come from the single-leaf pinyon found in abundance on Indian Peak on the western edge of the county. The Paiute Indians shared their knowledge of the local flora and fauna with the Mormon settlers, and on many occasions this friendliness and knowledge saved the lives of early Mormons.

The land of the Goshute Indians, including northwestern Millard County, has been called "some of the dreariest territory in the American West."<sup>24</sup> Few in number, the Goshute Indians lived in peaceful interrelated bands without rigid family structures or territorial limits. They were extremely resourceful, gathering and hunting what the desert provided. In season they collected seeds and insects,

trapped small game, rodents, and lizards, and hunted deer and antelope. Their practice of probing the hard desert soil for roots and insects led to the label "Digger Indians" given them by early whites.

Men with good hunting skills sported clothing of tanned hides made by their wives or mothers. Young girls usually wore a front apron of grasses or rabbitskin. Winter clothing for women consisted of a long dress made of two pelts. If animal pelts were scarce, dresses were fashioned from juniper bark or grasses. Often the people wore hats of twined willow or sage bark. In rough terrain or during the winter months the Goshutes wore moccasins of fur or twisted sage bark stuffed with grass, fur, or bark.<sup>25</sup>

Traditional Ute lands covered some 200,000 square miles, including two-thirds of Utah and about half of Colorado. The Pahvant Ute tribe circled the west side of Sevier Lake, its territory overlapping the Shoshoni/Goshute lands to the north and the land of the Southern Paiutes to the south and west. Their territory extended eastward over the remainder of Millard County to the Sevier River in Sevier County and beyond. Other bands of Utah Utes included the Uintah Utes, living primarily in the Uinta Basin; the Timpanogos Utes, living in Utah Valley; the Sanpits (or Sanpitch) Utes of the San Pete Valley; and the Moanunt Utes living east of the Pahvant Mountains along the upper Sevier River.

Contrary to much white typecasting of Native Americans, the culture of the Ute people was family centered and earth sensitive. The elders of the Pahvant Ute people were treated with particular honor and respect, being served first, seated in honored places, and revered for their wisdom. Ute children were raised to feel that they were "an integral and welcome part" of a generous world.<sup>26</sup>

The beliefs of the Pahvant Utes and other Ute Indians were similar, including a belief in the immortality of the soul. The great and good Spirit Senawahv (or Shenobe) watched over them. Everything good came as a gift from this god. Evil or bad—whether it be inclement weather, accidents, or attacks from other tribes—came as punishment for misbehavior or weakness. The economics of limited resources determined that they live in small bands. This allowed them to maintain an adequate food supply without eliminating the flora and fauna upon which they depended.<sup>27</sup> Ute families extended

beyond the immediate family to include grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. Often the Utes intermarried with neighboring bands or tribes. This resulted in often strong family ties that determined political alliances for trade and in times of trouble.

Tribal leadership did not rest on a single individual, nor did the bands have a chief. Leaders were selected according to the band's specific needs and the ability of the individual to fulfill a particular task, such as in war or a hunting expedition. Leadership came from the older and wiser village men. Sometimes women offered counsel in matters of social concern.

Locally, the Mineral Mountains were an excellent source of obsidian, which was a particularly important trade item for Indians of west-central Utah. The wide distribution of artifacts made of obsidian attest to its value. The highest-grade obsidian came from the area around Black Rock. This Millard County resource is one of the few major deposits of implement-grade obsidian in the greater Southwest between eastern California and northern New Mexico.<sup>28</sup>

There were several Indian trade routes through the county. Perhaps the most important was an early forerunner of the Old Spanish Trail which connected the tribes of the Pacific Coast with those of New Mexico and Indians living between, including northern Utah and possibly beyond. Large segments of the trade route eventually became part of the Old Spanish Trail, a commerce route that flourished in the 1830s and 1840s linking Spanish (and later Mexican) frontier communities in California and New Mexico.

The first known contact of Euro-Americans with the Pahvant Indians was that of the small expedition led by Father Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante with their eight companions. The Domínguez-Escalante expedition had two purposes in mind when its members left Santa Fe in July 1776. One was to pave the way for the spread of Christianity among the Indians they encountered; the other was to establish a new transportation route between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the recently founded mission at Monterey in Alta California.

The expedition took a more northerly route into Utah to avoid difficulties with Apache and other Indians and to avoid the great chasm of the Grand Canyon. The expedition traveled to northwest-

ern Colorado, where it turned west into present-day eastern Utah, crossing through an area that is today part of Dinosaur National Monument. At Strawberry Valley the expedition headed southwest down what was from then on known as Spanish Fork Canyon. They arrived at Utah Lake in late September 1776 and spent three days preaching to the Timpanogos Utes.<sup>29</sup>

On 27 September the expedition left Utah Valley heading south; it reached the Sevier River two days later near today's Mills. There the men camped in a meadow near where present-day Interstate 15 crosses the river. Four Indians forded the river to meet the strangers. Although they spoke the Ute language, these Native Americans were "more fully bearded" than the Utes encountered farther north.

The visitors spent the afternoon in the camp of the Franciscan friars, giving them directions, information about the terrain ahead, and where they could go to find water when they left the vicinity of the Sevier River. Early the next morning, twenty Indians visited the camp, including the four from the previous day. All wore rabbitskin blankets or capes. The men wore shirts of almost knee length and moccasins. Polished bone-shard ornaments pierced their noses. "In their features," Escalante wrote in the party's journal, "they more resemble the Spaniards than they do all the other Indians known in America up to now. . . . From this river onwards begin these full-bearded Indians." The Indians stayed until nine that morning, conversing with the Spaniards.<sup>30</sup> The Spaniards crossed the river and soon entered today's Millard County, the first Europeans known to do so.

Traveling on southward, Escalante complained of the abundant sagebrush "which harassed the horses." The group finally descended "a small canyon with good terrain" into "a plain abounding in pasturage but waterless," not far from present-day Scipio. After traveling a few miles farther, they found a good spring behind some low hills and camped there. On 1 October they traversed Scipio Pass and then turned southwest into the vast valley Escalante named *Llano Salado* for the extreme salinity of the soil. They crossed a boggy area a few miles north of Pahvant Butte (sometimes called Sugarloaf) but found no good water. With the heat becoming oppressive, they rested until nightfall, at which time each member of the expedition rode in a different direction to search for water by the light of a full moon.<sup>31</sup>

On 2 October the friars and their party camped just south of Pahvant Butte in the immediate vicinity of Clear Lake, which, they reported, was teeming with fish. Despite this, they saw no place they deemed suitable for a mission or a settlement. The following day they traveled over fifteen miles to the lower Beaver River, making camp in a dry wash within sight of Sevier Lake. Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, the mapmaker for the expedition, sketched the shore of Sevier Lake with an outlet to the Pacific Ocean. Thus began a geographical myth that persisted until the more careful explorations of John C. Frémont and others more than half a century later.

The expedition encountered another group of heavily bearded Indians on 3 October camped along the lower Sevier River near its confluence of the Beaver River. They too spoke the Ute dialect and were dressed and ornamented similarly to those of the previous group. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco was so taken with their appearance that he included drawings of them on his map. Not long thereafter, upon losing their Indian guide and becoming caught in an early winter storm, the intrepid Spanish explorers decided by casting lots to determine the will of God to discontinue their journey to California and return to New Mexico by the shortest possible route. After much further hardship, the Domínguez and Escalante expedition arrived in Santa Fe on 2 January 1777. The trek had taken them some 2,000 miles in 158 days.

The missions and settlements anticipated by Domínguez and Escalante never materialized. However, by the turn of the nineteenth century a considerable amount of trade had ensued between the Spaniards of New Mexico and Ute Indians of Utah. In exchange for blankets, weapons, and other manufactured goods, the Indians traded furs, hides, horses, and human slaves, primarily Paiute Indians.

Spanish traders Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia traveled from New Mexico to Utah Valley, apparently through the Sevier Lake region, in 1811, 1812, and 1813. Several aspects of their latter trip illuminate important aspects of the slave trade. The participants, later tried by Spanish authorities for failing to obtain proper trade credentials, reported that the Utes would barter nothing but slaves “as they had done on other occasions.” When disputes arose between the

Utes and the Spaniards that resulted in the killing of some of the latter's horses, Arze, Garcia, and others with them traveled southward to the river they called the *Rio San Sebero*, more than two decades before any Anglo-American mountain man ever named it the Sevier River. There they met a Sanpitch Ute who led them farther south to where they could trade with Native Americans supposedly as yet unknown to them. However, these Indians, probably Pahvant Utes, had already developed fierce animosities, doubtless from previous raids in the area, and demonstrated a marked hostility toward the Spaniards.<sup>32</sup>

The Great Basin became the domain of the Mexican government after Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821. Under the auspices of their own government, Mexican traders dealt in Indian slaves until the early 1850s when the Utah Territorial Legislature and Governor Brigham Young made Indian slave trade illegal in Utah.

Anglo-American explorers and trappers made their way to the Great Basin and eventually to Millard County long before the coming of the Mormons. Among them was Jedediah S. Smith, who traversed the area twice and left a brief but valuable record of his journeys through Utah. In 1826 he and his party traveled through future northeastern Millard County as they headed south up the Sevier River through what would become Sevier County. Smith and his men were searching for beaver country to trap the animals. At Clear Creek Canyon the expedition turned west and descended to the area near future Cove Fort. From there they followed segments of the Ute Indian trade route to southern California.

Jedediah Smith is credited with successfully joining two trails, both blazed exactly one-half century previous, one by Domínguez and Escalante and the other by fellow Franciscan Francisco Garces, who had explored the lower Colorado River Valley. On his return from California, Smith reentered Utah near present-day Gandy in the northwestern corner of Millard County, thus traversing three corners of the future county.<sup>33</sup>

On his second expedition from Bear Lake Valley to southern California, Smith once again crossed through northeastern Millard County, where he encountered Paiute and Sanpitch Ute Indians. He contrasted them negatively with the Utah Lake Utes, noting their lack



of personal cleanliness, lack of proper clothing, and overall appearance of poverty. Smith observed the Indians of the county subsisting almost entirely on roots, particularly one about the size of a parsnip with a leaf somewhat like that of a beet, which grew in the upland soil. These roots were roasted on heated stones, the Indians covering them first with grass and then earth until they were sufficiently steamed. After being cooked, the roots were mashed and made into small cakes, some of which were dried for winter consumption, while the remainder was promptly consumed.<sup>34</sup>

By 1830 pack trains were regularly using the Old Spanish Trail and its variants. For the most part, trade caravans skirted Pahvant Valley to the east and south. Increased trade and travel on the Old Spanish Trail had a profound effect on the native population of the region, particularly the Paiutes. An American trader, Thomas J. Farnham, traveling through the area in 1839 noted that Paiutes were “hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken, are fattened up, carried to Santa Fe [and California] and sold as slaves during their minority.” In California, young Paiute or Goshute boys brought as much as \$100, while healthy girls sold for \$150 to \$200.<sup>35</sup>

In earlier historic times there were far more Native Americans residing in Millard County than would be the case later. It has been estimated that the Indian population in west-central Utah by mid-nineteenth century was about a thousand individuals, who lived at three locations: the Toowee’ Nawaip’uhtseen (Earth Burn People) lived in Round Valley; the Toaoyv’uhtseng (Cattail People), a Goshute band, derived their name from the cattails that grew in abundance in the wetlands around the Sevier Lake and Sevier River delta area; and a Pahvant Ute band that lived in the Pahvant Valley around Clear Lake and returned each summer to camp and plant corn near Corn Creek, so named because of the corn early whites found growing in small plots there.<sup>36</sup> The region south of the county was occupied by Southern Paiutes, who traded and sometimes intermarried with the their Pahvant Ute neighbors.

During the winter season, the Pahvant Indians moved to the area between Black Rock Ridge and the Sevier River, near what became the Mormon settlement of Deseret. The snow was generally less deep

there and the waterfowl and fish supplemented the Indians' winter food supply. In the spring and summer months many of the Pahvants moved closer to the mountains to hunt. Men worked together to build high fences in narrow defiles to which they drove deer to be killed with bows and arrows. By 1843 when U.S. government explorer John C. Frémont traversed the east side of the county, he commented on seeing some of the Pahvant men with firearms. Horses and firearms made the Pahvant Utes productive hunters of big game. A small herd of American bison also roamed parts of the county sometime before Mormon settlement. The herd animals that were killed provided food, clothing, and shelter for the tribe.

Women were industrious, fashioning cord from milkweed fiber and grasses which was then made into nets and snares to trap rabbits and other small game. They fashioned footwear, clothing, blankets, and shelters from the furs and hide of a variety of animals. In addition to some small tepees made from hide, they made summer shelters from small poles and willows, adding brush roofs. Lacking pottery, women made watertight woven baskets; pine pitch melted with hot rocks was smeared in the crevices to prevent leakage.

In one hunt some twenty-five years before the coming of white settlers to the area, it was reported that it began to snow as soon as the hunt began, and snow continued for an entire month. Other members of the band waited in vain for the hunters to return, and those who remained in the valley suffered terribly. The heavy snows and unusual cold killed most of the game, including all of the buffalo. After five months, the hunters' camp was located near the mouth of one of the Walker Canyons, where the snows had buried them. Some had resorted to cannibalism, but none had survived the ordeal. That spring, when the unprecedented snows melted, major flooding of the lower Sevier River altered its course in the present Deseret area. This new river course did not prove as conducive to spreading spring runoff water to the lakes of the area. This resulted in fewer waterfowl and thus less winter food for the surviving tribe members.<sup>37</sup>

By the mid-1800s, the Indian population of west-central Utah was around 1,000 people, including about 400 Paiute and Goshute Indians who were living in the Millard County area.<sup>38</sup> The Pahvant Utes, at least, possessed horses and conducted extensive trading activ-

ities with Mexicans and other Indian tribes. The Pahvant Utes, Goshutes, and Southern Paiutes were generally at peace with each other when Mormon settlement began.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Special acknowledgment is made to Professor Blair Maxfield of Southern Utah University in Cedar City. A Millard County native, Maxfield wrote much of the geology section for this chapter.

2. Quoted in John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 194.

3. William Lee Stokes, *Geology of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Natural History/ University of Utah 1986), 51–54; Lehi F. Hintze, *Geologic History of Utah* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1988), 15.

4. *Ibid.*, 120–21, 132–33, 143–45; Halka Chronic, *Roadside Geology of Utah* (Mountain Press Publishing: Missoula, MT, 1990), 252, 257.

5. Chronic, *Roadside Geology*, 234.

6. Stokes, *Geology of Utah*, 179–80.

7. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 November 1993.

8. Stokes, *Geology of Utah*, 203–5; Chronic, *Roadside Geology*, 213, 233.

9. Stokes, *Geology of Utah*, 50.

10. Frank Beckwith, *Trips and Points of Interest of Millard and Nearby* (Springville, UT: Art City Publishing Company, 1947), 11–64, 117–38; F. Partridge Richan, “The Geography of Pauvant Valley, Utah” (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1957), 7–9.

11. Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1940), 263. Locals often spell Pahvant without the “h.”

12. Earl M. Christensen and Hyrum B. Johnson, “Presettlement Vegetation and Vegetational Change in Three Valleys in Central Utah,” *Science Bulletin* (Brigham Young University) 4 (August 1964): 5–14.

13. Richan, “Geography of Pahvant Valley,” 32–33.

14. Dean L. May, *Utah: A People’s History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 13.

15. C. Melvin Aikens and Brigham Madsen, “Prehistory of the Eastern Area,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11, *Great Basin*, ed. by Warren L. D’Azevedo (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 160; Dean May, *Utah: A People’s History*, 14.

16. Before 1931 anthropologists believed that the Fremont people were part of the Anasazi culture. That year, Noel M. Morss published his groundbreaking study “The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah,” which

established for the first time that the Fremont culture was separate from the Anasazi. Noel M. Morss, "The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 12:3.

17. Unless otherwise specified, information on the Fremont culture comes primarily from two sources: Jesse D. Jennings, *Prehistory of Utah and the Eastern Great Basin*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers 98:155–234; and John P. Marwitt, "Fremont Cultures," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 11, *Great Basin*, 161–72.

18. C. Melvin Aikens, *Hogup Cave*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers 93: Fig. 65.

19. See John P. Marwitt, *Pharo Village*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers 91 (1968).

20. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Journals of Forty-niners, Salt Lake to Los Angeles* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), 73, 276.

21. Neil M. Judd, "Archeological Observations North of the Rio Colorado," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 82 (1926): 60–62.

22. *Ibid.*, 64.

23. Richard D. Poll, et al., eds., *Utah's History* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), 26.

24. Goshute (sometimes Gosiute) comes from a Ute word meaning desert (or dust) people. See Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 159.

25. Poll, *Utah's History*, 27. Information on the Native American groups in this section comes primarily from Poll, *Utah's History*, chapters 2 and 19, and from D'Azevedo, *Great Basin*, 262–397.

26. Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 28.

27. *Ibid.*, 27–59.

28. Stokes, *Geology of Utah*, 204.

29. For a detailed account of this important expedition see Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976).

30. *Ibid.*, 76–77.

31. For many years a monument to this expedition stood at the closest highway intersection to this area; however, the marker was more recently (and inaccurately) moved to Delta.

32. William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (July 1929): 67–69, 72; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, *Nuwuwi: A Southern Paiute History* (Salt Lake City: University of

Utah Press, 1976), 30; L.R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1973), 144–45.

33. Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), 196–97; Maurice L. Sullivan, ed., *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline Including The Journal of the Great American Pathfinder* (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1934), 165.

34. George R. Brooks, ed., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827*, (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1973), 49, 52.

35. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade*, 146; Snow, “Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade,” 67–90.

36. Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1938), 224.

37. Margaret W. Roper, *Echoes of the Sage and Cedars: A Centennial History of Oak City, Utah, 1868–1969* (Oak City: Oak City LDS Ward, 1970), 2–5. Roper cites a story written by Mrs. Gene Lovell Gardner as told to her by her father, John E. Lovell. Hunkup, an Indian who related the information, was a frequent winter visitor at Oak City and was often given the privilege of sitting on the stand with the ward leaders at church services, sometimes being called upon to speak. John Lovell was about seventeen or eighteen when this story was recounted about 1880.

38. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Groups*, 224.

## CHAPTER 2

# MORMON EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

The settlement of Utah and Millard County was aided by the report of John C. Frémont's scientific exploration of Utah and the West in 1843–44. Published in 1845, Frémont's report was carefully studied by leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as they searched for a new location to build their Zion. Church leader Brigham Young gathered much information about the West from western travelers. After the Mormons settled in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 Young soon assigned expeditions to explore various parts of the region.

The first Mormon expedition to visit Pahvant Valley was a small company of about a dozen men led by Jefferson Hunt, Asahel Lathrop, Elijah Fuller, and Orrin Porter Rockwell.<sup>1</sup> Brigham Young called the company to travel to southern California in 1847 to purchase livestock and seed with discharge money paid to Mormon Battalion members who had served in the Mexican War. Placing full confidence in John C. Frémont's 1843–44 report and map, the expedition traveled south to Utah Valley, where the men picked up the well-traveled Domínguez-Escalante Trail, which by the mid-nine-

teenth century was a major segment of the Old Spanish Trail linking New Mexico with southern California. The caravan crossed Scipio Pass and then traveled along the eastern edge of the Pahvant Valley, giving the members an introductory view of what became Millard County. Hunt and the others arrived back in Salt Lake City on 15 February 1848 after much difficulty. Hunt had paid careful attention to possible town sites and potential agricultural and mining areas along the way.

Another Mormon group of twenty-five Mormon Battalion men who had reenlisted for an additional tour of duty also provided information about central Utah. Upon the conclusion of their service, Henry G. Boyle and Porter Rockwell led the group to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 following the route used by Hunt earlier. This expedition used the first wagon ever to travel over what soon became known as the southern branch of the California Trail. Using the southern California route, late-season travelers to California were able to avoid the same fate that the Donner-Reed party experienced in 1846 in the Sierra Nevada.

One of the first overland companies to travel through the county was led by Jefferson Hunt in October 1849. He agreed to lead a company of late arriving forty-niners to California in a hundred wagons. As many as 300 wagons and more than 2,000 individuals traveled through Pahvant Valley in the fall of 1849. The first overland highway to cross Millard County was inaugurated.<sup>2</sup>

The Hunt party entered the Millard County region on 9 October. Sheldon Young kept a journal of the early part of the trek. It includes many details about the week's time it took the party to traverse the Millard County portion of the trail. At the last camp before entering the future county Young wrote that the company encountered "plenty of Snake Indians," who came to trade. He reported that "An old flint-lock gun will fetch a good pony." It took most of the next day for the 400 men and their hundred wagons to cross the Sevier River.<sup>3</sup>

On 12 October the Hunt company traveled nearly twenty-four miles, passing through Round Valley and over Scipio Summit to the vast Pahvant Valley and Cedar Springs near the present site of Holden, where they camped. Sheldon Young summed up the day's

travel: "had some rough roads and some pleasant valleys. There was plenty of hares [jackrabbits] killed today."<sup>4</sup>

The abundance of rabbits was one of the most notable features of the Pahvant Valley to Young and others. Mormon missionary Addison Pratt, who was traveling in the party, called Round Valley "Rabbit Hollow." He noted the large amount of rabbit dung and wrote, "the hares were so plentiful here that the ground would well compare with a sheep pasture." He and others spent part of the next day at the meadows near Scipio hunting rabbits. "The hares commenced in every direction and about two hundred gunners were soon on the alert and rifles were popping and balls whizzing in every direction," he wrote. Later at camp they dressed and cooked the rabbits, which "made a feast for all hands."<sup>5</sup>

The following day, Young recorded that the company traveled ten miles on "good roads" before making camp on the banks of Chalk Creek, so named because of a chalk deposit farther upstream. The campers found wild flax and "plenty of grass, wood and water"; but the weather had turned chilly, with fresh snow covering the nearby mountains. On Sunday, 14 October, Young noted that the company decided to "lay in camp all day" and held religious services. In addition, some members of the company went exploring and "discovered the ruins of an ancient city. There was earthenware and glass. It was five miles in extent." Mormon apostle Charles C. Rich, who passed the same spot soon after, called the camp "Potters Creek, because of the abundance of broken Indian pottery found there."<sup>6</sup> The Meadow area contained similar remnants, as did Hinckley.

The next day, the company traveled on "beautiful roads," finding "plenty of grass and water." At Corn Creek the company found "quite a stream of water." Sheldon Young declared Pahvant Valley "the most pleasant valley that we have passed through." He and the others continued to find "plenty of earthenware" from an earlier Indian civilization. Young continued: "Had very good roads considering the country. Passed over two mountains and passed through a small valley [Dog Valley] between the two mountains. Went twenty-one miles and arrived [at camp]."<sup>7</sup> A day later, the wagon train reached Cove Creek, where it found "a stream of good water,[and] good camping." Before leaving future Millard County, the company crossed over a



mountain, which it found to be a “very rough road.” Other companies which passed through the area that year had similar experiences.

At about this point the Hunt company was overtaken by a group of Mormon missionaries and would-be miners, including Reverend O.K. Smith, who brought information from an old mountain man, Barney Ward, of a shorter route to the gold fields by way a cut-off. After much debate and some bitter threats, the majority of Hunt’s wagon train elected to abandon his leadership and follow the Ward route. The “shortcut” led to tragedy in the parched California desert, giving Death Valley its name.

Several other wagon trains of argonauts also traveled through Pahvant Valley that fall. This included the Pomeroy company of fifty wagons from Missouri which left Salt Lake City on 3 November. It took three months to trek to southern California, arriving nearly destitute and starved because of the arduous desert crossing. Another party, consisting of three wagons, fifteen animals, and ten men and boys, pulled out of Provo on 18 November. Major Howard Egan served as their guide. Egan kept a careful journal and later published it as a guide for other travelers. It included locations of waterholes and streams, suitable camp sites, available grazing areas, and distances between points on the route. It took this small company only fifty days to reach the Williams Ranch in California.

Brigham Young actively searched for areas in the Great Basin to colonize. In 1849, with the information already gathered about the territory south of the Salt Lake Valley, Young sent an exploration party of about fifty men led by Apostle Parley P. Pratt to investigate further the southern reaches of the territory. The group was known as the Southern Expedition.

Pratt, one of the most competent church leaders, chose his men carefully and included Indian scouts, hunters, surveyors, and clerks. They were charged to return with specific recommendations for town sites and to “maintain a complete record of soil conditions, topography, vegetation, streams, timber, pasture lands, and all other natural resources” necessary to establish settlements. The expedition of forty-seven men, numerous horses, and twelve large wagons loaded with provisions and equipment embarked on 24 November 1849.

The party faced a particularly cold winter as it traveled south as

far as Salt Creek in future Juab County, where it turned east into what had just been organized as Sanpete County. The expedition subsequently followed the Sevier River upstream through the upper Sevier Valley—later Sevier, Piute and Garfield counties—before it crossed the mountains into the Parowan Valley. From there it followed the recently blazed southern California wagon road as far south as future St. George before heading north back to the Salt Lake Valley.

By 14 January 1850 the company, traveling in deep snow, reached the Sulphurdale area. A fierce storm forced them to hunker down for two days before the men forced their exhausted animals on. They made camp on 16 January about ten miles west of the Cove Creek crossing. The next day, they traveled eight more miles in bitter cold and camped near a Pahvant Indian village near Corn Creek. The expedition pronounced the country they had just traveled “worthless.”

The men were forced to leave several of their draft animals that had become exhausted and weakened. On 21 January they reached Chalk Creek, where the men held council. It was recorded that, since “our provisions would only sustain half of our company till spring, and traveling with the wagons was impossible, we decided upon leaving half the company to winter there with the wagons and cattle, and the other half, with some of the strongest mules and horses, should attempt to reach Provo.”<sup>8</sup> Those who were to remain were mostly young men without families; they were led by David Fullmer.

A group of twenty-four men with twenty-six horses and mules left the Chalk Creek camp the next morning in an effort to reach settlements farther north. Nine miles up the trail, Pratt himself was at a point of exhaustion and, in his words, “unable [any] longer to sit on my mule, or stand on my feet.”<sup>9</sup> Yet for five more days the company traveled—often in up to four feet of snow. Snow blanketed their camp located just south of the present-day Juab-Millard county line. Early in the morning, “Some one rising, began shoveling the others out,” wrote Pratt, but finding the work too difficult, Pratt “raised [my] voice like a trumpet, and commanded [the camp] to arise; when all at once there was a shaking among the snow piles, the graves were opened, and all came forth!” They called this place “Resurrection Camp.”<sup>10</sup>

With provisions, men, and animals all nearly spent, the party decided that Pratt and Chauncey West should attempt to reach help in Utah Valley, some fifty miles away. Taking the two strongest horses, the two set out. Before leaving, Pratt praised his men for “their patience and obedience,” acknowledging that such difficulties as they had experienced “would have killed lesser men.”<sup>11</sup> The apostle leader and West reached Provo as the temperature plunged to thirty degrees below zero. A rescue party with fresh mounts and provisions was dispatched within hours. While some of the company suffered permanent injury from frostbite, the advance company was back in Salt Lake City by the first of February.

Those who had remained at Chalk Creek were organized into groups of ten and utilized the time as productively as possible. Besides constructing a “cellar house . . . with roof and chimney covered with dirt” to store supplies and prepare food, they made repairs on their wagons and each man made himself a pair of snowshoes.

Since they were in such close proximity to a village of Pahvant Indians, expedition member Robert Campbell undertook to learn the Ute language. Within a few days he had made himself a small dictionary of over a hundred words and phrases. He used it to teach others of the expedition the words and phrases he had learned. From then on, whenever Indians entered their camp and wanted to trade, Campbell and the others were more competent in their communications. One unusual item Campbell and the others traded was a homemade bowling alley for some tanned buckskins.<sup>12</sup>

The snowbound expedition members abandoned their camp at Chalk Creek on 7 February 1850. It took them seven difficult weeks to make their way with the wagons to Salt Lake City. When Brigham Young learned of the group’s safe return, he dismissed the meeting he was attending to greet the men and hear of their report.

Although one might question the wisdom of sending out such an expedition at the worst possible time of year, the information Pratt and his men gathered proved valuable. Within a few years colonists had settled thirty-seven townsites recommended in Pratt’s report, including Fillmore (1851), Holden (1855), Scipio, Meadow, and Cove Fort (all in 1857). Some of the locations would have been settled regardless of Pratt’s report, but the achievements of the

Southern Expedition combined with Hunt's earlier work and later exploring endeavors were significant. Of the men of the Southern Expedition, only Charles Hopkins, who turned forty while on the trail, returned to Millard County to live. He was one of the first three settlers to settle in the town of Petersburg, renamed Kanosh in 1859. Hopkins died in Millard County on 12 October 1863. George B. Matson returned later to the county to help build the territorial capitol building before making his permanent home in Springville.

At the time of the Southern Expedition, some of the Pahvant Utes were led by a man named Chuick, whose band spent much of the year along the Beaver River and Clear Lake in west Millard. A younger leader named Kanosh was emerging among the Pahvant Utes who lived at Corn Creek, some twelve miles south of Chalk Creek. It is likely that members of the expedition had some contact with Kanosh, and from this contact Kanosh remained a friend of the Mormons for the rest of his life. Kanosh was a statesman among his people and an influence for peace with all who later settled in Millard County.

Local non-Indian tradition suggests that Kanosh was the son of Kash-ee-bats, a powerful leader among the Utes in the Spanish Fork area. Kash-ee-bats was married to several women, one of whom was part Spaniard. Because of a respiratory problem, she preferred to spend the winters in the warmer Mojave desert area of southern California, and it apparently was there that her eldest son, Kanosh, was born. While living in the Mojave desert, she learned that her husband had been killed in Utah. Realizing that her husband had other sons who would contend for positions of leadership, the young widow returned to claim positions of leadership for Kanosh and her other sons. Kanosh lived the rest of his life in Millard County and may well have been the most significant of all the Ute leaders to adapt to the new life conditions presented by the whites. In this, he occasionally met opposition from his brothers and others of his band.<sup>13</sup>

The experience of Jefferson Hunt's party in Pahvant Valley, the generally positive report of the Southern Expedition, and the friendly relations with Kanosh and the other Pahvant Utes convinced Brigham Young that the Pahvant Valley was a choice place to colonize. Late in 1850 Young sent a company led by Apostle George A.

Smith to found the town of Parowan in the south-central portion of the territory. Fully loaded with farm implements, seed, and provisions, the vanguard of the large 100-wagon company entered Pahvant Valley in late December. As had been the case the year previous, the winter cold and snow presented the major obstacles to travel. "After crossing two ridges south of the Sevier River," Smith wrote, "the forward company entered Pahvant Valley the day after Christmas." That night the company camped in six inches of snow and temperatures dropped to sixteen degrees below zero.<sup>14</sup>

The next morning, as the company was breaking camp, two of Smith's oxen turned up missing. Members of the company spent much of the morning searching for the missing animals. The search party soon discovered an Indian and his young son, both without food and poorly dressed. One of the oxen had been shot with an arrow by the Indians but was still alive. The other was nearby. Both oxen were returned to camp along with the two Indians, where the wounded ox was shot to end its suffering. Taking note of the desperate condition of the two Indians, Smith offered to trade the dead ox for the Indian youth, promising the father that he would feed and clothe the boy. The Indian youth was subsequently given to Adam Empey, who dressed him in a buckskin shirt.<sup>15</sup>

During the ensuing two days, other segments of the company arrived at a camp on Pioneer Creek near present-day Holden. There Smith called a meeting to instruct the camp about their "duties of guarding" the livestock and to apologize for being "irritable at some of the teamsters because of the way they whip their cattle," and for his anger when he "spoke rather roughly" to the teamsters.

By the time the company passed Chalk Creek the weather turned more pleasant and made the next day's travel easier. The travelers noted signs of Indians but saw none. At Meadow Creek they paused to celebrate the new year. Some of the young people danced by the light of the fires to the accompaniment of flute, fiddle, and drum. Anson Call, who within the year would head another company of settlers to found the town of Fillmore in Millard County, named the stream "New Years Creek"—a name that didn't stick.<sup>16</sup> Not far from this camp the company passed some Pahvant Indian fields and were impressed by the remnants of corn and wheat crops found there.

George A. Smith was so impressed that he wrote that the “Corn stalks would have been creditable in Ohio.” There were “cobs, showing that the crop had ripened; also some wheat-heads of this years growth.”<sup>17</sup>

Soon after reaching Parowan Valley, George A. Smith penned a letter to Brigham Young relating what he found in Pahvant Valley. He noted that while the Parley P. Pratt expedition of the previous year did not make a particularly favorable report about that area, partly perhaps because of the snow encountered, it was indeed “a prospect for a colony not to be slighted.” He offered the church president a glowing report of the area, saying, “there were several small creeks in this [Pahvant] valley, about the size of Canyon Creek. Corn Creek sinks and forms a large meadow. The grazing is extensive; the range very good.” He also noted the abundance of wood, including timber in the mountains for fuel, fencing, and other building needs. And, perhaps most importantly, he reported, “the soil had the appearance of being very good,” confessing that “it seemed to suit many farmers of our camp, who would have been perfectly satisfied to have remained at that point.” In fact, Smith predicted, perhaps with an ominous note for his own current assignment, that the Millard area “would succeed better than Iron County.”<sup>18</sup>

With the arrival of spring, Brigham Young decided to have a first-hand look at the southern reaches of the territory. On 22 April 1851 he started south with a company of twenty wagons, about forty men, and several women, including one of his wives, Mary Ann Angel. The party traveled much the same route as had the Pratt expedition and on 10 May arrived in Parowan. A week later, Brigham Young headed back to Salt Lake City. By the time they reached Chalk Creek several of the company were stricken with mountain fever. While some rested there, Wilford Woodruff reported that “several of the Brethren went to the chalk mines to get some chalk. They brought a quantity with them.” After a day’s rest, the company continued northward and made camp in Scipio Valley, where they found the valley “filled with the best of grass for cattle.” By 14 May the company was back in Salt Lake City.<sup>19</sup>

While there are no known records of Brigham Young’s impressions while he was at Pahvant Valley, he was sufficiently impressed with the area’s potential to write Anson Call in Parowan, instructing

Call “to go a distance of about one hundred miles north and explore Pah-Van Valley.” Young directed Call to locate “a suitable place to make a settlement” and then come “to Salt Lake City [to] report and then raise fifty families and go settle that valley.”<sup>20</sup> Call immediately set out for Pahvant Valley, and when he returned to Salt Lake City he claimed that Chalk Creek was an ideal setting for a town.

The forty-one-year-old Call had been born in Vermont, where he joined the Mormon church in 1843. With his family he immigrated to Great Salt Lake Valley in 1848. He and his wife of eighteen years, Mary Flint, farmed in Bountiful, Davis County, where he served as bishop for two years before he was called to help settle southern Utah. Call soon set out to recruit the requisite fifty families for the new settlement. The company he organized was “generally poor, consisting of brethren who had just emigrated from the states and England.”<sup>21</sup> Among those he recruited were the families of Orange and Mary Warner and Thomas and Matilda King who had crossed the plains in the same company, arriving in the Salt Lake Valley on 23 September 1851.

Even as Call’s and his company prepared to colonize the Pahvant Valley, the territorial legislature meeting in Salt Lake City decided that the territorial capital should be located near the geographical center of the year-old Utah Territory. By a legislative act of 4 October 1851, the joint legislative assemblies designated Pahvant Valley as the seat of government and at the same time created Millard County with Fillmore City as the county seat and location of the territorial capital. The act divided the new county from neighboring Iron County and authorized Anson Call to organize the new county government. Millard County in 1852 extended to the Sierra Nevada, and, as the Utah territory underwent boundary changes, the county’s western boundary was moved eastward. (In 1862 Juab and Sanpete counties were enlarged, thereby reshaping the county’s eastern and northeastern borders.)<sup>22</sup> Governor Brigham Young appointed a committee of up to five men to locate the building site in Fillmore for the new capitol building.<sup>23</sup>

LDS church leaders bestowed a double honor on U.S. President Millard Fillmore when they named both capital city and county after him. Fillmore earned this distinction through his general friendliness

to the Mormons and by having named Brigham Young as the first territorial governor. Fillmore left the White House in early 1853 after having served part of one term as president, having succeeded to the presidency when President Zachary Taylor died in 1850, Fillmore having been elected as vice-president. After being defeated in 1856 in another attempt to be elected president, Fillmore retired into relative obscurity. In a show of affection for him at a Fourth of July celebration in Utah in 1853, church leader Daniel H. Wells toasted the former president on behalf of the Mormon community. "Ex-President Fillmore," he affirmed, "may his retirement be as happy and prosperous as his administration was successful and glorious; and the American people learn to know and appreciate their good men before they lose them."<sup>24</sup>

Governor Brigham Young clearly stated his reasons for designating the territorial capital where he did:

The location is far more central to the territory than Salt Lake City; the Pauvan Valley will sustain a large and dense population; locating the seat of government there would encourage settlers to go there and very much facilitate the settlement of all other suitable places in that region [and would] unquestionably advance the already prosperous and vastly increasing resources of the territory.<sup>25</sup>

While Anson Call was organizing the colonizing company, he was named "President" of Fillmore at the October 1851 conference of the church. The title presumably gave him the ecclesiastical office of stake president, the presiding authority of the Mormon church organization in Millard County.<sup>26</sup> Later in the month, on 18 October 1851, Call's company of about one hundred men, women, and children left Salt Lake City for Pahvant Valley to settle the town of Fillmore. Call was accompanied by his second wife, seventeen-year-old Ann Marie Bowen.

A second party of church and government leaders departed Salt Lake City on 21 October to survey the yet-to-be-settled town of Fillmore and select a site for the territorial capitol building. Accompanying Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were surveyor Jesse W. Fox, Indian interpreter George W. Bean, and territorial

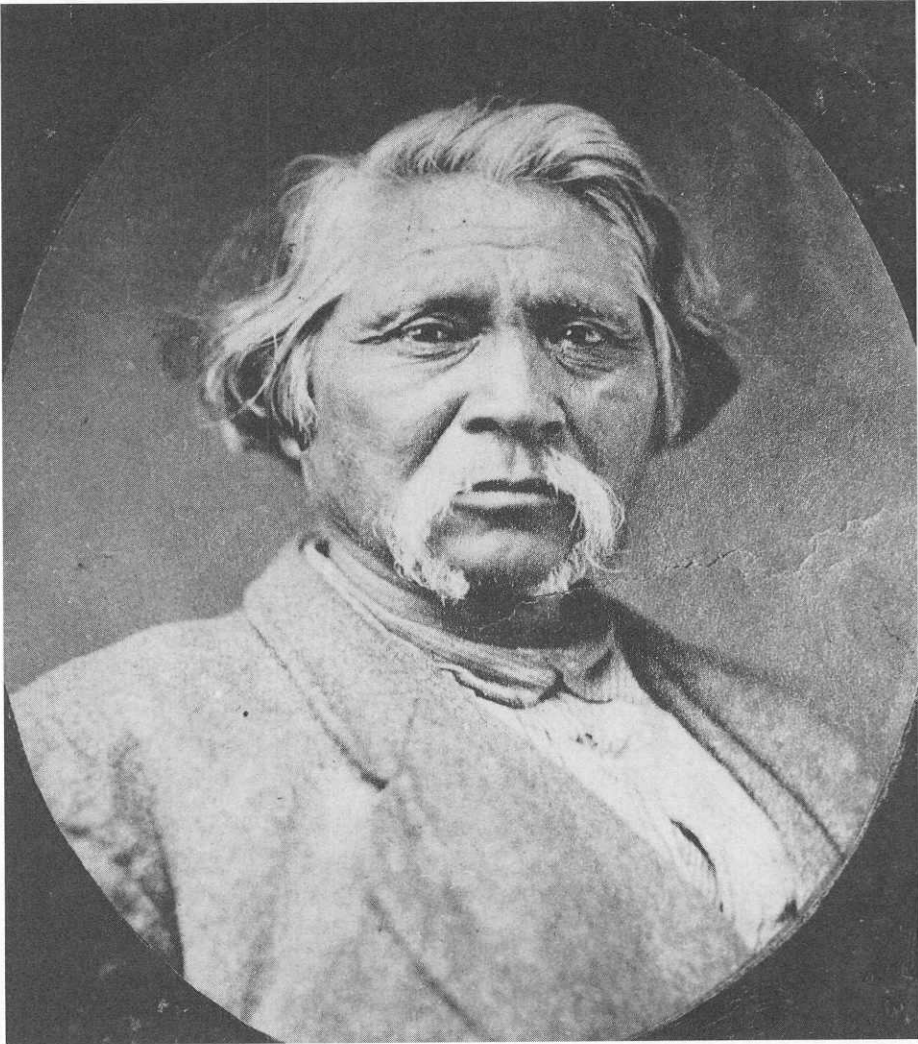


Indian sub-agent Stephen B. Rose among the fifteen men and three boys in the company. While the views of his associates were doubtless important in the site selection process, the extant record indicates that Brigham Young ultimately made all the crucial decisions himself.<sup>27</sup>

This expedition, unencumbered by families and wagons loaded with farm implements and household items, traveled faster than did the Call company. As it proceeded south, the company inspected the potential of other valleys for the territorial capital, most likely to justify their previous choice of Pahvant Valley for the required written report to the United States government. The subsequent report concluded that Juab Valley, “aside from being too far north, . . . had not the requisite facilities for building up, and sustaining so large a city, as the seat of government is destined speedily to be.” Young and the others judged the adjacent area around Chicken Creek, later Levan, to be “more central . . . but less adapted to the desired purpose than Juab Valley. . . . The same [was] the case, to a still greater degree with the Sevier, and the land adjacent,” today covered by the Sevier Bridge Reservoir, or Yuba Lake. Lake Valley, soon known as Round Valley (the future site of Scipio), also “was far too small.”<sup>28</sup>

While it was earlier in the season than the times of the previous exploration and colonization expeditions, still the cold—down to 14 degrees Fahrenheit—reminded the group that winter was fast approaching. Brigham Young’s group made camp in Round Valley, three miles off the trail on the banks of Fall Creek. Anson Call’s company, together with another led by John D. Lee, camped just below them on the same creek. The Lee company was bound for the forks of the Santa Clara River in the southern part of the territory.

Snow caught both companies while they were camped in Round Valley. After each group struggled up Scipio Pass, they enjoyed a “gradual descent,” Pavant Valley—described as a “very large, fertile valley.” To the south flowed six streams in succession: Wild Goose Creek, Pioneer Creek, Chalk Creek, Pine Creek, Meadow Creek, and Corn Creek. All carried water from the eastern mountains onto the valley floor. These streams provided water for irrigation, which was critical if settlement was to succeed.



Chief Kanosh (1821–1884), buried at Kanosh, Millard County. (Utah State Historical Society)

In a single sentence graced with the hyperbole of nineteenth-century prose, the report detailed the assets of the valley:

this large area presents a rich and picturesquely diversified landscape; the table lands, and their rounded points being thickly studded with cedar [juniper], and the beauty of the valley proper increased by low, short ranges of hills, and isolated mounds, with

the dark shade of their cedars ever richly contrasting with the lighter green of the summer, or the paler hue of the autumn grass that waves so abundantly and luxuriantly over the remaining level and very fertile portions . . . bounded by mountain ranges, here lifting high their lone peaks and serrated crests, flanked by bold, and rocky precipices, there sweeping gracefully around on either hand at a lower elevation, with more wooded summits . . . blending with the long western curvature, richly mellowed by the blue haze of the distance; the continuous outline of the vast circumference clearly defined in the pure sky of this altitude.<sup>29</sup>

After refreshing themselves at Cedar Springs (near present-day Holden), the two companies arrived at Chalk Creek, a beautiful, swift-flowing stream some fourteen feet wide and a foot deep, with a rocky bed. It afforded “a great quantity of pure water, even at its present low stage.” Clumps of currant bushes and giant cottonwood trees traced its course to the northwest. Downstream willows fringed the creek’s banks. Still visible were the dugout shelters built by members of the Pratt expedition of the previous year. Tuesday, 28 October 1851, marked the commencement of Mormon settlement of Millard County, when the company moved camp up the west side of Chalk Creek some four or five miles below the canyon’s mouth and along the wagon road to California. Some of Call’s company “commence[d] building here forthwith.”<sup>30</sup>

Members of the Pahvant band of Ute Indians led by Kanosh from Corn Creek soon visited the settlers’ camp and offered their friendship. Kanosh, who spoke reasonably good English, informed Brigham Young that “he was not fond of roaming, and wished to be instructed in tilling the soil.” Kanosh clearly meant that he wished to learn improved agricultural techniques, because he further explained that his people had successfully raised a number of crops each summer—including beans, corn, potatoes, pumpkins and squash—going back to times before their contact with white men. That news heartened the Mormons, and Brigham Young thanked Kanosh for the information. Major Rose, the Indian sub-agent, presented gifts to Kanosh and his party before they left.<sup>31</sup>

The following day was a busy one. Brigham Young selected the site for the capitol building and then placed his cane down at what

became the northeast corner of the ten-acre State House block, "near the west brow of the table land, with a beautiful lone cedar upon it," and instructed Jesse Fox to begin his general survey at that spot. Fox recorded the elevation at that point as 4,789 feet; modern instruments give a correct reading of 5,061 feet. After first marking out the four wings of the State House, Fox began to lay off the town, with the streets on a north-south, east-west axis. Each ten-acre block would have eight lots of one and a quarter acres each, and the streets would be eight rods (132 feet) wide. Brigham Young chose two lots for himself in the block east of the public square.<sup>32</sup> Fox also established the boundaries of Fort Pahvant, which extended the length of the city block between Main Street and First East, and was about 330 feet at its widest. By digging a small canal, workers diverted part of nearby Chalk Creek into the fort, thus supplying with water the settlers who were to reside inside.<sup>33</sup>

That evening Brigham Young called a meeting in which he reappointed Anson Call as probate judge, Indian agent, and presiding elder, or president, of the Fillmore Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Later, Thomas R. King and his brother-in-law Peter Robison were called as Call's counselors. Young appointed Noah W. Bartholomew as the area's first bishop, with Samuel P. Hoyt and Orange Warner as his counselors. Within two years a ward was organized.<sup>34</sup> The responsibilities of the leaders initially were temporal, with the stake officers conducting most spiritual affairs, including the preaching at church services.<sup>35</sup>

With the surveying and church organization tasks completed, Brigham Young and most of his party started for Salt Lake City on 30 October. The following Sunday, 2 November, the new community of Fillmore held Sunday services in the tent of Bishop Bartholomew, singing hymns and praying for guidance in establishing the new capital of the Territory of Utah.<sup>36</sup>

On his return to Great Salt Lake City from Parowan early in November, George A. Smith visited Fillmore. He later reported the inhabitants of Fillmore to be "in fine spirits." In a meeting of the townspeople, Smith asked them about the resources of the surrounding countryside. When Anson Call's brother Josiah said he had seen tracks of black-tailed deer, Smith asked him, "can you tell the

color of a deer's tail by its tracks?"<sup>37</sup> Chandler Holbrook and Orange Warner told the apostle about stands of fine pine and fir located ten miles up the canyon, but they believed that the difficult terrain and the late season would prevent them from building a road up the canyon to the trees. Instead of using pine and fir to build their first houses they were using the cottonwoods that lined the creek. Smith urged the construction of the road, believing it would take the community only six days to build a road to the timber. Smith admonished them to begin at once before the snows came. He also cautioned them to travel in sufficient numbers to protect themselves against Indians. By this time, Jesse Fox had surveyed enough town lots and farmland to accommodate the present families.

Towards the end of November Anson Call sent word to Brigham Young of the progress being made, including "building a corral for our cattle." More significantly, he reported that the group had built a schoolhouse and established a school, all "within fifteen days of our arrival."<sup>38</sup> Young had also instructed the settlers of Fillmore to build a fort. Call informed Young that they were having difficulties with the location Young had selected. He wrote that the ground was "so dry and hard, being also rocky that it was next to an impossibility to stockade our pickets in our houses with the tools we have to work with, so we have built our houses in close order, having our doors or windows on the outside." Call also reported that most of the houses being constructed were being made of adobe, which was contrary to Young's suggestions to use other building material.<sup>39</sup>

Even while the settlers were busy building houses, roads, and corrals, they took time to hold elections on 21 November. Anson Call was elected to the upper house of the territorial legislature and Samuel P. Hoyt was elected justice of the peace for the county.

Samuel P. Hoyt also wrote letters to Brigham Young and George A. Smith reporting that all were well at Fillmore but that the townspeople still were living in their wagons, which recent snowstorms had made "rather cool." As Smith had directed, the men had continued work on the road to the canyon and were now cutting enough logs for one house, which the owner had begun to "lay up." Orange Warner and Alonzo P. Safford produced the first hand-hewn boards from logs in the canyon; but before long people of Fillmore were able

to haul lumber from the new sawmill in Parowan while their own mill on Chalk Creek was under construction.

A competition of sorts developed over who would be the first family to occupy their own house in Fillmore. Two families each claimed to be the first: Thomas R. King and his wife, Matilda Robison, were one, and Orange and Mary Warner with their eight children all under the age of fourteen were the other claimants of the distinction. The family of Samuel P. and Emily Hoyt was the third to occupy a house. By 22 December about two dozen houses formed the outside walls of the fort. By that time Hoyt had also circulated a petition for a post office and had obtained nearly a hundred signatures, a figure closely reflecting the number of the adult population.<sup>40</sup>

A combination school/meetinghouse made of cottonwood logs, tamped earth floor, and a dirt roof, with a large fireplace in the center was erected near the southwest corner of the fort complex. There is conflicting information as to when the school was first opened. Anson Call reported that a school was established by late November, but Volney King's journal clearly states that the schoolhouse was not finished until 10 December and that "the first day of school term commenced Monday, December 22." Whichever day it was, twenty-two children sat on the split logs that served as benches. The fireplace took the chill off the winter air as teachers Emily Hoyt and Selma Robinson began the twelve-week term. The next day, five more scholars joined the class. Tuition was three dollars per pupil per term.<sup>41</sup>

Each school day began with prayer followed by the children practicing writing on their slates, using chalk from Chalk Creek Canyon. Then came reading, with the older students using a fifth-grade primer for their text, followed by arithmetic and grammar. Sometimes in the afternoon spelling, history, or geography contests were held. Students who stayed longest at the head of the class received prizes from the teachers.

Winter evenings were times for socializing. Dance master Hiram Mace taught "step dancing" and couples glided across the smoothly packed dirt floor of the school. The first Christmas dance was held Friday evening, 23 December, and continued until midnight of Christmas eve. By the close of 1851 the people of Fillmore, who numbered some seventy families had built a school, held elections, and

established a branch of the LDS church. They also had built about thirty houses; however, some families were forced to pass the winter in their wagons.

Anson Call continued to keep Brigham Young informed of the early progress being made. In early 1852 he reported on the milder weather of the winter and the general satisfaction of the locales with Fillmore. Grasses were already starting to sprout by early February, giving "every prospect for an early spring." Even though the settlers had not arrived in time the previous season to cut grass for winter feed, the livestock were faring well. For ten days farmers had been plowing and planting, using every available team in the settlement. "The ground breaks easily and we feel highly pleased with the appearance of the soil," Call continued. He then stated that the canyon road which Apostle George A. Smith had presumed would be easy took a full "hundred and fifty days work" but that it was nearing completion, and the community had begun building their own sawmill in the canyon.

The colony leader also noted frequent visits from Indians, whom he claimed to his knowledge had "not disturbed the least thing." Spaniards or Mexicans also appeared in the area a "number of times," once supposedly in pursuit of stolen horses. The presiding elder closed his status report with a plea for a good tanner and a blacksmith equipped with a good set of tools.<sup>42</sup>

Call would not get his wish for a bona fide blacksmith until the ensuing fall when Samuel Evans arrived and set up such a business. In the meantime, Bishop Bartholomew did some blacksmithing at a small shop along the north side of the fort, and a lawyer named Bassett also moonlighted as a blacksmith. Volney King also lists Hiram B. Bennett, N.B. Baldwin, William Benn, Alex Melville, Samuel Richmond, William Bickmore, James Huntsman, Lewis Brunson, and Charity Prowse, a widow and her two children, Alvin and Mary Jane, as arriving in October. He conceded that there might have been others as well.<sup>43</sup>

The community welcomed fifty more new residents with a celebration on 21 January 1852. Although refreshments were sparse, the townspeople danced and sang until midnight. Among the newcomers were brothers Ralph and James Rowley and their families. They had

been sent as rock masons for the State House but also aspired to make pottery. A carpenter, Andrew W. Henry, was also assigned to work on the State House and to make pottery. In May, ten more men—four of them with families—joined Henry and the others working on the building.<sup>44</sup>

The population increased by one on 28 January when Henrietta Call, the wife of Josiah H. Call, gave birth to Columbia Fillmore Call in the family's wagon, the first baby born into the new community. Fortunately for the newborn, the winter proved much milder than the two previous ones, with Anson Call noting there was "hardly enough snow to track a fox." He also added to the population on 10 February, when, returning from the legislative session in Salt Lake City, he brought his first wife, Mary, and their children to spend the winter. Daniel Thompson and William Payne also came with them, as did the Chauncy Rogers and Chandler Holbrook families.<sup>45</sup>

Joseph Millard Robison, born to Peter and Celina Robison on 29 March 1852, was the first male baby born in the new settlement. Tragedy had struck the community nine days earlier when Leroy King, the nineteen-month-old son of Thomas and Matilda King, died of scarlet fever. His grave marked the beginning of the community's cemetery, located southeast of the settlement.<sup>46</sup> Earlier, the little daughter of George and Susan Black was buried in a private cemetery on one of the town lots.

By the end of the second school term Emily Hoyt and Selma Robison had fifty students in their school; and upwards of a dozen homes also had private schools. Some of the teachers in these private schools included Joseph S. Giles, Thomas and Matilda King, Alvin Robison, Isabella Pratt Robison, Fanny Powell, John A. Ray, Lucinda Robison, Selina Robison, James Shelton, and Amelia Webb. It became necessary for the town to employ a third schoolteacher. School trustee Chandler Holbrook hired Andrew Henry, presumably while it was too cold for him to work on the capitol building.<sup>47</sup>

The territorial legislature met in Salt Lake City in February 1852 and approved a bill to incorporate the city of Fillmore, which Governor Brigham Young signed on 13 February. The act officially designated the city's extent: beginning at the southeast corner of the public square (Main and Center Streets), it stretched three miles



south, three miles east, six miles north, and six miles west. It was a sizable city, to be sure, unless Young really did intend to shift much of Salt Lake City's population there. The act, among other things, provided for the election of city officials, declaring "all free white male inhabitants who are of the age of twenty-one years" eligible voters. It gave city officials the right to levy taxes; pass ordinances; impose fines; borrow money; issue licenses; make health regulations and quarantine laws to prevent the spread of contagious diseases; found hospitals; provide the city with water and street lights; improve and repair streets and bridges; and establish, support, and regulate schools. One section empowered city officials "to license, regulate, prohibit or restrain the manufacturing, selling or giving away of spirituous, vinous or fermented liquors; regulate tavern and shop keepers, boarding and coffee houses, restaurants, saloons, or other places in their selling of the before named spirituous drinks." These establishments were certainly not prohibited, however, since there were soon several inns established in the burgeoning town. And while another section provided for the licensing and regulation of billiard tables and pin alleys, one could assume the regulations did not extend to Corn Creek, where the Pahvant Utes had the homemade bowling alley for which they had traded buckskins two years earlier.

Fillmore received a post office early in 1852. Levi McCollough, father of the first Burtner-Delta postmaster more than half a century later, initially held the position. Meanwhile, Chandler Holbrook, whose other elected offices included notary public and surveyor, picked up where Jesse Fox had left off and continued to survey fields adjacent to the creek but farther out of town. In addition to a town lot, each family received as much land as its members could reasonably fence and cultivate.<sup>48</sup>

Efforts at housing the new arrivals also redoubled with the onset of warmer weather and longer days. Although Brigham Young preferred that buildings be made of brick or stone, most were constructed of adobe. Women stomped the straw into the mud with their bare feet while men shaped the bricks and laid them in the sun to bake.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps the largest construction project south of Salt Lake City was the State House. Brigham Young selected his brother-in-law,

architect Truman O. Angell, to design the State House. Angell commenced drawing plans for the “State House at Pauvan” in late 1851 and worked on it feverishly for several months, stating that “this plan seems urgent and makes extra labor at this time.”<sup>50</sup>

The building was to have four equal wings in the shape of a cross, with a huge Moorish dome at the center. The design called for a full basement and two stories above, with a veranda extending around the entire top story. Even while the plans for the rest of the building were still being finalized, work commenced on the south wing, which Brigham Young wanted completed as soon as possible in order that the territorial legislature could begin meeting there.

William Felshaw, a builder of the Nauvoo Temple, was appointed superintendent of construction for the capitol building. Soon after his arrival in Fillmore, he reported his frustration to Angell, saying, “we arrived here the 8th of May and found nothing done at the State House and mill or dam, and no road made to the timber in the canyon. We have worked forty-six days on the dam”—which was presumably deemed essential to impound sufficient water for diversion by ditch to the construction site. Felshaw reported that as many as one hundred more days were needed before timber could be hauled to the building site. The rock, he complained, still had to be quarried and hauled, along with the sand and limestone for the mortar. While he noted the small amount of work that had been accomplished, he reported optimistically, “we have commenced the water ditch to fetch the water to the State House which will probably cost about one hundred fifty days work.”<sup>51</sup>

Felshaw also complained about a lack of tools and a shortage of wagons “fit to haul logs from the canyon,” and requested some “strong ones” if the church had them. He requested a blacksmith, since there was none in the area with the time and equipment to repair the tools and wagons that kept breaking. He warned that if a blacksmith didn’t arrive soon the work would likely end. He also specified that others who came to work on the building should bring axes, crowbars, picks, and shovels. Then, describing his workmen, he complained that some were “uneasy with the circumstances,” meaning less than polished at their work. Felshaw continued, “their hands get blistered, . . . they tear their clothes in the canyon and wear out

their shoes scrambling over the rocks.” Then, with a partial commentary on the morale of some workmen, he observed, “some of the joiners would be glad to return to your city if they could get there.”<sup>52</sup>

Not only was progress on the construction of the State House slow in 1852, but John Bernhisel, the territorial delegate to the United States Congress, encountered a series of obstacles in his efforts to obtain additional funding for the building. Disgruntled federal officials assigned to share governing responsibility with some of the ranking Utah Mormons, together with the 1852 public announcement by Apostle Orson Pratt admitting the practice of polygamy among some church members, inflamed anti-Mormon rhetoric and greatly influenced congressional opinion. The House of Representatives requested that President Fillmore provide information about the actual situation in the territory so that it could “ascertain whether the due execution of the laws of the United States has been resisted or obstructed.” Congress also wanted to know if there had been “any misapplication of the public funds; and whether the personal rights of our citizens have been interfered with in any manner.”<sup>53</sup> Amid such conditions, delegate Bernhisel fought doggedly for funding for the State House in Fillmore for the next five years.

When Brigham Young was in Fillmore in May 1852, he sent a small party led by Apostle Albert Carrington to the western portion of the broad Pahvant Valley to search for lead deposits. Carrington had assisted Lieutenant John W. Gunnison and Captain Howard Stansbury with their earlier surveys. Later some of Carrington’s family settled in Millard County. Carrington noted the lack of mountains or plateaus between Fillmore and the Sevier River, a distance of about forty miles. Brigham Young later noted to his friend Thomas L. Kane the importance of the Sevier River to future agricultural developments in the valley: “The river can be brought around to supply any deficiency of water in the Pauvan Valley.”<sup>54</sup> Ten years later, the first of many canals became a reality, carrying irrigation water to the new farming areas of western Millard County and eventually even to some of the lower lands in the eastern side of the county.

Carrington followed the river’s “devious windings” southwest to the Sevier Lake, located between the Cricket Mountains on the east and the House Range on the west. The Paiutes called the lake *Uhvuh’*

*Paw*, or “bad water.” Young described the lake to Kane as being “about twenty-five or thirty miles long and ten to twelve broad and salt water with hard gravelly shores.” Carrington continued southward to a grassy area “of exceeding beauty and fertility, having a large stream called the Beaver, which originates in the high mountains to the southeast, running through the entire length of it in a northerly direction entirely past the lake . . . and empties into the Sevier [River] about five miles above its mouth.”<sup>55</sup>

Carrington was impressed with much of the area of the lower Beaver River. In his report to Brigham Young, he remarked: “[I] never saw a more beautiful valley, nor one that could be so extensively and easily irrigated.” Young asked his friend Thomas Kane what his population estimates might be for the area: “How many inhabitants, think you, will such a valley sustain?” Young then exuded the optimistic thought that “this valley taken in connection with Pauvan furnishes a greater extent of country . . . susceptible of cultivation than any that has hitherto been explored.”<sup>56</sup>

Brigham Young took virtually no initiative to promote any settlement of the area, however. A few years later, in 1855 and again in 1857–58, other Mormon explorers visited the area and perhaps provided Young with more realistic reports, which probably dampened his ardor. Although there were later schemes to develop the lower Beaver River and adjacent lands, superior water claims upstream and the better agricultural potential of less-saline soil elsewhere prevented the lower Beaver River area from ever being agriculturally productive. Still, Carrington’s reports may have given Brigham Young confidence that the Beaver River vicinity and lands farther west could sustain many people—possibilities which he later sought to investigate further through the so-called White Mountain expedition during the crisis of the Utah War.

From the beginning of the Mormon colonization of Utah Territory, rumors abounded of buried Spanish treasure and mines rich with gold and silver, and seekers after the hidden wealth were numerous. At the root of the rumors was a reported visit of an Indian to Brigham Young when the latter was in Fillmore in 1852. The Indian told Young of a silver mine in western Millard County that he believed had been worked by the Spaniards. Upon his return to Salt

Lake City Brigham called and commissioned John Brown and several others to investigate the tale and “take possession” of the mine and any others found.

Albert Carrington, who had just returned from the area, was designated topographical engineer and mineralogist of the expedition. James Barlow was appointed captain of the guard, John Kay was chaplain, and former mountain man Elijah Barney Ward served as guide and interpreter.<sup>57</sup> The company departed Salt Lake City on 7 June 1852, adding a few horses and men at Provo, which brought the number to eighteen men, seven wagons, and thirty-nine animals.

After a brief stop at Fillmore for wagon repairs, the group went to Corn Creek to confer with Chief Kanosh, who informed Brown that he knew nothing about a Spanish silver mine but said an Indian on the Beaver River had talked of one. The company hired guides from Kanosh’s band and continued its travel to the Beaver River and an Indian camp. There they met some Indians, and, according to the report, “the one who knew of the mine was sent for and brought, but he said that the other Indians had lied. He thought, however, that he knew where there was some kind of metal in the mountains about fifteen miles distant to the west.” With that new information, Carrington and several of the men traveled to the mountains but found neither silver nor other valuable ore.

Disappointed, the expedition turned its attention to investigating Barney Ward’s earlier report that he had found a small amount of gold along the upper Sevier River. Brown and a smaller party traveled without wagons up Corn Creek over the Pahvant Mountains and turned south to what would later become Piute County. At Pine Creek (later Bullion Creek), they panned for gold and quickly concluded “there was no gold and never had been any.”<sup>58</sup>

On 4 July 1852 there was special cause for celebration at Fillmore. Many of the crops were already in, houses rapidly were being finished and occupied, and the settlers felt satisfied with their efforts. For public meetings during the warmer season the citizenry had erected a bowery, with a roof of brush and grass supported by juniper poles. This was readied for the Independence Day festivities, with tables and benches arranged in its shade. As the sun rose, so did a flag pole, or “liberty pole.” A “salute from the military with the fir-

ing of guns” startled a small group of Indians camped nearby, who were unaware of the celebration. Surprised, they mistook the gunfire and the flag waving as a call to war. Runners were sent to Corn Creek to report to Kanosh, who immediately summoned his men to battle. Approximately sixty warriors, some on horseback, armed with bows and arrows and a few guns and all faces painted for war, hurried to Fillmore. Volney King recalled that they came “full speed, whooping their war whoops, excited to the highest pitch.”

Sighting the approaching Indian war party, the men of Fillmore rallied and stood “shoulder to shoulder in battle array” while the Utes spread “about eight or ten feet apart, fronting each other not more than five rods distance.” After Anson Call “ordered the military commander to call his men together and remain in the fort till further orders and place a guard at the gate,” he and his counselors, Peter Robison and Thomas King, together with an interpreter, loaded their arms with food and walked unarmed to the bowery. After placing the provisions on the tables, Call turned to face the Indians. He said: “Good Morning Kanosh, you have come to participate with us in the celebration of the Fourth of July. We are glad to see you.”

Urging his horse out in front of his men, Kanosh reportedly replied, “No, we came to fight. What is the meaning of that pole and flag and firing if not to fight? If that is what you want we are ready for you.” An interpreter explained to Kanosh that the Mormon settlers were about to commemorate an important day in their tradition. As an understanding of the situation dawned on Kanosh, he laughed and said he thought it odd that they had come to fight with armloads of bread. Call invited the Indians to “hitch their horses and wipe the war stripes of mud from their faces and participate with [the townspeople] through the day.” Kanosh turned to his baffled warriors to explain what was happening. They eagerly accepted Call’s invitation, and while they removed their war paint and tethered their horses, the Mormons emerged from the fort and set up a table for their guests. Others butchered a fat ox and took it to the square, where they “roasted it in true barbecue style, thus a kind word and liberal gift turned excitement . . . into rejoicing and friendship.” President Call delivered an oration in the early afternoon, then all dined; the ensuing activities were “accompanied with dancing.” King

concluded his account with the words that the Indians “never again became excited over the Fourth of July celebrations. So ended the first great American holiday in Millard County.”<sup>59</sup>

Throughout the summer and fall the community raised produce in a common garden. Volney King later wrote, “the unity and cooperation of these colonists was certainly commendable for they were like one large family in the fencing of their farms, in the tilling of their land, and in housing of their people and taking care of their stock and there was no classification in their social gatherings, when they met.”<sup>60</sup> This is not to say that the task was easy. For example, the grain had to be hand cut with cradles and hand raked—partly with tools the settlers had fashioned themselves. Each cradler, utilizing a scythe with a wooden frame, cut and laid the grain, followed by men who raked and bound it. An average cradler could cut about three acres a day, although a good cradler like Janvirin H. Dame could cut five or six acres of grain a day.

Since the community in its early days was without threshing machines or gristmills, the wheat was threshed by hooves of horses and winnowed in the breeze. The women washed, cleaned, and dried much of the wheat. They used their coffee mills to grind their wheat, and some adopted the method Indian women taught them, using two grinding stones. One resident later observed that he “could give a pretty good guess as to what kind of bread was made from that kind of flour. But bread was like tobacco to some people—it was all good.” Boiling corn in lye water, which was usually made of water washed through wood ashes, helped remove the softened hulls to make hominy. Preparing corn by this method proved easier than grinding it.

In the fall of 1852 the residents of Fillmore again held elections and retained Anson Call in his seat in the upper house of the territorial legislature. They elected William Felshaw as their representative in the lower house. Josiah Call was made sheriff, Orson Tyler constable, Lewis Bartholomew selectman, and Chandler Holbrook was reelected surveyor. Holbrook’s job kept him busy, as another group of immigrants arrived in October and needed land and home sites. Each county was responsible for its own protection. Captain Henry Standage, a veteran of the Mormon Battalion, was given the responsibility of protecting the community from Indian trouble.

In mid-November Apostle Ezra T. Benson and Seth M. Blair, United States Attorney for Utah Territory and a Mormon, visited Millard County on “a mission to Fillmore City and the intervening valleys and settlements of the saints, to preach the gospel and speak to the saints the peaceable things of the kingdom.” The two elders found Fillmore in a “thriving condition.” Benson praised the pioneer’s farming efforts, saying, “they have the finest arrangements for irrigating their lands . . . as well as the best cultivated fields and fence lands we have examined in the valleys.” On his return to Salt Lake City, Benson reported that Fillmore had 8,000 bushels of wheat that had not been threshed, as well as corn, oats, and other grains stacked and ready to be threshed. The wheat crop exceeded all expectations. Benson’s only regret after his inspection of the city was that just eighteen additional families had “acted on the counsel given them” to go to Fillmore to settle.<sup>61</sup>

The inhabitants of the town were eager for more families to locate among them, as they felt “themselves rather in the minority, when compared with their red-faced brethren around them,” although there had not been the least cause for apprehension. They expressed a need for extra hands to help with the building of the grist- and sawmills. Benson also noted that Ephraim Tomkinson had a pottery works “in successful operation . . . and says he can make ware as good as Liverpool ware from the material found there.”<sup>62</sup>

A boon to travel was the completion in early November of “a good substantial bridge over the Sevier River, on the road to Fillmore.” The structure rested on “abutments at the ends, and three piers filled with rock in the stream. Four inch planks spanned its length.” When George A. Smith made his accustomed stop in Fillmore in early December, he commented favorably on the sturdy Sevier River bridge and the new bridge at nearby Chicken Creek, in Juab County, both of which greatly aided travel to the southern settlements. He was equally impressed with the progress on the State House and said the newly laid foundation was “the best in the territory and does credit to the builders.” Before leaving for Beaver, he visited Mrs. Emily Hoyt’s school which, he reported, had “upwards of seventy scholars, [all] making rapid progress.”<sup>63</sup>

Progress on the State House slowed in December 1852 because



heavy rain or snow made it difficult for workmen to quarry stone and cut timber for the structure. In a letter to Daniel H. Wells, William Felshaw wrote that the townspeople "are trying to get out timber for the mill but they make slow progress. . . . I think we shall live through the winter if the Indians don't kill us off."<sup>64</sup> The latter statement doubtless simply conveyed the chief builder's temporary pessimistic mood. At year's end, the town celebrated their accomplishments with a Christmas picnic and an all-night dance. The people of Millard County anticipated as productive and peaceful a new year as the last one had been.

By early 1853 work resumed on a new road up the left hand fork of Chalk Creek to a newly discovered red sandstone quarry, where stone cutting for the State House soon began.

When Brigham Young had visited Fillmore in May 1852, he found the settlement scattered, with the State House workers and some other families living in hastily built shanties and tents outside the fort. He admonished the people of Fillmore to better protect themselves and their property. The fort itself was partially dismantled in an effort to enlarge it. Young instructed the citizens as soon as they were able to build a stone fort with rooms along the inside walls. The roofs of the rooms were to be flat, with the walls of the fort extending at least five feet above the roof over the rooms "with bastions at diagonal corners which will command the outside walls all around the fort." In addition, there were to be "good substantial gates." The fort was never built to Young's specifications, however, nor was it really needed. Except for a few minor incidents, the settlers of the county and the Pahvant Indians lived together as amiable neighbors. Elsewhere, at Cove Fort at the southern edge of the county, a fort was built that filled Brigham Young's requirements.<sup>65</sup>

Brigham Young further warned the people to guard their livestock and have "arms and ammunition in the most perfect order ready for instantaneous use." He cautioned them not to go unarmed into the fields, the canyons, or out herding livestock. He urged the community to "build a large corral in which to stack grain and hay," but warned them not to build it so close to the fort that it could endanger their houses with possible fire.

In dealing with the Indians of the valley, Young counseled the



Sally Kanosh, wife of Chief Kanosh. (Utah State Historical Society)

people of Fillmore to follow his general message to all of the Latter-day Saints “to feed and clothe them so far as lies in your power; never turn them away hungry from your door; teach them the art of husbandry, bear with them in all patience and long suffering, and never

consider their lives as an equivalent for petty stealing.” Besides advising his people to be just, patient, and generous with their Native American neighbors, the church leader admonished his people to “learn their language so that you can explain matters to them and make them understand you. Employ them and pay them the full and just reward for their labor, and treat them in all respects as you would like to be treated.”<sup>66</sup>

In the 1850s territorial superintendent of Indian affairs Brigham Young and federally appointed Indian agent Dr. Garland Hurt established a half-dozen Indian farms or reservations at various locations in the territory. One of the Indian farms, which Young established at Corn Creek, was for the Pahvant Indians. The farm supplemented corn the Indians had grown there for years. Here they were to be taught the basics of farming and self-reliance under the direction of a local Indian agent.

In 1852 Brigham Young inspected the ten-acre plot at Corn Creek that the settlers had planted into potatoes, wheat, and corn. From this and later visits with the Indians in southern Utah, Young felt pleased with the settlers’ relationship with the Indians. “An excellent influence seems to be exerted with the native tribes, many of whom have been induced to abandon their indolence and acquire a more liberal supply of food for themselves by using the necessary exertion; some have sown wheat, planted corn, also beans and potatoes,” he stated. Further explaining that some whites had employed local Native Americans and taught them important work skills, Young concluded that such efforts “cannot but produce the happiest results, in effecting a salutary change, not only in their temporal, but moral condition.”<sup>67</sup>

Many Mormon settlers in Utah held a belief common with other Euro-Americans that Indians lived a life of “indolence” and immorality because they differed culturally from the whites. This view created misunderstanding and discord despite both groups wanting peace and harmony. Anson Call, however, had an uncanny understanding of the local Indians and the ability to solve Indian-white difficulties before issues erupted into open hostility. Call along with Chief Kanosh generally established an atmosphere of trust and understanding between Mormon settlers and the Pahvant Ute Indians.

One Millard County incident that could have erupted dangerously except for the intervention of Anson Call occurred in the fall of 1852 when a misunderstanding occurred over an agreement between a Pahvant Ute leader (probably Moshokuop) and Bishop Noah W. Bartholomew of Fillmore. Bartholomew had agreed to reward the chief with clothing and ammunition if a horse stolen by some of the Pahvants was returned. The chief recovered the horse, but Bartholomew refused to deliver the goods because the thief was not brought to justice. Anson Call agreed with the Indian that the thief had not been part of the bargain but nevertheless requested that the culprit be brought in.

Four days later, the chief returned to Fillmore with the alleged thief and demanded his pay. When Call inquired if he was going to punish the Indian, the chief replied, "I will if you pay me for it." Call then asked if the Native American leader wished the whites to punish the thief, to which the abrupt answer was, "No, you punish your own and I will punish mine." The chief then stated that he had agreed to get the man, not to punish him, and wanted remuneration if punishment were also demanded. When Call chided the chief for not punishing the man, it was rightly taken as an insult. The Indian leader reminded Call that he administered justice in his own way. Not wanting to create further hard feelings, Call dropped the matter and gave the chief his promised reward. He later learned that the chief had whipped the horsethief.<sup>68</sup>

Thereafter, there was little or no more stealing of livestock in the county from Mormon settlers; however, Indian women continued their tradition of harvesting from the land, taking what grew regardless of who planted it. Call, who understood the custom of the Pahvant Indians to gather the needs of life from the land, persuaded his fellow settlers to keep peace with their neighbors. From the standpoint of the Fillmore settlers, Call's advice was wise, for the Pahvant Indians outnumbered them.

Another serious incident occurred at the fort at the end of 1852 that might have caused the loss of life had calmer heads not prevailed. Two of Thomas King's sons had hired Watershub, a young man of the Corn Creek band, to chop wood, and when he wasn't paid a fair wage, Watershub confronted King's wife, Matilda, either to

obtain food or more pay. Frightened by Watershub's demands, she slammed the door in his face. The Indian attempted to gain access into the cabin by smashing a window. Working in the next room at his trade as a cooper, Matilda's brother, Peter Robison, rushed to disarm Watershub, and in the struggle Watershub stabbed Robison in the ribs. The commotion alerted neighbors as well as Kanosh and several other Indians who were nearby. John Eldredge joined in the fracas as did several Indians. Byron Warner was taking aim with a rifle when Kanosh intervened, shouting in Ute, "Don't shoot! Don't kill! He is only a little angry." The chief admonished everyone to find a peaceful solution to the situation and agreed to have Watershub detained until it was determined if Robison would recover.

A week later, Watershub escaped from the blacksmith shop that was used as a jail. An alarm went out, and militia captain Henry Standaage summoned his men to hunt for the escaped prisoner. They eventually located the frightened fugitive at a nearby Indian winter camp, four blocks southwest of the fort. The militiamen marched the prisoner back to the makeshift jail, where this time Watershub was chained and placed under guard.

The settlers sent a report to Brigham Young requesting his counsel on the matter. Young acted quickly, dispatching Dimick B. Huntington, one of the territory's best Indian interpreters, to mediate the situation. By the time the emissary arrived in February, however, the accused Indian had escaped again and presumably was hunting with members of his tribe fifty miles away. Huntington employed other Utes to go after the Pahvants, and in just over a week they returned with Chief Kanosh. In the ensuing conference, the chief recounted the situation with accuracy and candor. Huntington reported that the Indians clearly wished to have the matter resolved.

When it was apparent that Robison would recover from his wound, citizens concluded that it would be fair for Watershub to give the wounded man ten days' work as punishment as well as to receive twenty lashes from one of his own band. The sentence was carried out "unsparingly" before the entire crowd, and reportedly "some of the whites turned pale before the flogging was completed." It would not have been a pleasant experience for the more stoic Native Americans. Prior to leaving, Huntington gathered leaders on both

sides once again to assure that the friendship between them remained secure. He reported that Kanosh expressed a desire “to live like the whites [and] learn of the white man’s ways, live in houses, have cattle and domestic animals and fowls of all kinds.”<sup>69</sup>

In the spring of 1853 a young man known to history as O. Dudley, who wanted to establish a leather-manufacturing enterprise in Fillmore, became involved with Native Americans while fording the Sevier River. Fillmore men Samuel Brown and Daniel Thompson were at the ford at the same time and agreed to assist Dudley in getting his team and wagon across the river. While thus engaged, they noticed two Indians departing on two mares and a mule they had left hobbled on the river bank. As soon as the men reached the river bank, Brown mounted one of Dudley’s horses and gave chase, shooting one of the Indians and knocking him from his horse. Recovering the thief’s own horse, Brown returned to the spot where the wounded man had fallen but could not find him. Later, the fugitive was seen limping away through the trees. No one knew what became of him or to whose band he belonged, but some believed his wounding resulted in the later death of Sam Brown and of Sheriff Josiah Call, who was later killed by Indians in the same area.

Not long after this incident, a second horse theft occurred. This time, Colonel Henry Standage and Captain William Wall, ranking local officers in the Utah Mormon militia, the Nauvoo Legion, led a party of a dozen Fillmore men to track down and apprehend the horse thieves. The trail led to the north end of Round Valley, where the local militiamen recovered the stolen animals without bloodshed. To prevent further incidents, Standage ordered that a heavy guard be placed at the Fillmore fort.<sup>70</sup>

That fall, Anson Call wrote that “the Indians appear very friendly. At present the number encamped right in our midst, nearly or quite equals the white population.” He commented on the Indians’ reactions to the milling of flour in Noah Bartholomew’s nearly completed gristmill: “It animates them very much to see flour made in this place as well as it does ourselves.” Even with this new method, however, grinding of wheat went so slow that one man in frustration said he could do it faster himself. When asked how long it would take him, he replied, “Till I starve to death.”<sup>71</sup> The previous spring one Judge

Whipple had arrived with a “chaff piler,” or threshing machine. It was powered with belts attached to Noah Bartholomew’s gristmill. After the threshing of their grain in 1853 was completed, Fillmore residents had a surplus of some 2,000 bushels, which were later hauled to other settlements that had shortages.

Another important Indian figure in Millard County history was Wakara. Born in Utah Valley near the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon in about 1815, Wakara was a stately man, standing about six feet tall with sharp features and a slight hook to his nose. Wilford Woodruff, however, described him as “an ugly cunning chief.”<sup>72</sup> The Ute word Wah-ker meant “yellow” or “brass,” and Mormon settlers called him Chief Walker.

As a young man, the imposing Wakara assumed leadership of the Spanish Fork Ute band following the death of his father, who was shot by several disgruntled fellow Utes. By the time the Mormons arrived in the Great Basin, Wakara had gathered a following of fearless young Ute Indians and had developed a lucrative horse-trading and stealing operation that stretched into Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, and southern California. Wakara was also involved in trading Indian slaves for horses in New Mexico and California.

The settlement of the region by Mormon pioneers significantly disrupted Wakara’s lucrative horse and slave trade practice and was one of the issues which led to the Walker War of 1853–54. Wakara at first welcomed the Mormons to the territory, seeing them as an important new resource and as potential allies, and was sufficiently friendly to accept baptism into the Mormon church. However, laws and policies established by Brigham Young (as territorial governor, superintendent of Indian affairs, and church leader) and the territorial legislature clamped down on the Indian slave trade, making it illegal, although legalizing indentured servitude of Indian prisoners, women, and children.

Locally, Anson Call scolded those Indians who continued to take other Indian children as slaves. Instead of trading captured Indian children to Mexican traders, he encouraged them to sell the children to the people of the valley. The settlers were encouraged to treat the Indian children as indentured servants, clothing them, feeding them, and providing them with an education.

In early March 1852 a party of Wakara's followers camped for ten days near the fort at Fillmore to wait for their leader. Call bought from them a captured Paiute boy of about three or four years old whom he called Dan. Wakara's men finally left without incident after concluding Wakara had taken another route. Call had detected some tension between them and members of the Corn Creek Ute band camped nearby. Although the Mormon settlers had no immediate problems with Wakara's band, this was to change in the future.

At about the same time Call bought the child named Dan, he purchased from the Pahvant Indians a two-year-old Paiute girl he named Ruth. When he went to Salt Lake City in November as a member of the territorial legislature, he took both children with him and left them in the care of his wife Mary, who was much pleased with the present.

The Pahvant band remained generally friendly, and the settlers of the county responded, assisting them in a variety of ways. However, in January 1853 a group of Indians stole some powder from Samuel P. Hoyt. Hearing of the incident, Brigham Young cautioned the people of Fillmore to be wary of their Indian neighbors and not to endanger their lives or property.

About the same time, Kanosh gave his own eight-year-old son to Call with the agreement that Call would care for and educate the boy for three years and then return him to Kanosh. "I washed and clothed him and he commenced school," Call later recalled. "His mother came and the boy wept and wanted to go with her and she prevailed with the chief and accordingly took him."<sup>73</sup>

Tensions continued over Indian slave trade and white colonization of some of the choicest land used by Wakara's band and other Indians of the territory. The so-called Walker War between central Utah Mormon settlers and the Ute Indians mainly led by Wakara began in July 1853 near Springville, Utah County. After a Mormon intervened to stop an Indian from beating his wife supposedly for making a poor trade, Wakara's men apparently retaliated by killing a guard at the Payson fort. Amidst efforts to pacify the aggrieved Indians, settlers of Utah were alerted to organize themselves under martial law. During the excitement of imminent war, Wakara may have made the statement attributed to him by the *Deseret News* that



there should be no peace until the whites were exterminated. This threat put fear into the settlers in Utah, Juab, and Sanpete counties particularly. However, at about the same time, Wakara also reportedly sent a “polite message” to George A. Smith, the Mormon militia commander for southern Utah, chiding church members for assuming he intended to drive them from the region when he and his warriors aimed to “confine [their] depredations to [Mormon] cattle.” The Ute chief encouraged the settlers to return to tend their crops so they would not be forced by starvation to abandon their farms which Wakara and the other Indians clearly did not want. The chief was probably as inconsistent in his statements and policies as were his presumed enemies during this time of crisis.<sup>74</sup>

The fears soon turned into reality. At Fillmore the citizens hastily enlarged their partially completed fort to include a portion of Chalk Creek with Bishop Bartholomew’s gristmill.<sup>75</sup> The fort had a west gate large enough for wagons to pass through and a smaller gate on the east for foot and horse traffic. Guards stood watch at both gates day and night. When farmers went to the fields in large groups, guards were posted nearby. As a further precaution, based on orders of Mormon church leaders, most of the livestock was trailed to Salt Lake County where there were safer pastures along the Jordan River.

The Pahvant Indians of the valley not only remained friendly but also helped with the fall harvest—under the watchful eyes of the settlers. There was no evidence that Kanosh’s band had any sympathy with Wakara’s hostility. The Indian crisis forced a halt to the construction of the State House, and construction workers pulled down their shanties and moved into the fort for better protection, as did most other families that were residing outside the compound. The real challenge for Fillmore was to protect the remaining milch cows during the day. At night, after milking, the cows were kept under a sentry at the public corral.

On the night of 13 September 1853, William Hawthorn Hatton volunteered to take a turn as watchman at the corral. Hatton, a non-Mormon, along with his Mormon wife, Adelia Almira Wilcox Hatton, and their three children had stopped in Fillmore on their way to California to visit Catherine Narrowmore Wilcox Webb, Adelia’s mother. While on guard duty Hatton was killed. Some historians have

presumed that a sympathizer of Wakara's shot Hatton and have claimed that he was the county's first casualty of the Walker War. However, LDS church historian Andrew Jensen offered a second explanation that had nothing to do with the Indian troubles. Jensen maintained that "there was some whispering to the effect that he [Hatton] had been killed by white men and that a woman was the cause of the trouble."<sup>76</sup>

Another incident occurred that heightened tensions between the Pahvant Indians and the Mormons in the county during the Walker War. In early October 1853 a wagon train of emigrants led by Thomas Hildreth passed through the county, using the increasingly popular southern route to California. At Fillmore Hildreth's company claimed Indians had shot at them. Anson Call assured the company leaders that local Indians were friendly and that the firing must have been by a passing member of Wakara's band. Hildreth replied that "he knew no difference in Indians and the one that came into his camp . . . should die." Call explained that the Pahvant Indians regularly went into the emigrant camps for the purpose of begging and trading and that since the emigrants would be camped that evening near where many Indians resided they were sure to be visited.

As the men conversed, Kanosh rode into camp. One of the emigrants grabbed a rifle and threatened Kanosh. Call quickly knocked the gun from the man's hand, saying, "You infernal fool! If you kill that Indian, you and your entire company will be massacred." He told them that Kanosh was the most respected Indian in the territory. Later, Call wrote that he prevailed on Hildreth to leave the Indians alone and that he also warned Kanosh to keep his people away from the wagon train.<sup>77</sup>

The emigrant company continued south and camped at Meadow Creek, where some Pahvant Utes, including Moshokuope, a Pahvant war chief, and Toniff, his father, visited the camp to trade buckskins for tobacco or other items. Fearful of the bows and arrows being carried by their visitors, members of the company tried to disarm them. Some pushing and shoving occurred, and one of the Pahvants jabbed an arrow into the breast of one of the emigrants. Enraged, the emigrants opened fire on the Indians. Toniff was shot and died the next day. Two other Indians were wounded in the altercation.

Before daybreak the next morning the Indians visited Anson Call to report the incident and requested that Call visit the emigrant company and retrieve a horse and weapons that they left behind. Call agreed, and with several others he went to the emigrants' camp. The travelers related their version of the incident and agreed to return the Indian property. But, fearing further encounters with the Indians, they asked Call for Mormon guards to accompany them. Call refused.

Later in the day, Call visited the Indians at their camp to return the horse and other property. An Indian named Parashot made an impassioned speech and indicated that the Great Spirit would be pleased to have the emigrants killed. Call replied that he thought the Great Spirit would be better pleased if the emigrants were allowed to pass safely out of the territory. Moshoque, one of Toniff's three sons, rose to his feet and with tears on his cheeks replied: "They have killed my father and I will fight them." For the next several weeks, Moshoque and a small war party pursued the emigrants, killing and running off sheep and cattle. At Cedar City the small company was joined by some dissident Scottish Mormon converts, who were "escaping" from the Cedar City settlement, making the emigrant party too strong for a retaliatory attack.<sup>78</sup>

More serious to the disruption of harmony between the settlers at Fillmore and the Pahvant Indians of the valley was the killing of U.S. Army Captain John W. Gunnison and seven others a few miles southwest of present-day Delta on the banks of the Sevier River. In 1853 the federal government was planning to link the country with a transcontinental railroad. The Army Corps of Topographical Engineers surveyed four of the proposed routes to help determine the best route. The survey along the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels was assigned to Captain Gunnison, who had some familiarity with the Great Basin, having been a member of Captain Howard Stansbury's earlier expedition to survey the Great Salt Lake and its vicinity in 1849–50.

Gunnison's arrival in the county was not fortuitous, coming within a few weeks after the death of Toniff. Knowing of Indian trouble in the territory, Gunnison visited with Anson Call to assess the Indian situation both in the county and farther to the west. In spite of the known Indian unrest in the area, Gunnison remained confident

of his relationship with the Indians and Mormon settlers. Without concern he continued his survey.

With this information, Gunnison divided his expedition, one group under Lt. Edward G. Beckwith being assigned to survey areas north and east of the county, and the other, which he directed, to survey the county west toward the mouth of the Sevier River. On 23 October, Gunnison, along with Mormon guide William Potter, German botanist Frederick Kreutzfeldt, artist Richard Kern, and other civilian employees and army mounted riflemen, sought shelter from the cold wind and intermittent snow at a horseshoe bend of the Sevier River. The camp was partially sheltered by the river's high banks. Wind had cleared nearby ground of snow, leaving feed for the pack animals.

Members of the company spent the late afternoon hunting waterfowl to replenish their pantry. Also in the area, however, unseen by Gunnison was an Indian hunting party. The gunfire alerted the Indians to the presence of Gunnison and his expedition. Just after sunrise, as the camp was preparing breakfast, Pants, a son of Toniff, and other Pahvant Indians opened fire from their areas of concealment near Gunnison's camp. The cook fell first. Before the others could return fire, six others plus Gunnison lay dead. The surprise attack occurred quickly and effectively.<sup>79</sup>

Amazingly, several members of the survey party survived. Two escaped by horseback; a third was thrown from his mount and had the presence of mind to hide until the attack was over; and a fourth member of the company escaped by swimming across the Sevier River to the opposite bank, where he hid in the willows until the raiding party left the scene. From there he made his way upriver to the camp of Lt. Beckwith and Captain R.N. Morris, the commander of the military detachment of about thirty men accompanying the surveying party and providing it protection.

When the several survivors informed Captain Morris of the massacre, he immediately organized a relief party of twenty-two riflemen along with Dr. Jacob H. Schiel and hurried to the massacre site hoping to find other survivors. They found none. At the same time, Mormon apostles Franklin D. Richards and Erastus Snow, who were in the area on their way to the southern colonies, were informed of

the massacre. Richards and Snow sent word to Brigham Young of the incident and asked for advice on what course of action should be taken.

Governor and Indian Superintendent Brigham Young sent a small expedition headed by Dimick B. Huntington to Fillmore to investigate the incident and also sent word of the massacre to officials in Washington, D.C. Huntington and his men, aided by Anson Call and Kanosh, went to retrieve or bury the dead. At the massacre site, they were confronted by Moshoquope and other miscreant Indians. Kanosh demanded to know why they had attacked the survey party. Moshoquope explained that he was upset from the loss of his father at the hands of white men earlier and therefore felt justified in killing the surveyors.<sup>80</sup> Call and the others identified the mutilated remains of Captain Gunnison and of William Potter, and carried to Fillmore; the other bodies were buried at the massacre site. Gunnison was buried in Fillmore and Potter was buried in Manti.

Before leaving the county, Lt. Edward G. Beckwith, Gunnison's assistant, fearing a larger uprising of the Pahvants, urged Anson Call to evacuate the settlement and offered to escort the people of Fillmore to a safer location. Call thanked him for his consideration but did not accept the offer.

The investigation of the massacre continued. In November, Almon W. Babbitt, on assignment to find a place to locate the territorial prison, stopped in Fillmore, where he met Kanosh and several other Pahvant Indians. "We had quite a lengthy talk," the Mormon politician recalled, and "some of the number that massacred Captain Gunnison and company were present." When Babbitt asked Kanosh why he did not prevent the act, the chief recounted the incident with the California emigrants and their killing of one of his people and the wounding of three others. Kanosh explained forthrightly that the chief they killed had three sons, "all great braves, and they excited other braves." He felt powerless to stop them.<sup>81</sup>

During their council, Babbitt asked if Kanosh and his people might be willing to sell their land to the "great white council" in Washington. Kanosh replied that he would be willing to exchange some of his land for much-needed blankets and farming equipment, but he specifically stated that he wanted to "retain the land on Corn

Creek for their own use.” Kanosh expressed concern that he and his people were not being treated fairly. Why, he asked Babbitt, were Indian bands in the eastern part of the territory “receiving presents for the right of traveling through their hunting grounds, and for cutting timber and killing game?” Why did white men have one policy for those Indians and a different one for the Pahvants? Babbitt had no good reply, although he certainly understood the making of payments and gifts was the practice elsewhere in the West. The future delegate to Congress promised Kanosh that he would look into the matter, and, upon returning to Salt Lake City, he did recommend in a letter to the *Deseret News* that the United States government pay the Indians for the lands the white settlers had taken.<sup>82</sup>

In March of 1854 Elders Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow went to Fillmore to release Anson Call as president of the settlement. Call was anxious to return to his farm and family near Bountiful. Thereafter, he remained interested in Fillmore and was called from time to time to assist the settlement. In his place, the church apostles appointed John A. Ray as Presiding Elder of Millard. Ray kept Thomas Rice King and Peter Robison as counselors.<sup>83</sup>

In May 1854 Brigham Young, as superintendent of Indian affairs of the territory, arranged for a peace council with Wakara at Chicken Creek in Juab County. Invited from Millard County were Kanosh, Anson Call, and other Mormon settlers. Call later wrote of the council: “We smoked the pipe of peace and went through all the Indian ceremonies in making treaties [and] we ate and drank together and partied.”<sup>84</sup> Also present was the Jewish explorer and painter Solomon Carvalho, who sketched Wakara.

At the peace talks, Wakara denied any implication in the Gunnison massacre. He claimed that he was 300 miles away at the time. The primary cause for the uprising of Wakara and others, as several at the peace council noted, was a general practice among many passing emigrants to wantonly kill Indians “like so many wild beasts.” Without further discussion of other events or grievances, Wakara promised to “no fight Mormons or Mericats [Americans] more, if Indian kill white man again, Wakara make Indian howl.” After smoking another peace pipe, the conference ended.<sup>84</sup>

Following the council Wakara, Young, and the others traveled to

Corn Creek, where President Young proudly showed him the land that had been cultivated for his and Kanosh's use. The Indian chief was not impressed. Horses, slaves, and other items were things "the great Towats-God allowed all men to enjoy, but never to possess."<sup>86</sup> But the claiming and division of land was not understood by Wakara and other Indians; to them it was land the Mormons had neither the right to take or to give.

Over a year later, with peace between the settlers and Wakara being maintained, Wakara became seriously ill while camped in the Parowan area. As his health continued to deteriorate, he longed for his Utah Valley homeland. Accompanied by twenty-five warriors, twenty-three women in addition to his wives, their horses, and some cattle, sheep, and dogs, Wakara began a difficult trek north. By the time his group reached Meadow Creek, his condition worsened. Upon learning of his arrival in the valley, Kanosh, several men from Fillmore, and David Lewis, an emissary from Brigham Young who earlier had learned of Wakara's failing health, paid their respects at his lodge. Lewis later described the event, saying that the chief was glad to receive a representative of the church leader and had "asked if Brigham talked good." Lewis replied, "Brother Brigham talked very good," and showed him a letter and some gifts Young had sent Wakara. Lewis and the others were asked to visit him again the following day, 30 December 1854. However, before daylight, a messenger from the Pahvants brought word to Fillmore that Wakara had died.

In keeping with Ute custom and Wakara's stature as an important chief, two of his wives, and several horses were killed and buried with Wakara, whose body was dressed in a broadcloth suit high in a burial chamber in a talus slope overlooking the Pahvant Valley below. Clutched in his hand was the last letter the chief had received from Brigham Young. In addition to the other bodies, food, rifles, bows and arrows, ornaments, and presents given him by Brigham Young and two Piute children were placed in the burial chamber to accompany the chief's spirit.<sup>87</sup>

Neither the treaty with Wakara at Chicken Creek nor his death completely established peaceful coexistence between whites and Native Americans. Stealing of food continued, as the plight of many Indians in the territory worsened. Furthermore, the unresolved

killings of Captain Gunnison and his men lingered. In May 1854 Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe and a contingent of soldiers and teamsters, accompanied by a large group of civilians, was ordered to Utah to investigate the massacre and to survey a wagon road across the Great Basin.

Once in Utah, Steptoe sent two subordinates, a Major Reynolds and Lieutenant Allston, to Fillmore with two dozen soldiers to bring the accused Pahvant Indians to Salt Lake City to face charges. Kanosh surrendered six members of his tribe. One was a wife of another of the six, one was old and blind, one was retarded, and yet another was sick; and it is likely that none of the six had participated in the massacre. Kanosh claimed that was the best he could do without a fight within his own ranks. One observer wrote, "The soldiers took charge of the prisoners right in the midst of fifty or more half-hostile Braves all blacked and painted, armed and being continually harangued by Sub Chiefs."<sup>88</sup>

Major Reynolds escorted the prisoners to Nephi, where they were to stand trial before an all-Mormon jury. Before the trial began, the chief justice of the territorial supreme court released three of the prisoners. The trial lasted less than a week, and the jury found the three remaining Indians guilty of manslaughter. In the jury's opinion, they killed without malice. The three Indians were ordered incarcerated in the territorial prison.<sup>89</sup>

Despite tragic incidents of the Gunnison massacre, the relationship between the Pahvant Indians and Mormon settlers was amazingly harmonious. A significant figure in this harmonious relationship was Chief Kanosh, who has not been properly recognized in many histories for the significant influence he exerted. Many other areas of the territory and of the West in general had initial settlement thwarted or retarded by threatened Indian hostilities. This was never the case in Millard County.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Jefferson Hunt and several other members of the expedition were former members of the Mormon Battalion. Isaiah Huntsman, Ezra Huntsman, Edwin Walker, Jonathan Pugmire, Loren G. Kenney, John



Shelton, and Levi McCullough were members of the Mormon Battalion who eventually settled in Millard County.

2. Rick J. Fish, "The Southern Utah Expedition of Parley P. Pratt (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1992), 46–51.

3. Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Journals of Forty-Niners: Salt Lake to Los Angeles* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954), 64.

4. *Ibid.*, 65.

5. *Ibid.*, 72.

6. *Ibid.*, 64.

7. Young's journal says they "arrived in Little Salt Lake Valley" on the 16th, but this is in error. The Pratt and Rich diaries indicate that they camped then at the site of present Cove Fort. *Ibid.*, 64–65.

8. Pratt, *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Chicago: Law, King & Law, 1888), 339–40; and Brigham Young, "Report of the Southern Utah Exploring Company," 21 January 1850, *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, hereafter cited as *Journal History*.

9. Parley P. Pratt, *Journal*, 22 January 1850, as reported in the *Journal History*.

10. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 340.

11. John Brown, *Reminiscences and Journals, 1843–1896*, Vol. 1, May 1843–May 1860, LDS Church Archives.

12. Robert Lang Campbell, *Diary*, July 1849–March 1850, LDS Church Archives, 23 January 1850.

13. Lee Reay, *Lambs in the Meadow* (Provo, Utah: Meadow Lane Publications, 1970), 46–47.

14. George A. Smith to His Excellency, Brigham Young, Iron County, 17 January 1851, in *Journal History*.

15. Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992), 159.

16. Anson Call, "Autobiography and Journal," 41, LDS Church Archives.

17. Smith to Brigham Young, 17 January 1851.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal 1833–1898*, (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 4:26–27.

20. Anson Call, "Journal Excerpts from the Diary of Anson Call," LDS Church Archives.

21. Call, "Autobiography and Journal," 41–43.

22. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and*

*Special Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Great Salt Lake City: Territory of Utah, 1852), 161–62, 206–7. See James B. Allen, “The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 261–78.

23. Everett L. Cooley, “Report of an Expedition to Locate Utah’s First Capitol,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 330.

24. Cited in B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Later-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 4:11; Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 159–256.

25. *Deseret News*, 10 January 1852.

26. Call, “Autobiography and Journal,” 41.

27. Orson Pratt, Albert Carrington, Jesse W. Fox, William C. Staines, Report to His Excellency, Brigham Young, Governor of Utah Territory, November 27th, 1851, hereafter cited as Report to Brigham Young. See also Cooley, “Report of an Expedition,” 330, 333.

28. “Report to Brigham Young,” in Cooley, “Report of an Expedition,” 333–35.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Journal History*, 28 October 1851, 2.

31. *Ibid.*, 1.

32. Brigham Young never built on the lots, later known as the Thompkinson lots. Volney King, “Millard County, 1851–1875: An Original Journal, Part Three,” *Utah Humanities Review* 1, No. 3 (July 1947): 20.

33. Volney King, “Twenty-five years in Millard County,” Volney King Collection, box 2, fd. 3, 21, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Stella Day and Sebrina Ekins, comp., *100 Years of History of Millard County* (Fillmore, Utah: Art City Publishing Co., 1951), 5. Most Millard County residents know this book by its cover title: *Milestones of Millard*. Hereafter in endnotes the cover titles, *Milestones of Millard*, will be used.

34. See Andrew Jenson, Fillmore Ward History, LDS Church Archives. Since most of the early church records of Fillmore have been lost, there is little information on the auxiliaries and priesthood quorums.

35. King, “Twenty-five Years in Millard County,” 21.

36. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 3.

37. *Journal History*, 13 November 1851. Smith’s letter to the editor was published in the *Deseret Evening News*, 13 December 1851.

38. Call, “Autobiography and Journal,” 41–42.

39. Anson Call to Brigham Young, 24 November 1851, as printed in the *Deseret News*, 24 January 1852.

40. Samuel P. Hoyt to George A. Smith, Journal History, 25 November 1851; and Samuel P. Hoyt to Brigham Young, 25 November 1851, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

41. King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 9; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 55.

42. This report of Anson Call was printed in the *Deseret News*, 21 February and 7 March 1852.

43. King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 14–15.

44. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 6–7.

45. King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 10.

46. *Ibid.*, 11.

47. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 55–56.

48. *Deseret News*, 21 February 1852.

49. Kate B. Carter, compiler, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1966), 9:150.

50. Truman O. Angell, Journal, 2–6, LDS Church Archives. Angell was one of Utah's most noted architects. Among his more famous buildings are the Beehive House and Lion House. He also worked on the Salt Lake Temple and other buildings on the temple block.

51. William Felshaw to Truman O. Angell, 26 June 1852, William Felshaw papers, LDS Church Archives, quoted in Richard W. Payne, *The Legacy of the Lone South Wing* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970), 27.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Quoted in *ibid.*, 11, hereafter cited as Executive Document No. 25.

54. Brigham Young to Thomas Kane, 19 May 1852, Journal History.

55. *Ibid.* The Beaver River originates in the Tushar Mountains east of the town of Beaver in Beaver County. The town, river, and county received their names from the abundance of beaver found in the stream. Several decades earlier, fur trappers and explorers called Beaver River the Lost River.

56. *Ibid.*

57. In 1849 Ward had prepared a report of Death Valley that thereafter misled several parties, causing them much difficulty.

58. Gold and silver were discovered in Piute County towards the end of the nineteenth century, and before World War I uranium was also mined in the county.

59. Anson Call, "Autobiography and Journal, 43–44.
60. King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 17.
61. *Deseret News*, 11 December 1852.
62. Journal History, 17 November 1852. See also King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 22.
63. *Deseret News*, 11 December 1852.
64. William Felshaw to Daniel H. Wells, 30 December 1852, Felshaw Papers, LDS Church Archives.
65. William M. Wall to the editor of the *Deseret News*, 28 May 1853; Journal History, 30 May 1852.
66. *Journal History*, 30 May 1852.
67. Call, "Autobiography and Journal," 45–46.
68. Ibid.
69. D. B. Huntington to *Deseret Evening News* 19 February 1853; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 7–8.
70. King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 22–25.
71. *Deseret Evening News*, 30 April 1853; Millard Stake History, 1853, LDS Church Archives, King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 16, 22.
72. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 25 April 1851, LDS Church Archives.
73. Among the accounts of this incident is Madoline Cloward Dixon, *These were the Utes: their lifestyles, wars and legends* (Provo: Press Publishers Limited, 1983), 97–101.
74. Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale: A Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822–1903* (G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1912), 142.
75. The deep waters at the foot of the millrace in later years served as both a swimming hole for the youngsters of the town and as a place of baptism.
76. King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 25–26, 32–36; Andrew Jenson, Historical Records and Minutes, Fillmore Ward, Millard Stake, LDS Church Archives.
77. Journal History, 26 October 1853. See also *Millard County Progress*, 20 June 1930.
78. Ibid.; Alexander Kier, Jr., Reminiscences, n.d., typescript, George William Beattie Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, copy in possession of author; Waldemar Westergaard, ed., "Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint," *Annual Publications Historical Society of Southern California* (1923): 105–7.
79. The specifics of the attack was recorded a year later by Solomon

Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (Reprint; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), 264–65.

80. According to a report Governor Brigham Young submitted to government officials in Washington, “the massacre was the direct result of the conduct of a party of emigrants from the states on their way to California, who killed a Pahvan[t] Indian and wounded two others at Corn Creek [*sic*], a short time previous; hence according to the Indian rule of revenge, the massacre of the next white men found on their grounds.” *Journal History*, 26 October 1853.

81. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel*, 253, 264.

82. *Journal History*, 26 October 1853.

83. *Journal History*, 20 March 1854.

84. Anson Call, *Journal*, quoted in Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:35–36; Flora Diana Bean Horn, comp., *Autobiography of George Washington Bean and His Family Record* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing, 1945), 94.

85. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel*, 259.

86. Paul Bailey, *Walkara, Hawk of the Mountains* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1954), 159–60.

87. *Journal History*, 29 January 1855. While there is speculation that Walkara either suffered from syphilis or was poisoned, he probably was succumbing to pneumonia. See Bailey, *Walkara*, 171–72.

88. George Bean (1886), quoted in Robert Kent Fielding, *The Unsolicited Chronicler: An Account of the Gunnison Massacre, Its Causes and Consequences, Utah Territory, 1847–1859: A Narrative History* (Brookline, MA: Paradigm Publications, 1993), 256.

89. For details of Col. Edward Steptoe’s activities in the territory as well as the court trial of the Pahvant Indians see David H. Miller, “The Impact of the Gunnison Massacre on Mormon-Federal Relations: Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe’s Command in Utah Territory, 1854–1855” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1968); and Fielding, *The Unsolicited Chronicler*.

## CHAPTER 3

# EXPANSION OF THE COUNTY

According to an unofficial Mormon church census, the population of Millard County topped 300 people in 1852 and continued to climb. That year, Levi McCullough was appointed postmaster at Fillmore. Later, John Bushnell operated the post office from his small store. His wife, Elizabeth, provided meals for the mail carriers and kept the books for the post office. For some time Leonard I. Smith carried the monthly mail on horseback between Salt Lake City and Fillmore. In the winter of 1860–61 J.M. Bolwinkle and Isaac Brockbank replaced Smith, and for the following four years they had the mail contract. Bushnell's store remained as the post office.<sup>1</sup> William R. King as a teenager also held the mail contract, carrying mail weekly between Fillmore and St. George.

Meanwhile, Fillmore needed a larger meeting hall. The community went to work to erect an adobe building with a large room on the ground floor and two council rooms on the second floor. Peter Robison directed the making of the adobe brick. The timbers were held together with wooden pegs due to a shortage of nails. A stove in the center of the room heated the building. Commonly called the

“Adobe Church,” all the Sunday School classes were held there at the same time in different sections of the large main-floor room, with all the “teachers talking at the same time to different classes, which resulted in an incoherent uproar,” according to one account.<sup>2</sup>

Fillmore residents experienced a severe outbreak of measles during the winter of 1854–55. Fortunately, Ann Green Dutson Carling, wife of John Carling, had been set apart as a midwife by Mormon prophet Joseph Smith in Nauvoo and made good use of her knowledge of herbs and other natural medicines during the outbreak. “Grandma Carling,” as she was affectionately called, served east Millard County until 1893 when, at the age of ninety, she broke a hip, which contributed to her death later that summer.

John Carling was engaged in various activities, including work as a carpenter, cabinet maker, mason, tinier, shoemaker, blacksmith cooper, florist, seed producer, horticulturist, choir director, and music teacher. In 1854 he was elected to the territorial legislature, but died of pneumonia in April 1855.

Brigham Young in the summer of 1855 sent a small exploratory expedition under the command of David Evans into western Millard County. Two Pahvant Indians served as guides. Southwest of Antelope Springs and not far from White Mountain the expedition encountered a small band of Indians who made Snake Valley on the western end of the county their home.

Traveling farther west, the expedition camped at a spring the Indians called “Peup,” or Big Mountain. Here they met an Indian who spoke a different language than the Pahvants. He explained that his people had become frightened of the expedition and ran into the mountains to hide. Convinced of the peaceful nature of the whites, the lone Indian persuaded the others to meet the expedition, whose members then provided them with gifts of shirts. David Evans asked if they would be willing to have some Mormons live among them and teach them to plant and grow grain. The small band agreed, and eventually a temporary farming mission was established. A permanent colonizing effort was never made there, however.<sup>3</sup>

For the next dozen years the theft of livestock, often for food, by Indians presented problems for the settlers of the county. In the summer of 1857, for instance, a few head of horses were stolen from

Chauncey Webb's farm west of Utah Lake. Webb tracked the thieves south into Millard County, where he sought assistance from Fillmore residents John Rice King, Reuben A. McBride, and Moshokuope, who agreed to help him retrieve his missing horses. The thieves were found in Snake Valley, where they challenged Webb and the others. Outnumbered and fearing for their lives, Moshokuope stepped forward to prevent the loss of life and arranged for Webb to retrieve his stolen livestock.

Josiah Call and Samuel Brown were not as fortunate. While searching for an easier trail to move their cattle down stream through Leamington Canyon, the two herders were attacked and killed by Indians. Call and Brown had recently purchased warm military overcoats and other clothing from soldiers at the U.S. Army's Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley and may have been mistaken for soldiers when they were killed. Later, Jeremiah Hatch close to the Sanpete Utes reported the head perpetrator to be Tamock, a Uintah Ute and said to be a "bad Indian."<sup>4</sup>

Grasshoppers plagued the community in the spring of 1855 and again the following year. The summer of 1855 turned hot and dry, signaling the first of two consecutive years of drought and near famine in Utah and the Pahvant Valley. Chalk Creek by June was little more than a trickle, carrying only enough water to irrigate a few rows of potatoes. Farmers in the county saw their wheat and hay shrivel in the fields; their corn and potatoes fared little better.

Faced with these agricultural disasters and heavy territorial expenses, Brigham Young revived the Mormons' original Law of Consecration, outlined by Joseph Smith in 1831. Eighty-two heads of households, or about 70 percent of the families in Millard County, participated in the plan, exceeding the participation in the rest of the territory, which was less than 50 percent. Historian Leonard J. Arrington concluded that this little-known attempt at consecration "never culminated in the assumption of control by the church over any of the properties consecrated nor in the assignment of any inheritances."<sup>5</sup>

Two serious concerns faced Brigham Young, however, which caused the abandonment of the plan three years later. First, Congress had not yet enacted laws permitting the ownership of land in the ter-



ritory, so complications would inevitably arise. Also, the threat of armed conflict with approaching federal troops known as Johnston's Army, under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, occupied the attention of the settlers in the territory.

Still the townspeople had reason to celebrate on 24 July, the anniversary of Mormon arrival in the territory. The roof on the south wing of the State House was finished, the window sashes had been made and were ready to install, and workmen were preparing to lay the floor in the upper chamber. A month later, Utah delegate to the United States Congress John M. Bernhisel, accompanied by Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells of the Nauvoo Legion, arrived in Fillmore to inspect the building. Bernhisel anticipated the south wing of the State House would be sufficiently ready for the legislature to meet later in December. Finishing touches were completed on the building in October.

With the anticipation of some of the territorial officials moving to Fillmore, other buildings also were being constructed. In September, one of the residents boasted of making 35,000 bricks and said that he intended to manufacture 100,000 more during the fall.<sup>6</sup>

In early December 1855 the fifth session of the Utah Territorial Legislature convened in the south wing of the State House in Fillmore. Governor Brigham Young delivered his annual message to those gathered in which he raised doubts as to whether the other wings of the building would ever be completed. The governor informed his listeners that thus far the building had exceeded by \$12,000 the \$20,000 allocated by the federal government and that the completion of the edifice would have "to wait the uncertain period of further appropriations." After the legislators adjourned that afternoon, Brigham Young and several other Mormon church leaders held a prayer circle in the large room on the upper floor of the State House. Parley P. Pratt offered the opening prayer and Heber C. Kimball "dedicated and consecrated [the building] unto the Lord."<sup>7</sup>

For forty-two days the legislators met to frame laws and pass resolutions for the territory, including a resolution to complete the penitentiary, appropriations of money for education, a provision for a convention to apply for admission of the territory as a state to the Union, and the creation of three new counties—Shambip,

Greasewood, and Humboldt—none of which eventually retained their names or became a part of the future state of Utah. A number of measures passed that greatly benefited the Mormon church and its leaders.<sup>8</sup> To celebrate Christmas during the legislative session, dances were held in the Representative's Hall on Christmas Day and on New Year's Day. Otherwise, the legislative assembly worked through the holiday season.<sup>9</sup>

The legislators adjourned on 18 January 1856, leaving Fillmore in deep snow and bitter cold. Some were impressed with the progress of settlement and development of Fillmore. One legislator penned a newspaper report which lauded the accomplishments of the fledgling settlement.

[I]t never entered into our thoughts that a city so young would boast of so many splendid halls and mansions as seem to have been built there in the short space of four years. The capitol has, this winter, the appearance of a lively business place . . . its population has significantly increased. . . . Merchants, grocers, barbers and other shavers, have gone there to pick up the few dimes that may be paid out by the government agents.<sup>10</sup>

Brigham Young made periodic trips to the southern settlements. In September 1856 he visited Fillmore and spoke to church members in the shade of the town's bowery. This was no ordinary speech, however, but one of chastisement. He told those assembled that he "would no longer dwell among a people filled with contention, covetousness, pride, and iniquity" and warned them to abandon their unrighteousness or they would be "forever separated from the righteous." When he asked for a standing vote of those who would henceforth obey all the gospel principles, everyone present responded in the affirmative. A majority of the residents of Fillmore submitted themselves to rebaptism into the Mormon church under the willing hands of Bishop Lewis B. Brunson and his counselors, Daniel Thompson and Samuel P. Hoyt.<sup>11</sup> This marked the local beginning of a "spiritual reformation" that was spreading throughout the territory, calling Latter-day Saints to renewed dedication and greater faithfulness.

Volney King described the reformation as "a renewal . . . of reli-

gious disposition by baptism. Fillmore caught the flame and during the year . . . the ward was pretty much all rebaptized, confessing their sins and privately, individually to the Bishop and Councilors.”<sup>12</sup> For at least five families of the county, the zealous demands for greater dedication to the Mormon church were clearly too much and in March they abandoned the area for a more tolerant environment in California.

In November 1855 French scholar Jules Remy described Fillmore as having 800 inhabitants—which was probably an over-estimate of the population—“shut up within a quadrilateral wall of adobes.” He described the houses as “all alike” and having “the same poor look.” While conceding that the central location within the territory made good sense for a capital, he judged that the town “was a dirty place.” He observed that “the federal officers who ought to reside at Fillmore, live in Salt Lake and only go to the capital when the legislature [is] sitting.”<sup>13</sup>

A year later, Englishman William Chandless also commented on the town, noting that it was enclosed “by a palisade instead of a wall.” This may have reflected the fort enlargement which took place during that period. Chandless stayed at what he called “the principal inn or boarding-house,” commenting that there were only two, which was that many more than at any other southern settlement he had visited. He favorably compared the informal discussions there with what he had observed at the nation’s capital, noting that “dignitaries—ecclesiastical, legislators and judicial” all mingled together in conversation on pertinent issues.<sup>14</sup>

Another visitor who stopped in Fillmore and recorded his impressions of the area was Thaddeus Kenderdine of Pennsylvania. Many in his traveling party looked forward to a drink of liquor found in the territory that was affectionately called “Mormon lightning.” However, they were dismayed to learn that Fillmore was the only territorial capital in the nation that prohibited the sale of any intoxicating beverages within its limits. The chronicler noted that “a miserable species of beer was the strongest available article to be had for love or money.” Pumpkin pies, he said, were the “staple productions of Fillmore.” The visitors consumed both pies and beer in copious quantities before they moved on down the trail.<sup>15</sup>



Norman Stevens residence, Holden. (Utah State Historical Society)

The legislature met in Fillmore in mid-December 1856 for its sixth annual session, but met only long enough to elect officers and pass a resolution to adjourn to Salt Lake City, where the legislators reconvened later in the month. The *Deseret News* published the legislative resolution outlining the reasons for the move. The article stated that Congress had failed to appropriate sufficient money to pay for the construction of the already completed south wing of the capitol building and that the territorial legislature had already spent \$10,000 more than the amount appropriated by Congress to build the wing. Since “suitable accommodations” for the legislature were available in Salt Lake City, the legislature chose to move the seat of government from Fillmore until other public buildings could be completed. Clearly, Salt Lake City had become the social, religious, and commercial center of the territory.

The actions taken by the territorial legislature significantly altered developments in Fillmore. Historian Milton R. Hunter, a Millard native, later concluded that “Fillmore’s importance as the capitol city was . . . thus taken away, but home seekers still found it a desirable town. It grew . . . as the hub colony of Millard County.”<sup>16</sup>

The decade that saw the beginning and end of the dream of a

thriving capital city in Millard County also gave birth to several new communities in the county: a fort at Cedar Springs north of Fillmore which became the town of Holden; Meadow, south of Fillmore; Graball, which soon became Scipio; Deseret; Cove Fort; and Petersburg, northwest of the Indian settlement at Corn Creek. The latter became Hatton after most of its inhabitants moved to build the town of Kanosh at the original Indian village site.

On 15 June 1855, two Fillmore families—those of William and Matilda Stevens and of Richard Johnson, with two wives, Ursula Bevan and her six children, and Francis Hart Nixon—decided to relocate eight miles north on Pioneer Creek, where the soil was less rocky.<sup>17</sup> The Stevens and Johnson families set about planting crops the day they arrived, but the lateness of the season and the large number of grasshoppers ensured that they would have a poor harvest. At first the settlers lived in their wagon boxes and dugouts while they built a guardhouse of cottonwood logs and hauled rocks for a fort. That fall, together with seven more families, three of William Stevens's sons joined their father and stepmother at Pioneer Creek.<sup>18</sup> With William Stevens, Sr. as the presiding elder, the settlers moved four miles farther north to Cedar Springs where the grass grew thick and provided more feed for their animals. The little group held its church meetings in the Richard Johnson home. They cut and stacked the grass for feed and built a few log cabins before cold weather set in. When William Stevens was designated to serve in the territorial legislature that winter, Richard Johnson became the local presiding elder, a position he held until 1862. Charlotte Ashby and Joanna Teeples taught school in private homes.

Just north of Cedar Spring, the settlers found a bed of clay suitable for making adobe bricks for their fort. They cut logs in the canyons and hauled them to the Fillmore sawmill to make lumber. A brick mason came from Fillmore to help lay up the walls of the fort. Two rows of houses extended some 150 feet north and south, facing each other across a thirty-foot-wide street where the children were allowed to play. The backs of these houses formed two outside walls of the fort. A small stream running through the fort provided water. Each house had windows and wooden floors, all fastened with oak pegs, as there were no nails. The log guardhouse was moved from

Pioneer Creek to use as a school and church. The men made large plank gates to secure the ends of the fort; they were never hung, however, and fortunately were never needed. For a time it was called "Buttermilk Fort," because travelers who stopped there were refreshed with that locally made drink. The community's one street ran west from the fort and then jogged south to what would become Center Street before it turned again to join the road to Fillmore. A less-traveled lane went east and then south from the fort to meet the main road farther on.

Families began moving into the fort by February 1856, and only a month later residents welcomed the first baby born there, a male child named Heber, born to Francis and Richard Johnson. The next birth came in April to Catherine Holden, but neither mother nor daughter survived. The two were buried in a single grave in Fillmore. Husband Edward Elijah Holden had left only two weeks earlier to serve a mission in Great Britain. He returned in the spring of 1857 with his second wife, Eliza Hallet. Elizabeth Ellen Stevens, the town's first girl to live to adulthood, was born to Elizabeth Seeley and William Stevens, Sr. (Heber Johnson and Ellen Stevens married each other in 1877.)<sup>19</sup>

Early in September 1857 Edward Holden left for Salt Creek (Nephi) with a wagonload of wool to be carded and spun for use by the women of Holden. While at Salt Creek Holden hired young Thomas Bailey to work for him. While the two were making their way back to Holden they encountered unseasonably foul weather. Both became soaked in a cold, hard rain that turned into a raging blizzard. Forced to abandon their wagon when it became bogged down in deep snow near Chicken Creek, the two continued on foot. After crossing the Sevier River, Bailey lost his will to continue. Holden decided he would try and carry the youth the rest of the way, but soon he began to tire. Wrapping the boy in his own jacket, he left Bailey by the trail and hurried on. Reaching the south side of the Round Valley summit, Holden took shelter in a grove of gamble oaks. On 8 September rescuers found him frozen to death and also found the frozen body of Thomas Bailey. Edward Elijah Holden was buried next to his wife Catherine and their baby in an unmarked grave in the Fillmore cemetery.<sup>20</sup>

William Stevens established a store in his house to provide some of the items that were otherwise unavailable locally. The store was stocked with cloth, groceries, and other goods in demand. One of Stevens's sons, William, brought his wife, Abigail, and their son from Pleasant Grove to the settlement in August 1858. The couple played a vital part in building the community.<sup>21</sup>

For a time the small town initially received mail informally through people traveling from Fillmore. In 1858, when the residents of Cedar Springs applied for a post office, the village residents decided to change the town's name to Holden in honor of the recently deceased Edward Holden. Mail delivery became part of the co-op store's operation, and by 1863 the town was receiving mail three times a week. For a time David R. Stevens carried the mail from Holden to Oak City and other area communities.

Fillmore continued to grow. John Kelly and his family came in 1857. Among other endeavors, Kelly taught school and was a noted educator. It was written of him: "In all probability [he held] more offices at one time than any other man in the county."<sup>22</sup>

For a number of months during the winter of 1856–57 and the early spring of 1857 rumors were circulated that the U.S. government might respond to the complaints of disgruntled territorial officials and disaffected Mormons following what some believed to be a sham trial of the Pahvant Indians for the Gunnison massacre. By spring, President James Buchanan ordered U.S. Army troops to march to Utah to put down what was believed to be a possible full-scale rebellion. Buchanan also decided to replace Brigham Young as territorial governor with Alfred Cumming. News of the 2,500-man army later commanded by Col. Albert Sidney Johnston marching to Utah according to some accounts reached Brigham Young as the Mormons were celebrating the tenth anniversary of their arrival into the Great Salt Lake Valley. For the remainder of the summer and into the fall, Fillmore and the rest of the territory buzzed with excitement.

Governor Brigham Young was determined to resist what he considered unjust persecution and issued orders for the territorial militia—the Nauvoo Legion—to make itself ready for war. Millard County's Nauvoo Legion unit was placed in the Parowan District under the command of Levi H. McCullough.<sup>23</sup> In August, Young dis-

patched Col. George A. Smith to meet with militia units in the territory and remind the Latter-day Saints of grievances they had suffered at the hands of others before their exodus to the Great Basin. Smith reminded all to make preparations, keep their weapons ready, and always be on guard. He also cautioned them to avoid selling supplies or precious food reserves to outsiders.

Emigrant wagon trains continued to pass through the territory, many using the southern route, while the people of the territory were making ready for war and emotions were running high. One of the wagon trains to pass through the county in the summer of 1857 was a wagon train from Arkansas headed by Alexander Fancher. Despite many later reports, there are no firsthand accounts of any conflict between the emigrants and Millard County residents. The Fancher company later was attacked in early September at Mountain Meadows in Washington County by Indians supported by Mormons, and all of the adults and older children were treacherously killed under a flag of truce. Seventeen of the youngest children were spared in what became known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Some local stories have suggested that the massacre was in retaliation for the supposed poisoning of a spring near Corn Creek that resulted in the deaths of several Indians, some of their cattle, and fourteen-year-old Proctor Robison of Fillmore. However, there exists no known historical evidence of either the spring being poisoned or Indians dying. In fact, Kanosh emphatically denied that any of his people were involved in the episode at Mountain Meadows. Also, anyone who has noted the volume of water flowing in Corn Creek would certainly wonder how emigrants could carry sufficient poison to make drinking there fatal.

The death of Proctor Robison has been carefully studied. One researcher concluded that Robison's symptoms are consistent with anthrax, a cattle disease then common and easily transmitted to humans who came in contact with stricken animals. Robison was known to have skinned a cow found dead in the vicinity of Corn Creek, and anthrax spores are readily absorbed through the eyes or a cut. Further, according to both family and Fillmore City records, Proctor Robison died on 21 September—three weeks after the wagon train camped at Corn Creek and ten days after the Fancher party was



attacked at Mountain Meadows. Thus, his death could not have been a provocation of that attack.<sup>24</sup>

The events at Mountain Meadows left their mark on another Fillmore family. In the summer of 1857 Byron Warner and his young wife, Sybil Frink, moved temporarily from Fillmore to a small log cabin at Fort Harmony, which was quite near the area of the attack. Prior to the attack, Sybil overheard plans being made by her husband and others to “wipe out” the wagon train and blame it on the Indians. She saw fourteen men preparing for the attack as they darkened their faces, dressed themselves as Indians, and then rode west toward Mountain Meadows.

Sybil’s curiosity got the best of her and later that day she too rode to Mountain Meadows. The family story is that she actually witnessed the massacre. Extremely frightened and sensing her own danger, Sybil hurried back to Fort Harmony. When her husband returned to the cabin he found Sybil’s horse heavily lathered. He guessed what she had done and before the evening was out had extracted a confession from her and threatened to kill her if she recounted any tales of the incident. She kept her secret for nearly two decades.<sup>25</sup>

After the Mountain Meadows massacre, use of the southern California trail through the Indian land of the county by emigrants resulted in continued hostilities between some Pahvant Indians led by Parashot, described as “an old patriarch of [the] tribe,” and the wagon companies. Kanosh was engaged to accompany an emigrant company through Millard County to Iron County. Parashot threatened to attack the wagon train. Kanosh warned the smaller faction of Pahvants that if they carried out their threats and attacked the emigrant train he and his supporters would punish all the perpetrators. As a result, the attack was never carried out. The episode demonstrated the support of Kanosh for the policies of Mormon leaders.<sup>26</sup>

In the months that followed, many of the men involved in the massacre moved their families elsewhere. Byron Warner took his family back to Fillmore where Sybil gave birth to their daughter Lavina in January 1858. A month later, Byron Warner joined with other citizens of Fillmore in passing a resolution detailing the past persecutions of the Mormon people and approving the “course and policy pursued by his excellency Governor Young in endeavoring to

repel the hostile banditti [U.S. Army troops] now invading our borders.” The resolution also protested the effort to replace Brigham Young as governor by lauding his “honor and dignity” as their leader and expressed their “determination to uphold and sustain him and the legislative assembly with all our hearts, strength and means, even unto death,” if necessary.<sup>27</sup>

In the spring of 1858, as Johnston’s Army was about to invade the territory, Brigham Young ordered the evacuation to the south of residents of the Salt Lake Valley and other northern settlements. The streets of Fillmore swarmed with evacuees who had no fixed place to go to.<sup>28</sup> George Q. Cannon, editor of the *Deseret News*, set up the newspaper’s printing press and publication plant in the basement of the State House. Beginning on 5 May 1858, twenty issues of the *Deseret News* were printed in Fillmore before the newspaper was returned to Salt Lake City later in June. Apostle Orson Pratt and his family also took refuge in Fillmore. John A. Ray completed his mission to Great Britain earlier that year and returned to Fillmore, where he assumed his former responsibilities as president of the settlement until 1861.<sup>29</sup>

Brigham Young, in search of a sanctuary for the fleeing Latter-day Saints, remembered Albert Carrington’s and Barney Ward’s earlier glowing accounts of western Millard County and dispatched several expeditions into west-central and southern Utah to find a suitable place for the displaced populace. One of the expeditions, under the leadership of Indian missionary George W. Bean and Pahvant Indian guide Moshquoep, the same who had participated in the Gunnison massacre, embarked in early March 1858 to more closely examine the land of western Millard County.<sup>30</sup>

While traveling southwestward down the lower Sevier River, the expedition encountered two horses with bells tied around their necks and wagon tracks leading aimlessly out across the desert. At Dome Canyon Pass in the House Range near Antelope Springs the mysterious tracks ended at the burned remnants of a wagon. Four human skeletons lay nearby. Evidently, the travelers had been caught in a winter blizzard. Desperate for warmth, the lost travelers set fire to their wagon; however, the fire was only temporary and they soon

froze to death. The horses found earlier were undoubtedly from the party. After the discovery, the area became known as Death Canyon.<sup>31</sup>

Within a short time, the Bean expedition encountered its own ferocious winter storm. During the onslaught of bitter cold and wind their cattle and horses scattered across the desert, where some perished. But, despite terrible hardship, no loss of human life occurred. After regrouping and being joined by additional men from Fillmore and Beaver, the party headed farther west, entering Snake Valley through Cowboy Pass. There they discovered the promising streams and meadows of the Baker-Burbank area, certainly the best yet encountered in their search, although not all that Brigham Young had hoped for. Meantime, another expedition was underway farther south in the area of Panaca, Meadow Valley Wash, and Clover Valley in present southeastern Nevada, where they found sites with similar potential. Crops were eventually planted at some of the locations.

Later in the spring, George W. Bean traveled south and east from the Snake Valley camp, past the so-called "White Mountain" in the center of the "sanctuary" region erroneously presumed to be adequate to support thousands. This area, near the Wah Wah Mountain Range, impressed the explorers as a possible settlement/refuge site. While it was not feasible for extensive cultivated agriculture, much of the region was excellent rangeland for livestock. No settlement was attempted there at that time, however.<sup>32</sup>

At the Snake Valley site at present-day Garrison the Bean expedition planted a sixty-acre grain field in preparation for what they expected to be a substantial refugee settlement. The nights proved cold, however, and irrigation water was scarce. Goshute Indians, including some from the Humboldt River area, were troublesome, stealing horses in particular. About forty-five men, including several from Fillmore, were assigned to farm the land in Snake Valley. While a few probably abandoned the mission soon after leaders Bean and Edson Barney left, the farming enterprise continued under the diligent direction of David E. Bunnell.

While Brigham Young implemented his strategy to relocate the Latter-day Saints, he also sought a negotiated peace with the federal government, largely through the diplomatic efforts of Colonel Thomas L. Kane. The search for sanctuary was terminated in June

1858 when peace terms were reached. Young sent word that the Mormons should abandon the Snake Creek settlement as soon as the crop was harvested. Some of the grain was to be given to the local Indians; but, when the irrigation source completely failed, Bishop Brunson of Fillmore dispatched four men there with authorization, if conditions warranted, to immediately close the mission. Bunnell and his associates left after four months of volunteer service.<sup>33</sup> The abandonment of Snake Valley was not a complete loss, however. The temporary settlement demonstrated the area's suitability for agriculture if water was carefully managed. In 1869 the valley was resettled.

During the crisis of the Utah War and the evacuations from the settlements of northern Utah, Brigham Young discussed the prospect of convening the territorial legislature once again at Fillmore. Perhaps that is the reason that the residents of Fillmore gathered in a public meeting on 5 December and decided to divert more water from Chalk Creek and enlarge the town with more city lots. This was probably the genesis of an old rock-and-cement ditch that ran through the eastern part of town.<sup>34</sup>

The legislature first met in Salt Lake City on 13 December 1858 and resolved, with the apparent compliance of both Governor Alfred Cumming and at least two of the territorial judges, to meet later in the month at the State House in Fillmore City. Traveling through deep snow, members of the two legislative houses convened in a joint session in the State House at Fillmore on Saturday, 18 December, in a reported "atmosphere of confusion, bitterness and discontent." There they heard the governor's message, which was read by assistant secretary of the council John L. Smith. Then, each legislative body promptly passed a resolution to again move the seat of government to Salt Lake City, citing similar reasons to those given two years earlier. The legislature reconvened in Salt Lake City on 27 December.<sup>35</sup> This brief use of the State House by the territorial legislature was the last time the south wing was used officially. It did not stand idle, however. Over the years it housed business offices, schools—including a missionary school sponsored by the Presbyterian church—and the county court. It also was used as a community center, dance hall, theater for stage performances, and place for LDS church meetings.

In March 1859, new Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jacob

Forney was ordered by Governor Cumming to retrieve the surviving children from the Mountain Meadows Massacre, known to be with families in the Cedar City area. Forney and U.S. Deputy Marshal William H. Rogers passed through Fillmore and made camp at the Corn Creek Indian farm, where they offered presents to the Pahvant Indians. Kanosh agreed to accompany Forney to Mountain Meadows. There Kanosh and others saw for themselves the aftermath of the deed. "The ground for a distance of more than a hundred yards . . . was covered with the skeletons and bones of human beings," it was reported.<sup>36</sup> After collecting all but one of the survivors, Forney started for Camp Floyd. On 27 April the retrieved children reached Fillmore, where Forney found comfortable lodging for them.<sup>37</sup>

Earlier, in the spring of 1857, while herding cows in the vicinity of Meadow Creek, James Duncan recognized the grazing potential in the area and noted that the soil was rich and not as rocky as soil in Fillmore. He and his wife, Jeanette, decided to move their family of two small children to Meadow Creek. For the first months the family lived in a cave and then a dugout. Soon four more families—those of John and Mary Jane Sampson Lemmon (also spelled Lemon), Ephriam and Catherine Rowley Tomkinson, Orson Tyler, and Ralph and Mary Ann Thompson Rowley—joined the Duncan family.

Concerned about hostile Indians and being isolated, the families agreed to take refuge in Fillmore that fall. The following spring, the men returned to plow and plant and later moved their families back. William Killian, Timothy King, William Labaron, John Webb and others also brought their families to settle at Meadow. They too first built dugouts along the low ridge cut through by Meadow Creek and close to the main-traveled road.

The Meadow Creek pioneers cultivated fields on the east bench above the new settlement. Volney King described the town's setting: "The ridge along which these settlers had made their homes . . . extended nearly to the foot of the mountain range on the east" and almost "the entire length of the valley north which some have called Kings Highway." Some speculated that the ridge was "an artificial construction of some prehistoric people," while others more accurately believed it to be an ancient Lake Bonneville shoreline.<sup>38</sup>

Soon after the first group arrived, Ephriam Tompkinson, who

had been manufacturing “spirituous liquor” at Fillmore, built a still above the fields farther up Meadow Creek. He was the first to locate on the upper Meadow Creek site that became the town of Meadow. Another first occurred with the birth of Elizabeth Rowley, daughter of Mary Ann and Ralph. The first boy born in the area, David Duncan, son of James and Jeanette, arrived on 4 February 1859.

The winds often blew so much dust and dirt into the dugouts from the nearby ridge that Jeanette Duncan pulled up the floorboards in her single-room dugout to construct a windbreak along the nearby fence. Even after James Duncan built a tighter shelter, dirt still blew in. Others later recalled using “pieces of cloth with draw-strings . . . to cover milk pans and dishes,” also relating that “bedding had to be rolled up and covered till the sand sifted through.” Some became discouraged and returned to Fillmore. Others concluded that it was not advisable to maintain homes downwind from the plowed fields or downstream from where the cattle wallowed in the creek bed and relocated the town to a site east of the fields.<sup>39</sup>

At the new townsite, James Duncan built a two-room adobe house for his family and began a business of making adobes for other homes. He also raised sheep and made furniture. A daughter, Elizabeth Duncan Stewart, later recalled details of family life. Her mother cooked with a skillet on the fireplace for many years, made an assortment of clothes, quilts, and linen sheets, and made baby clothes from her own petticoats. She made her husband’s best shirts out of linen sheets she had brought with her across the plains. The resourceful woman also spun wool into thread, which she then had a townsman weave into cloth. She was said to be a “marvelous seamstress and knitter and made clothes both for her own family and for other people.”<sup>40</sup>

Hyrum and Martha Bennett, along with the families of Edwin Stott, Abraham Greenhalgh, Silas Smith, John Bushnell, and William Stott, Sr., arrived in 1864. Hyrum Bennett was in charge of the mail in Meadow; Edwin Stott later became postmaster, using his home on Main Street as the post office. Hyrum Bennett was made the first bishop of Meadow LDS Ward in 1877, a position he held for more than twenty years. His wife organized the first area school in her home. Due to low water in the creek the first two or three years, the

townspeople feared that any more arrivals might not leave them sufficient water for their crops; therefore, they refused to grant new water allotments. Consequently, Brigham Young, on one of his southern trips, spoke at Meadow and admonished residents “to open up their hearts and divide the water with those who desired to locate on this mountain stream,” saying that, “as they tilled the soil the water would steadily increase.”<sup>41</sup> The people did open their hearts, and the little town continued to grow.

In 1859 Fillmore residents elected William Felshaw as their mayor. They also chose Thomas R. King as their representative in the territorial legislature. Probate Judge John Ray filled a vacancy for sheriff by appointing William Wall to that position. Outside entertainment came to Fillmore in the summer of 1859. George Bartholomew arrived from California with his “circus,” featuring a trick pony. Other performers included a clown and three local Henrys—Henry J. Faust, Henry Voyce, and Henry Spiers. The circus and the local entertainers caused a good deal of merriment.

According to LDS church historian Andrew Jenson, certain residents of Fillmore were molested in 1859 by some tough army soldiers and camp followers. Following their dismissal from government service, a group of unemployed teamsters from Camp Floyd, needing a guide to take them to California, hired Jefferson Hunt’s son Gilbert at a fee of ten dollars per wagon. While traveling along the route the freighters attacked Gilbert Hunt, cutting his throat and robbing him of his pay.<sup>42</sup>

In 1852 the territorial legislature established a form of county government common elsewhere in the west, a court of sessions. The chief executive officer was the county probate judge, who was elected by the territorial assembly and commissioned by the governor. In addition to being the executive, the probate judge had jurisdiction over the probate of wills and the guardianship of minor orphaned children and people who were insane. He also served as judge for all civil and criminal proceedings. The probate judge also acted as the legislative body in the respective counties until 1866, at which time three county selectmen were elected by the electorate of the county. The county court (the judge and selectmen) had jurisdiction over roads, schools, timber, mill sites, and the distribution of water.

Anson Call served as the county's first probate judge. His first known action taken as judge was to fine John Wigons five dollars for "profane swearing" during the town's first Independence Day celebration in 1852. In other early actions, the court appropriated tax funds for a bridge across Chalk Creek, set aside a larger schoolhouse lot, and reimbursed Josiah Call for lodging an Indian offender in his home in the absence of a jail. While the record is silent on land appropriations, probably already accomplished by the drawing of lots before the court officially met, several large herd grounds from Black Rock to the Sevier River were granted—or at least the grazing rights thereto—to groups of local applicants.

In November 1860 Judge John A. Ray assigned James Huntsman as road supervisor to build a road between Fillmore and Pioneer Creek (Holden), for which he was paid from county taxes. In June 1861, other road supervisors were appointed to oversee the construction of roads in the areas of Cedar Springs, Deseret, Corn Creek, Meadow, and Cove Creek.

The county court appointed watermasters for each community and irrigation canal to oversee the distribution of water. The court also levied a poll tax on each adult citizen in the county in the form of days of work to clear irrigation ditches of weeds and to keep the ditches running through their property in good repair.<sup>43</sup>

For a number of years Round Valley provided a respite for weary travelers and their draft animals. The valley is not large—only eight miles long and three miles wide—but it yielded a sea of waving grass and was well watered from mountain snows that fed several springs and small streams. Benjamin and Nancy June Tidwell Johnson in 1857 became the first settlers in the valley when he obtained a contract to operate a stagecoach station near the base of Scipio Pass. He provided food and water for mail carriers and their horses. In 1865 Benjamin Johnson took a second wife, Nancy's younger sister Sarah.

In 1858 Benjamin Johnson's brother Richard and Thomas H. Robins from Holden began to farm in Round Valley each summer. In 1861 the two farmers moved their families to the valley. Other families settled in Round Valley in 1860, including those of William and Charlotte Nixon Robins, Morton and Anna Hanson Brown, William Shelton, Samuel Kershaw, George Monroe, Elias F. Pearson, John



Brown, Levi Savage, and Peter Boyce. The settlers built dugouts and log cabins in the south end of the valley on the west side of the stream and called their little community Graball. James and Mary Mathews built the first log cabin there.

On 4 March 1861 Apostle George A. Smith visited Round Valley to establish a branch of the Fillmore LDS Ward, and he called Benjamin H. Johnson to be president. (Elias F. Pearson was called as presiding elder the next year.) Among the earlier settlers of the valley was Thomas Robins. Ten days later, the men of the small settlement finished laying the foundation for a sod-and-brush dam nine miles south of town. The small reservoir in the upper valley stored irrigation and culinary water and, along with the Deseret settlers' efforts, became among the first water-storage facilities in the county.<sup>44</sup>

The Thomas and Julia Wilson Memmott family, English converts to the Mormon church, arrived in Round Valley in September 1862 to join Thomas's brother John. John Memmott had just moved into a log home and offered his former dugout to his brother's family. The settlers asked Thomas to teach school in the log schoolhouse recently erected on the east side of Round Valley Creek. The parents of the twenty-five pupils agreed to pay Memmott in produce, grain, or whatever they could spare. Shortly thereafter, Thomas Memmott and his wife moved to the new settlement of Deseret, some thirty miles to the west, where they played an important role in the community until it was temporarily abandoned by dam washouts. The family then located permanently at Scipio.

Area settlers were cautious about how many families the reservoir could support, particularly in dry years. But when Brigham Young visited the settlement in 1862, he urged residents to move the town farther north toward the center of Round Valley and promised them enough water to sustain growth. He believed they also would be safer from Indian attack there. The church leader selected a site for the new town and twelve families relocated there early in 1863. That number would increase to twenty-five by the end of the year. When Young visited again in May the settlers had built a schoolhouse and hired Mrs. Peter Boyce as the teacher. Recognizing the area's potential for settlement, Brigham Young urged them to expand their community to seventy-five families.

A young lawyer, Scipio Africanus Kenner, named for a prominent figure in Roman history, used his legal training to help the pioneers secure clear title to their land. The appreciative town named their community after him. Scipio Kenner later was a founding member of the Democratic party in Utah.<sup>45</sup>

In August 1863 James R. and Eliza Maria Faucette Ivie arrived in Round Valley from Sanpete County with their extended family, including three married sons and their families. The Ivies settled downstream (southeast) from Graball along a small creek that later would bear the family's name. This was also the site of the prehistoric Indian village referred to as Pharo Village by archaeologists. The Ivie family contributed substantially to the settlement of Scipio. The first child born in the town was Thomas Edwin Ivie, son of William Franklin and Sarah Emily Young Ivie; he was born on 26 February 1864. The following year, Brigham Young instructed the people of Scipio to develop more irrigation water from the canyons, extend their fields, and build new roads. They began these tasks that spring, anticipating the growth of a peaceful and prosperous community.

Following similar inclinations of others moving from Fillmore to Holden, Meadow and Scipio to find better land, Peter Robison and Peter Boyce in 1859 moved their families from Fillmore to an area near the Corn Creek Indian village where the emigrant trail crossed the creek. Charles and Mary Ann Hopkins from Cedar City soon joined them. Hopkins was the only man from the earlier Pratt expedition to return to Millard County to live. They christened the place Petersburg. Peter Boyce was appointed Indian agent at Corn Creek by Brigham Young to succeed Anson Call.<sup>46</sup>

Peter Robison was appointed postmaster. He left two of his wives in Fillmore, bringing only his third wife, Mary Ashley, and their five children to Petersburg. Mary gave birth to three more children in Petersburg and later another three after the family moved to Ely, Nevada. In 1862, while visiting Petersburg, George A. Smith organized the Corn Creek Branch of the LDS church and called Peter Robison to be the branch president.

Beginning in the mid-1860s, after silver was discovered in southeastern Nevada and the Mormon church-owned Central Utah Railroad was built to Juab County, Petersburg became a regular stage

stop for the semi-weekly stagecoach operated by the Gilmore and Salisbury stage company between York in Juab County and the new mining camps. John Ormond operated the stage stop, which included a small store, a dining room, and sleeping facilities for travelers. Nearby stood the barn where the stagecoach drivers dropped off mail and changed horse teams.<sup>47</sup>

Ormond's daughter and son-in-law, Mary and William George, were persuaded to stay in Petersburg in 1863 and assume operation of the stage station. The couple had been on their way to settle Utah's "Dixie" area—Washington County. It was written, "The travelers who stayed there often remarked how welcome the George's made them feel and what a good cook Mary was."<sup>48</sup> Mary George was also an expert candymaker and often provided fresh sweets to the travelers, a welcome diversion from the usual fare of sourdough and hardtack found at other stage stops. William George oversaw the business of the station and hired Frederick M. Bird to care for the teams and equipment. Local residents George B. Chesley, William C. Hatton, James H. Hatton, Orson Whitaker, and others worked as stagecoach drivers.

One of the drivers from Provo, George Brisker Chesley, became enamored with one of the couple's daughters, Mary Ann George. The two were married soon after she turned sixteen. The wedding celebration lasted two days and was long remembered. George Chesley continued to drive stagecoaches and he and Mary Ann made their home in Petersburg, where they were blessed with six children. Mary Ann's sister Harriet Ellen (Nell) also married a stagecoach employee, Fredrick Bird, a young Irishman. They eventually made Petersburg their home, buying the George family house, the latter family having moved to the new town of Kanosh. Bird ran sheep and dairy cows and had a successful dairy for many years. Nell Bird became post-mistress of the town after it became Hatton.

Petersburg grew substantially during its first eight years. Among other newcomers were Thomas and Alice Charlesworth, Richard Hatton, Solomon and Lucy Jane Barkdull, William George, and John Webb, who built homes down the long lane of Petersburg. Peter Boyce, who was employed as an Indian farmer on the Corn Creek reservation, left and was replaced by F.M. Bishop. James Fisher fol-

lowed Bishop and in turn was succeeded by John Woodstock.<sup>49</sup> John and Jane Goddard Rogers, their son Daniel, his wife, Agnes McConnell Rogers, and their two-year-old son John Alexander, who were some of the first Mormon converts from South Africa, settled on Corn Creek in 1862. They first located their houses near what became known as Rogers Spring before moving to an area east, where they established farms.

Algenora Barkdull Stowe remembered growing up in Petersburg, playing in the sand along the stream or in the small “caves” that cattle had eaten into the haystacks. Her mother, Lucy Jane Barkdull, wove cloth for neighbors as well as her own family and her father farmed. She recalled, “I could hear the loud ‘bang, bang!’ of the loom still pounding in my ears; or the buzz and whir of the spinning wheel as mother worked, sometimes by candle light, far after dark and after we children were in bed.”

After the reapers had cut and gathered the grain, Lucy Jane and Algenora gleaned wheat from the fields. “It was hard work,” Algenora wrote, “but I enjoyed picking up the loaded [wheat] heads which we ground into a very coarse flour, and sometimes ate just cracked and cooked with water, like a porridge.” In her leisure time, the girl made rag dolls that her mother cut out. From scraps of cloth she made hats and clothes “for these nice babies.” By the age of nine, Algenora started putting her child’s play aside and learned to cook, wash dishes, make candles, do housework, wind the shuttles, and thread the spinning wheel—“anything,” she said, “that would help lighten the tiresome work that mother always had stacked up before her.”<sup>50</sup>

Within a few years of the town’s inception, most of the families in Petersburg moved farther up Corn Creek to better utilize the stream’s water and to take advantage of some of the land vacated by Kanosh and the Pahvant Indians, who had been persuaded to take up land closer to Meadow and the nearby foothills. Here the town of Kanosh was established.

Interest in the western part of the county increased following the government survey carried out by Captain James H. Simpson of the Corps of Topographical Engineers for a military road between Camp Floyd in Utah County and Carson Valley in 1858, and the establishment of the Pony Express trail in 1860. White activity stirred the

Goshute Indians and the Indians in Snake Valley to strike back, however. Nevertheless, under increasing white pressure, these Indian difficulties soon ceased.

Interest in settling the lower Sevier River area increased as well, partially motivated by cattlemen such as Jacob Croft who were in search of winter grazing ground for their cattle. Traditional accounts of the founding of the first colony in western Millard County relate to the initiative of the "great colonizer," Brigham Young. However, county court records indicate that in the spring of 1859 several Fillmore men including John Powell, John Cooper, John Elliott, and Joseph Woodcock petitioned the county court for the right to utilize and control the waters of the Sevier River flowing into Pahvant Valley. Their request was denied, but later that fall William Felshaw, Jacob Croft, N.W. Bartholomew, A.F. Barron, Chandler Holbrook, J.W. Radford, John A. Ray, Orange Warner, and William Stevens made a similar petition.

This second petition was granted, but before it was implemented, Young assigned some of the petitioners to investigate the area thoroughly before settling it.

Croft's leadership qualities and colonization experience made him a good choice to direct the effort to establish a new settlement. Besides being an experienced cattleman, Croft was knowledgeable about dam construction, having built several gristmills earlier. According to Croft, after participating in a prayer circle in which the group asked for guidance, he received a glimpse of the future of the valley and never doubted the outcome of a new settlement. He and the others selected an area generally east of the Black Rock Ridge landmark not far south of the Sevier River where the land looked promising for cultivation and irrigation. Hearing of the favorable land conditions there, Brigham Young sent a company of forty people with their teams to build a dam at what by then was named Deseret.

With the ground frozen and some materials needing to be hauled from Fillmore, Croft and the others were confronted with difficulties in constructing the dam. Equally challenging was the canal, which was dug by hand. However, once both projects were completed, lands were allocated and each participant cleared his own forty acres. The

first year showed the promise of the undertaking, with an average grain yield of eighty-five bushels per acre.<sup>51</sup>

John Powell moved to Deseret in 1861 and lived temporarily in a willow hut, which eventually was replaced by a two-room adobe-brick house. Anna Lovell was the first woman to make her home in Deseret. Her house was of adobe with a large fireplace in each of the two rooms. At night the house was lit with what was called a “bitch”—a cup of grease with a cotton rag as a wick. Later, Anna obtained a candle mold. The candles, using beef or mutton tallow, made for much better lighting. The family highly valued their sheep for their wool. Some of it was sent to a carding mill at Manti to be finished into rolls and some was efficiently spun into yarn by younger members of the family. The woven wool cloth was dyed using wine, logwood, madder root, and peach leaves.<sup>52</sup>

Meanwhile, Jacob Croft had completed his own two-room structure and moved into it with his wife, Sabrina, a formerly wealthy woman from Texas who had spent much of the winter with her husband as the dam was being built. By year’s end, 142 families resided at Deseret. That same year, a local branch of the Mormon church was organized with Croft as presiding elder and Powell branch clerk. The following spring, the Deseret Land and Water Company was organized, with the same individuals in the positions of president and clerk.<sup>53</sup>

Obtaining a variety of food in early Deseret was a real challenge. There was little bread, although “lumpy dick,” a mixture of cooked flour and water was common fare. An early staple was potato soup and milk. Fruit, squash, and beef were dried for winter use, and when a beef was killed, everyone had a portion—at a “fry”—expecting reciprocation. Alfalfa greens and pig weed were also cooked and eaten.

An important food staple in early west Millard County (and frequently in hard times thereafter) was fish, which were plentiful in the Sevier River until irrigation diversions upstream diminished the river. The men often fished below the dam, wading knee deep scooping up “suckers” from the murky water. The women cleaned and salted the fish, storing them in barrels for later use. Bishop Joseph S. Black once confessed at a church meeting that while working on the dam he was reluctant to eat his lunch around the other men because he was

ashamed of the salted fish, but he quickly realized that all of his fellow workers were eating the same thing. This food undoubtedly helped tide the community through its lean years, which were made more numerous by frequent dam washouts.<sup>54</sup>

By far the greatest challenge in the new settlement of Deseret was maintaining a dam in the Sevier River channel, which lacked bedrock. The first dam washed out in the spring of 1861, but the local men worked feverishly and rebuilt it in time to save the already planted crops. On 18 June of the next year the rising river took out the dam again, and this time the new structure was not completed until October. As clerk John Powell recounted, when the dam went out the second time, "many of the brethren moved away."<sup>55</sup> Those families who stayed were able to harvest at least a portion of their crops, however, which had partly matured before the irrigation water disappeared.

In 1863 high water again broke the main dam and forced most of the remaining settlers to scatter to the east Millard settlements. Still, a few families were determined to persevere and began again to rebuild the dam under the direction of new presiding elder Benjamin H. Robison. Using some rock hauled forty miles from Dry Creek Canyon near Fillmore, the new dam proved secure for the next four seasons.

Farming at Deseret was hard at best. Thomas Memmott and his wife, Emma, had moved to Deseret from Scipio, and Memmott later recalled: "I shall never forget Emma's dismay at the wild barren look of the country and the mud of 'Mud Lake.'" Although the family had a comfortable house and met new friends, including the Henry Roper family from their part of England, isolated Deseret was still a shock to them. The situation was hardly alleviated by the dire poverty the family experienced as the former postman commenced farming without the requisite skills, equipment, or draft animals. Yet Memmott recorded, "I can never forget the kindness of the Deseret people" who shared the hard circumstances, recalling "many, many times I, my wife and children were fed by those but little better off than ourselves, we in turn dividing with them, and feelings of friendship grew up between many of us never to be severed."<sup>56</sup> Although crops improved markedly during several succeeding years, area farm-

ers were visited with frost, grain rust, and several years of grasshopper infestations.

In 1863 Jacob Croft completed a gristmill that was located about one mile south of the fort site. The mill was powered by water brought from the river three miles away through a millrace. The Salt Lake City press noted that the mill produced flour as good as any in the territory. William Walker also built a gristmill in Deseret, but before it was completed high water from the Sevier River washed out the dam that supplied water to the mill. Walker decided to move his mill to Oak Creek.

Elsewhere in the county, English LDS convert Charles Willden and one of his sons, Eliott, decided to settle the Cove Creek area, having previously lived in Cedar City and Beaver without much economic success. In the fall of 1860 Charles and Eliott completed construction of a small stockade that measured fifty feet square using ten-foot-long posts placed side by side to form a solid wall. Inside the fort, a small two-room adobe house was partially completed. The two men left what became known as Fort Willden to rejoin their families in Beaver for the winter.

In the early spring of 1861 Charles and Eleanore Willden's daughter Ann Jane and her husband were caught in a late winter snowstorm while traveling south from Salt Lake City to Beaver. The young couple found protection from the fierce storm in the partially completed adobe house at Fort Willden. However, with no windows or door, the cabin provided little protection. They did find a cache of seed Charles and Eliott had left to use for spring planting; they used it for food. Later in the month, Ann Jane and Christian were rescued by their family when a passing rider notified Charles of the young couple's location and plight.

The couple was joined by Charles and Eleanore Willden, son Eliott and his wife Emma Jane, and two unmarried sons—John and Feargus—at Fort Willden later that spring. In April, Ann added to the population by giving birth to Hanna Jane. A year later, another Willden son, John, along with his wife, Margaret McEwen, joined the family. The Willdens' ranch/fort served for years as an important stagecoach stop and way-station for travelers.

During a four-day period in January 1865 Fort Willden was



severely shaken by a series of earthquakes and aftershocks. Charles Willden reported the quakes in a letter to the *Deseret News*, describing the aftershocks as “other shakes, of an apparently exhausted character . . . all the shaking seem[ing] to arise in the west and travel eastwardly.”<sup>57</sup>

Earthquakes were not the only challenge the Willdens faced. A sheep disease called “scab” decimated their herd, and during the winter of 1864–65 unusually heavy snow and bitter cold took their toll on the family’s cows and goats. During the Black Hawk War, the fort was attacked at least once and Eleanore Willden reportedly narrowly escaped death, being saved when Kanosh was called.<sup>58</sup> The Indian attack may well have been the final blow that caused the Willdens to abandon their venture and move back to Beaver in the fall of 1865.

In 1860, the same year the Willden family moved to Cove Creek, Thomas Callister, a Mormon convert from the Isle of Man in Great Britain and a tailor by trade, was called by church leaders to move with his two polygamous families to Fillmore to replace Lewis Brunson, who had just been called on a mission. Callister and his descendants would be an important part of Millard County history. Callister previously had presided as bishop in Salt Lake City for six years. Callister family tradition holds that church authorities had not been able to persuade anyone else to take the position, and, when Callister agreed to go, Brigham Young reportedly informed ward members that if they could not get along with Callister, they did not deserve a bishop.<sup>59</sup>

Callister probably held the same position as Anson Call and John A. Ray before him, which was not exactly the same as stake president, since, in March 1869, Callister was the first officially sustained to that position. Previously, there had been others serving as bishop of Fillmore; Noah Willis Bartholomew and Lewis Brunson each served in that position, while Call and Ray presided more generally. Callister held both positions. He later organized other wards and branches, including those at Oak Creek City, Kanosh (1869), and Leamington (1876), and helped direct the construction of the fort at Deseret. At this stage of Latter-day Saint history, the functions of bishops and stake presidents were just becoming set and certainly were not the same as at the present time. The bishop’s duties were more temporal,

including judging disputes among ward members. The stake officers mainly presided over spiritual affairs, including preaching.<sup>60</sup>

Less than two years after Callister arrived, Francis M. Lyman, who eventually married two of Callister's daughters as plural wives, moved to Fillmore along with his father, Amasa Lyman. Amasa was still a Mormon apostle, although he was already becoming somewhat disaffected from Brigham Young, if not yet from the Latter-day Saint faith. Several of his wives—including his first, Louisa Marie Tanner, Priscilla Turley, and sisters Caroline, Eliza, and Lydia Partridge—also located to Fillmore. Before long, Francis M. Lyman would replace his father as a Mormon apostle. The brother of Louisa, Edward Partridge, Jr., and his widowed mother, Lydia Clisbee Partridge, also moved to Fillmore at that time. Edward Partridge, Jr., eventually served as bishop of Fillmore (1864–77) and as a counselor in the stake president (1877–87). He was also a delegate from Millard County to the state constitutional convention in March 1895.

Following the connection of the transcontinental telegraph line at Salt Lake City in 1861, Brigham Young immediately began planning for a north-south line to connect the settlements of the territory and organized the Mormon church-owned Deseret Telegraph Company. A great deal of excitement was generated in Millard County four years later when the announcement was made that the telegraph company was to extend its line through the county. Each town the line passed through mustered men to supply the poles and workers to help place them along the route. Joseph V. Robinson took the lead in providing both poles and their installation near Fillmore. By the fall of 1866 the poles were ready for telegraph wires. Brigham Young sent out a request for two young men from each ward throughout the territory to train as telegraph operators. Volney King and Almon Robison went from Fillmore to Salt Lake City, where they spent the winter learning telegraphy.

John C. Clowes, on leave from Western Union Telegraph Company, supervised the establishment of telegraph offices and the appointment of operators along the new line. He placed Zenos Pratt in charge at Scipio. The Fillmore telegraph students were not yet sufficiently skilled to operate the station set up in the State House, so Richard Horn of Salt Lake City initially oversaw that office. Clarence

Morrill of Fillmore first operated the Cove Creek office, working until April 1867 when twenty-year-old Volney King took over the station. King stayed for the next nine months. Since this was prior to the construction of Cove Fort, it was a dangerous assignment. King reportedly was well prepared; his office was said to “look like a miniature arsenal.” Clarence Morrill moved with his family to Fillmore to operate the telegraph office there.<sup>61</sup> At Fillmore, William Gibbs fashioned a play telegraph keyboard from empty wooden spools as a toy for his young daughter Imogene. It so fascinated Imogene that she learned the telegraph code at the age of fourteen. Not long thereafter, she became a telegraph operator in Fillmore, as did her sister Mary. They later recalled working for twenty-five dollars per month.<sup>62</sup> The telegraph greatly improved communication with the outside world, making it possible to relay information in seconds that previously would have taken days.

The growth of towns and the establishment of new settlements in the central part of the territory and in the county in the mid-1860s deprived many area Native Americans of their traditional gathering and hunting land, vital to their existence. Much of the prime natural wildlife habitat had been turned into farms and towns, dramatically reducing the food supply of the Indians. Some who had at first welcomed the Mormons as an important new resource now saw them as intruders who were destroying their lands and driving game from traditional hunting grounds.<sup>63</sup> The unusually deep snows of the winter of 1864–65 took a great toll on the declining wildlife, further limiting the food supply for many Indians of the territory. To make matters worse, smallpox and measles plagued many Indian villages, and the Indians blamed Mormon settlers for their plight. Further, the Indians who had agreed to move to the several government Indian farms and reservations that had been established received little of the promised annuities or other help.

By the spring of 1865, a Ute leader whom the Mormons called Black Hawk took the lead in an effort of discontented Native Americans to take back traditional lands and help their people survive. Black Hawk’s first step was to secure food for his people with a series of raids which began in Sanpete Valley and soon spread elsewhere in the central region of Utah Territory.

In June 1865 Kanosh and other Indian leaders agreed to meet with Superintendent of Indian Affairs O.H. Irish, Brigham Young, and other Mormon church authorities at Spanish Fork to discuss the plight of the Indians and make a treaty. The treaty the whites offered aimed to persuade the Utes to abandon their lands in other portions of Utah Territory in exchange for designated reservation land in the Uinta Basin, plus an annuity of \$25,000 a year for ten years, then \$20,000 annually for twenty years, and finally \$15,000 annually for thirty more years.

Kanosh opposed the conditions of the treaty. He said: "In past times, the Washington chiefs that came here from the United States would think and talk two ways and deceive us, I do not want the land cut in two. Let it remain as it is."<sup>64</sup> When the other chiefs present agreed with Kanosh and it became evident that negotiations were failing, Brigham Young intervened. He advised the Native Americans to take the offer, arguing that if they didn't the government would eventually take the land anyway and they would get nothing. He told the Indians that Superintendent Irish would provide them with "houses, farms, cows, oxen, clothing, and many other things."<sup>65</sup>

As Brigham Young spoke, Kanosh became more positive about the proposal:

The talk has been good. I have been thinking good. All our hearts are good and alike. . . . For many years I have plowed and worked at Corn Creek and did not get blankets or anything. Brigham knows that. Agents have come from Washington, but would stop and never come nor bring me blankets. They would send and make promises but never fulfill them. . . . The Americans can come and hunt their money and live here. We do not want to quarrel, It is all good peace and friendship, and we all understand alike.<sup>66</sup>

Eventually all those attending but San Pitch signed the treaty. San Pitch remained adamant about not wanting to give up the land. "We do not want to be removed from the land. . . . The whites make farms, get wood and live on the land and we never traded the land," he stated.<sup>67</sup> San Pitch became a supporter of Black Hawk and the other raiders in their resistance to further encroachment on Indian land. For these Indians, promises had been made before but seldom kept,

and they witnessed the deteriorating conditions and poverty of their people.

Most of the Ute Indians whose leaders had signed the Spanish Fork Treaty began moving to the Uintah Reservation in the fall of 1865. Kanosh and the Pahvants living in Millard County refused to move until 1869, however. Then, they stayed only a short time at the reservation before returning to Corn Creek.

Following the Spanish Fork meeting, raids on Mormon livestock increased. In the frenzied months that followed, clashes often occurred between usually friendly Indians and their white neighbors. It was difficult to distinguish friend or foe. For instance, the Pahvant Indians on the western side of Millard County resorted to stealing cattle from the settlers at Deseret, keeping them in a state of constant fear.

Brigham Young ordered the men of Deseret to organize themselves into a militia unit and to build a fort. Apostle Amasa M. Lyman and Bishop Thomas Callister designated the site. To encourage the rapid construction of the fort, the workers were divided into companies, and the company that completed its section first was to receive a dinner and dance from the others.

Work on the fort began in June 1865 and a month later the fort was finished. The adobe brick structure measured 550 feet square, with corner bastions ten feet high and walls three feet thick at the bottom tapering to a foot and a half. The town celebrated under a willow bowery inside the fort on 25 July with a heifer barbecued for the occasion. The fort was never put to use for protection, but it did act as a deterrent. On several occasions the fort was used as a corral to protect cattle from Indian rustling.

In 1866 thirteen Indians of Black Hawk's band attacked George (Wise) Cropper and Oliver Harris in the Oak Creek area while herding livestock belonging to Jacob Croft. The two young cowboys and their cattle were taken prisoners. Clearly, the Indians intended on stealing the livestock and killing the two cowboys. However, Mareer of the Pahvant band was present and recognized Cropper as a son of Jacob Croft, who earlier had often assisted local Indians. Mareer twitted the other Indians as cowards for wanting to shoot a couple of boys, and he finally convinced the raiders to at least give the two cow-

boys a running start, a suggestion the others accepted. As the two boys spurred their horses, Mareer voiced the signal and arrows whistled about them. Both Cropper and Harris escaped unharmed, knowing well to whom they owed their lives.

The same spring of 1866, several new settlers from Tooele County camped at what would later be called Pack's Bottom near the Gunnison Bend of the Sevier River. As they were making camp, a group of Indians approached them. Fearing an attack, the settlers abandoned their wagons and livestock and fled to Fort Deseret six miles south. Forty-five Deseret militiamen immediately mustered and hurried to the abandoned campsite. There they found meat from eight butchered cattle hanging on the brush drying and the wagons looted. The Indians had already left the river location and were assumed to be heading for the settlement. Fearing an attack on the unprotected town, the militia made a quick return, arriving within a short distance of Deseret when they spied Black Hawk's war party approaching. A delegation of four men led by Isaac Pierce, a good interpreter, rode out to negotiate and offer beef in place of battle. Despite threats from the Indians, a peace conference was hastily arranged and Pierce and the others were invited to sit with Black Hawk in front of seventy-two painted and armed Ute, Snake Valley Goshute, and Pahvant warriors. In the deliberations that followed, Pierce offered the Indians all the cattle they needed, with a warning of an abundance of bullet wounds should they choose to fight. After further talk, Black Hawk agreed to take the cattle. The militia followed the war party until it disbanded and headed in separate directions, thus ending the only real Indian threat to the Deseret residents.<sup>68</sup>

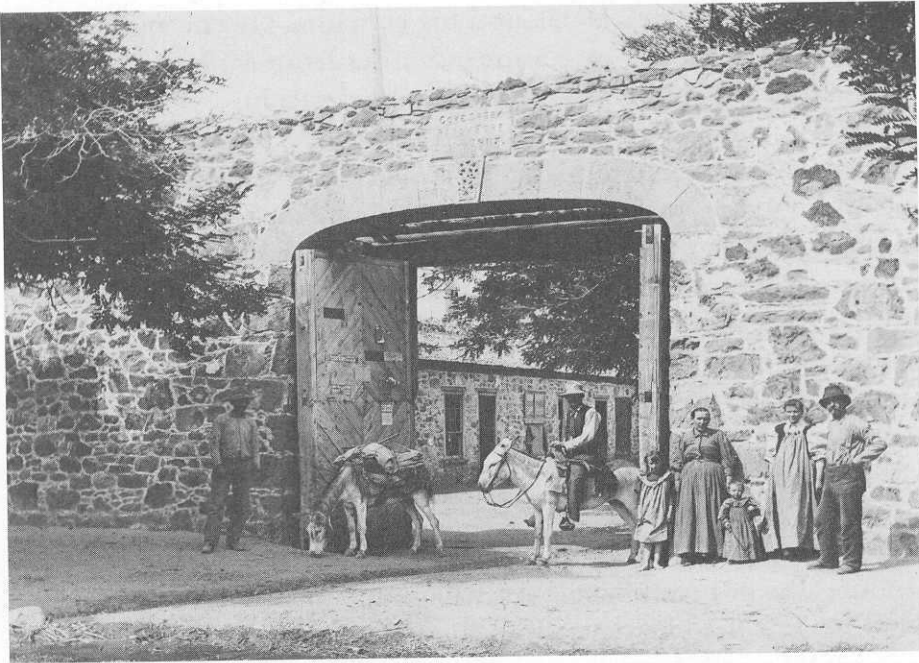
In March 1866 Franklin H. Head, the former secretary to newly appointed territorial governor Charles Durkee, was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah. Head wasted no time in trying to resolve the Indian problem. He visited Kanosh and the Pahvant Indians in May and received renewed assurances of their desire for peace. Part of Head's efforts were to establish Indian farms again for several of the bands of Indians of the territory. One of these, located near Kanosh, was for the Corn Creek band of Pahvant Utes under the leadership of Kanosh.

Head's efforts did not bring complete peace to central Utah, however. On the morning of 10 June 1866, sixty-five-year-old James Ivie awoke early to check a milk cow and its new calf in the field behind his house. Before he reached the animals, Black Hawk and a reported 200 warriors swooped down on the settlement, killing Ivie and driving off his stock and that of others, including "several Kentucky thoroughbred mares, and a stallion famous for its speed."<sup>69</sup>

Fifteen-year-old Henry Wright also ventured out early that morning and was moving his family's small band of sheep to new pasture when the attack came and he was killed. The Indians rounded up an estimated 300–500 head of livestock and drove them to Sevier Valley, making their escape. Fearing any messenger who went for help might be ambushed, the Scipio settlers waited until nightfall to send a Mr. Plair to Fillmore for help. He arrived at Fillmore around noon the next day. For several hours a severe thunderstorm delayed Captain James C. Owens and his militiamen from riding to the aid of the people of Round Valley.

At Cedar Springs, Wise Cropper, Edward Stevens, and several others joined the militia, which now numbered thirty men. Arriving at the divide at the south end of Round Valley, Captain Owens sent Peter Huntsman with a detachment of men ahead to inform those waiting at Scipio to meet the main group at the reservoir located ten miles southeast of Scipio. Owens and his men had difficulty reaching the reservoir. A heavy runoff from the thunderstorm had washed out the dam and turned the tiny creek which the militia had to cross into a raging river. The captain urged his mount into the torrent of water; the others followed. Some had to be fished from the river, but no lives were lost. At the reservoir, they hunkered down in their soaked clothing and blankets to rest for a few hours. The Round Valley contingent arrived at daybreak.

Riding southeast, the Millard County militia crossed the divide, where they witnessed what has become known as the Battle of Gravelly Ford. While the Indians skillfully drove the stolen animals to Salina Canyon, Black Hawk, mounted on James Ivie's stallion, and others held at bay fifty Utah County cavalymen under the command of Col. William Byron Pace. Failing to kill Black Hawk, Pace ordered his men to shoot the stallion. Black Hawk kept firing from behind the



Cove Fort near Millard-Beaver county line. Built for protection against hostile Indians. (Utah State Historical Society)

dead animal until he was wounded in the abdomen. Amid a hail of bullets, the Indian leader made his escape into a grove of nearby trees. After he reached his companions, the group fled to safety toward the wilds of the eastern Utah. Black Hawk never fully recovered from his wound, although he lived for another couple of years.

Meanwhile, the Millard County militia rode swiftly to aid the Utah County calvary. However, when Colonel Pace saw the cloud of dust approaching, he assumed it was Indian reinforcements and ordered his men to retreat to Manti. The astonished Owens led his men across the river to where lay the only casualty of the battle, James Ivie's horse. The Millard militia spent the night in Salina, which had been evacuated earlier. The next morning, they headed up Salina Canyon only to be told by Pace to return to their homes.

Two weeks later, Captain Owens received orders from Colonel Pace to report to Salina with infantry, wagons, and rations for a thirty-day expedition to hunt down the stolen livestock from Scipio



and to capture Black Hawk and his warriors. Owens and his men then traveled almost one hundred miles from Millard County to Salina only to receive orders to return home again.

A few days later, Thomas Callister visited Scipio, staying with Benjamin Johnson. Pannikay (also called Panacara or Parmikang) belonged to the small Round Valley band of Pahvants. Because of the high emotions of the whites following Black Hawk's raid on the community, Johnson advised him to go to Corn Creek where he would be protected by Kanosh. Frightened, Pannikay attempted to run away, but Johnson headed him off on horseback and took his gun. As he led the unarmed man back, James Alexander Ivie rode up and without any provocation shot Pannikay. From a distance Callister and others saw the old man fall. When they arrived at the scene, Pannikay was dead. Ivie said he was only avenging his father's death. The furious Callister gave Ivie a tongue lashing, saying the poor Indian was not responsible for what happened to Ivie's father and that he, Ivie, had better go into the field where the hostile Indians were if he wanted revenge on the guilty. In a move to avert further trouble, Callister went immediately to Corn Creek to explain the incident to Kanosh. The chief, remembering the aftermath of the Gunnison Massacre, recommended that Ivie only be required to give Pannikay's son a sum of money and a horse. Whether Ivie ever complied is not a matter of record.<sup>70</sup>

In the spring of 1867 Brigham Young and several associates, including Ira N. Hinckley, visited Petersburg while on their way to establish Cove Fort. Young encouraged the area's settlers to relocate on the recently abandoned Indian village on upper Corn Creek. The area was more protected from frost and had better soil, and it proved to be a productive farming area. Young in all likelihood would not have encouraged the people of Petersburg without earlier conferring with Kanosh. It is also likely that Kanosh had concluded by that time to move his people to the Uintah Indian Reservation.

Since the signing of the Spanish Fork Indian Treaty, there had been considerable pressure on Kanosh and other Indian chiefs to move to the Uinta Basin. There also had been some complaints during the Black Hawk War by an Indian agent working in the territory that some Mormon settlers wanted the land "close to the Indian

property.” It is likely that some of the region’s settlers did seek the lands of the Corn Creek Indian Farm even before receiving Brigham Young’s encouragement.<sup>71</sup>

In anticipation of the removal of the Corn Creek Pahvant Utes to the Uinta Basin, Brigham Young advised Kanosh to temporarily move his people farther up toward the foothills, near Rogers Spring.<sup>72</sup> The move that summer took place with cordial feelings. Shortly thereafter, Wynopah and approximately eighty-five other Pahvants were baptized into the Mormon church at the warm springs three miles northwest of Petersburg by Culbert King, president of the Petersburg LDS branch. Kanosh was baptized earlier in 1858. The warm spring later became the popular swimming and dancing resort named Wynopah.

Before any of the Mormons moved to upper Corn Creek Thomas E. King, brother to Culbert, surveyed the new townsite, with George T. Day as chain bearer. Mortimer W. Warner is credited with having suggested the town’s name in honor of chief Kanosh. William C. Penny moved to the area in 1867, and by fall his house and two others belonging to Samuel Stowe and Noah S.B. Avery were under construction. Henry Whatcott, a mason by trade, eventually built or helped build thirty other houses there.<sup>73</sup>

About forty families moved from Petersburg to Kanosh by the following summer. Another ten families came from Garfield and Piute Counties, the settlements of which had been abandoned during the Black Hawk War. Five families who had settled on the Muddy River and were eventually dismayed to find themselves highly taxed residents of the new state of Nevada were released from the Mormons’ Muddy River settlement and relocated at upper Corn Creek. One of the families included Adelia Hatton Kimball, the widow of William Hatton, who had been killed while on guard duty at Fort Fillmore several years earlier. She had become a plural wife of Mormon leader Heber C. Kimball, and after his death went to live on the Muddy River near her daughter, who had married Heber’s son, Abraham Alonzo Kimball, long one of the key leaders at Kanosh. Other settlers came to Kanosh from other Utah towns as well as from England.<sup>74</sup>

In 1869 Kanosh moved to the Uinta Basin, where he and his fol-

lowers stayed for a short time before moving back to Millard County on unoccupied benchland nearer Meadow.<sup>75</sup> Kanosh's decision to return to Millard County with an undetermined number of people was in part due to a lack of the support from the federal government that was promised the Indians and the failure of Congress to ratify the Spanish Fork Treaty.

The declaration of peace with Black Hawk in 1868, in great measure, ended the war, although sporadic hostilities continued into the early 1870s. In May 1868 four Indians made a raid on Scipio and drove off a dozen or more horses. A year later another one hundred cattle and horses were stolen. In both instances, there was no loss of life.<sup>76</sup> Brigham Young encouraged Bishop Callister to take precautions to ensure the safety of the people of the county and to protect livestock from further Indian raids. One measure was to encourage the ownership of one lot per family in Scipio, thus keeping the town relatively compact and more easily defended.<sup>77</sup>

Shortly before Black Hawk's death in 1870, the Native American leader undertook a personal mission of visiting many of the towns and villages his warriors had earlier raided. In late April of that year he visited Fillmore and asked Bishop Thomas Callister if he might address the townspeople at church on Sunday. Callister consented, and by two o'clock the meetinghouse had filled to capacity. Bishop Callister led the way to the stand and Black Hawk followed "with head erect," being seated to the right of Callister and next to "Uncle" Reuben McBride. Following the usual preliminaries, Bishop Callister explained the visitor's presence. Black Hawk was invited to speak to the congregation. Ignoring the pulpit, Black Hawk stood next to it alongside of Reuben McBride, "Uncle" McBride's son, who interpreted. Black Hawk explained how "the white invaders had taken possession of the hunting and fishing grounds of his ancestors" and told of the insolence of some of the white men and of the whipping and occasional killing of his warriors. He said that he had nothing to do with the killing nearly a decade earlier of Fillmore residents Josiah Call and Samuel Brown. Black Hawk also expressed sorrow over the killing of the young shepherd Henry Wright and James Ivie during the Round Valley raid, saying that killing was against his orders except when necessary. He claimed that none of his warriors had

grievances against the settlers and that the raid was forced by the starvation of his people.<sup>78</sup>

After the speech, Bishop Callister asked for a vote of forgiveness and invited anyone in the congregation to express their views. The senior McBride rose and argued briefly against the motion. Suddenly, he turned to Black Hawk and screamed, "You black murderer, you killed Bishop Call, one of the best friends the Indians ever had, and you murdered Sam Brown for his money; you black devil! I will NOT forgive you." Black Hawk sat "without batting an eye" through the tirade. Callister then called for the vote. The motion passed; only the sullen McBride voiced no.<sup>79</sup>

In spite of Indian difficulties, washouts of dams, plagues of grasshoppers, and other problems associated with settlement, Millard County's population continued to grow during the 1860s, reaching 2,753 by 1870, up from 715 ten years earlier. In addition to Fillmore, Cove Fort, Deseret, Hatton, Holden, Kanosh, Meadow, and Scipio were settled. And Kanosh and a few dozen Pahvant Utes had reestablished themselves in the county.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Stella H. Day and Sebrina C. Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 201. *Builders of Early Millard* indicates that it was Bushnell's brother, Isaac Brockbank, who carried the mail.

2. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 219; Adelia Robison, "Old Adobe Meeting House," no date, typescript, 1, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Fillmore, Utah. The building was used as a church, school, and amusement hall until 1900; eventually it was torn down. The Brookline Creamery was built on the site.

3. David Evans, "Report of the White Mountain Mission," in *Journal History*, 17 July 1855.

4. Anson Call, "Life and Record," 66, copy at Utah State Historical Society; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 473; *Journal History*, 31 October 1858.

5. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 146-47.

6. Richard W. Payne, *The Legacy of the Lone South Wing*, 33-34.

7. *Journal History*, 11 December 1855, 1.

8. See Sadie Rogers, "History of Fillmore," typescript, 7–9, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City.

9. John McEwan, Diary, 58, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

10. *Deseret News*, 2 January 1856.

11. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 18.

12. "Volney King: Millard County, 1851–1875," *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (April 1947): 47.

13. Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (1861; reprint New York: AMS Press, 1972), 334.

14. William Chandless, *Visit to Salt Lake; Being A Journey Across the Plains and a Residence in the Mormon Settlements* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1857), 274–77.

15. Thaddeus S. Kenderine, *A California Tramp and Later Footprints* (Doylestown, PA: Doylestown Publishing Company, 1898), 131.

16. Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1945), 270.

17. William Stevens's first wife, Marinda Thomas, and five of their twelve children died between 1838 and 1848. Stella H. Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 684.

18. Rea Dean Stephenson, *History of Holden* (Holden, Utah: Town of Holden, 1995), 3, says eight families came in the fall, and then lists seven heads of households: Thomas Green, Philo T. Farnsworth, Charles Williams, James Brooks, John Webb, Edward Elijah Holden, and Joseph Call, plus the three single Stevens young men, counting the Stevens brothers as the eighth family.

19. *Ibid.*, 5.

20. *Ibid.*, 6–8; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 290–91.

21. "Volney King: Millard County, 1851–1875," *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (April 1947): 47.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 14:341–47.

24. Jolene Ashman Robison, *Almon Robison, Utah Pioneer: Man of Mystique and Tragedy* (Lawrence, KS: Richard A. Robison, 1995), 81–83.

25. Patsy Carter Iverson, notes on family interviews, no date, in possession of Patsy Carter Iverson, Fillmore, Utah.

26. John L. Ginn, "Mormon and Indian Wars: The Mountain Meadows Massacre and other Tragedies and Transactions Incident to the Mormon Rebellion of 1857 . . .," LDS Church Archives.

27. *Deseret News*, 10 March 1858.

28. Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary* (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1984), 49.

29. Fillmore Ward Historical Record.

30. Moshquope had recently asserted himself to protect a company of pioneers passing through the Snake Valley area. He also proved a valuable friend to Millard County residents at other times.

31. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary*, 76.

32. *Ibid.*, 162.

33. *Ibid.*, 157, 203, 210.

34. *Journal History*, 4 November 1858, 1; "Volney King," 61–62.

35. Payne, *The Lone South Wing*, 42–45.

36. Statement of William H. Rogers in *The Valley Tan*, 19 February 1860, quoted in Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadow Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 267.

37. *Valley Tan* (Camp Floyd, Utah Territory), 26 April 1859. The effort to find and return the children to family members in Arkansas is chronicled in U.S. Congress, Senate Executive Document No. 42, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. It is not known how long the children stayed in Fillmore; however, according to Scottern family history, Sybil Warner took care of at least eight of the sixteen children for a short period of time.

38. "Volney King," 57.

39. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 311–40; Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 473–74.

40. Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 184–85.

41. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 312.

42. Fillmore Ward Historical Record.

43. Millard County Court Record, Book 1, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

44. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 385–86.

45. *Ibid.*, 388.

46. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 341, gives the beginning settlement year as 1854. This is an error, as both the "Life History of Abraham Alonzo Kimball," 39—as cited in Leavitt Christensen, *Birth of Kanosh* (Kanosh, Utah: privately printed, 1995), 7—and King, "Twenty-five Years in Millard County," 63, give the year as 1859.

47. Christensen, *Birth of Kanosh*, 9, argues that it was his son-in-law, William George, who began the stage stop in 1863. However, Dean Chesley Robison, "History of William George and Mary Ormond George," indicates that the relay station was already operating when William and Mary George arrived in Petersburg. See also Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 269–70.

48. Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 269–70.
49. “Volney King,” 63.
50. Alegenora Barkdull Stowe to Kate Carter, Fillmore, Utah, 6 April 1948, Millard County file, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City.
51. Millard County Record Book A, 6 June, 5 September 1859; Utah State Archives; William R. Palmer, notes, Historical Department, LDS Church.
52. Cited in Ladd R. Cropper, “Early History of Millard County and Its Latter-day Saints Settlers, 1851–1912” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), 43–44.
53. John Powell, Autobiography and Journal, 1849–1901, typescript, LDS Church Archives; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 424–26.
54. Cropper, “Early History of Millard County,” 43–44.
55. Powell, Autobiography and Journal, 424–26.
56. Thomas Memmott, Journal, 1865, LDS Church Archives.
57. *Deseret News*, 8 February 1865.
58. *Deseret News*, 6 January 1923, quoted in Larry C. Porter, “A Historical Analysis of Cove Fort” (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1996), 29.
59. Brigham Young to Thomas Callister, 10 April 1861, quoted in Joleen Ashman Robison, *Almon Robison, Utah Pioneer*, 97; Melvin A. Lyman, ed., *Amasa Mason Lyman Family History* Vol. 2 (Delta, Utah: n.p., 1969), 34-B; Josiah F. Gibbs articles published in *Millard County Progress*, quoted in Joleen Robison, *Almon Robison*, 97.
60. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 273.
61. John C. Clowes to Brigham Young, 18 February 1867, Journal History; Larry C. Porter, “A Historical Analysis of Cove Fort” (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1996), 78–79.
62. Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 485.
63. For Brigham Young’s recognition of these conditions, see his “Remarks,” Journal History, 28 July 1866.
64. Warren Metcalf, “A Precarious Balance: The Northern Utes and the Black Hawk War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1989): 35.
65. Spanish Fork Treaty, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Unratified Treaties File, RG 75, National Archives, microfilm at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.
66. Quoted in Floyd O’Neil, “A History of the Ute Indians of Utah until 1890” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1973), 66.
67. Spanish Fork Treaty.

68. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 434.
69. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:220.
70. Albert Winkler, "Justice in the Black Hawk War: The Trial of Thomas Jose," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Spring 1992): 125–26.
71. Christensen, *Birth of Kanosh*, 11.
72. *Ibid.*, 17.
73. *Ibid.*
74. For the names of early Kanosh families see *ibid.*, 18–21.
75. Metcalf, "A Precarious Balance," 124–35.
76. Before and during the Black Hawk War, many Indians were accused of stealing livestock; however, at least one gang of white rustlers also plagued parts of the territory. One humorous story illustrates this problem in Millard County. Several county farmers banded together to hunt down thieves and were themselves taken prisoner by famous Mormon enforcer Orrin Porter Rockwell and a group of men from Salt Lake County who were on a similar errand. It didn't take long for both parties to realize their mistake, and all reportedly had a good laugh.
77. Brigham Young to Thomas Callister, 31 October 1867, quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 177.
78. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:244–47.
79. *Ibid.* Historians have estimated that between fifty and ninety settlers and significantly more Indians were killed during the Black Hawk War. Mormon settlers lost over a million dollars worth of livestock and property and were forced to abandon twenty-seven settlements and three counties. Black Hawk lived for a time on the Uintah Reservation before returning to Utah County, where he died and was buried in 1870.



## CHAPTER 4

# MATURATION OF COUNTY COMMUNITIES AND EARLY ECONOMIC EXPANSION

**M**usic and drama have had deep roots in the Millard County. For example, an amateur dramatic association in Fillmore led by John Cooper, John Kelly, and Adelia Robison in the mid-1850s began a tradition of play production that extended well into the twentieth century. William Beeston arrived in town in the early 1860s and soon took charge of the Fillmore LDS Ward choir, a position he held for many years. G. Daniel Olson, a carpenter and furniture maker by trade and newly married to Delilah King, daughter of Thomas R. King, arrived in Fillmore in 1861 and organized the first orchestra. The Olsons taught school for a number of years. Eventually Olson and other family members formed the Dan Olson Family Band, which played throughout the territory.<sup>1</sup>

Early settlers to Fillmore planted fruit and ornamental trees. By 1864 John Kelly reported being gratified “to behold so many fine orchards where, a few years ago, there was nothing but sage brush.” The local ward record for 1864 noted that the community had raised a fine crop of peaches and “as fine looking apples and plums as one need wish to look upon.” Apples found in the orchards of James

Stokes and Andrew Henry “measured over eleven inches in circumference.” At John Starley’s farm, “a yearling plum tree bearing quite a quantity of fruit [and] some of the finest black and white mountain currants [that] had ever before seen,” were noted. Starley dried much of his fruit and sold it in Salt Lake City and other markets to supplement his income as a blacksmith and farmer. Others in the county did the same, some peddling fruit to the mining camps in the nearby Tintic Mining District and the camps of southeastern Nevada.<sup>2</sup>

Selling of agricultural goods to the mining camps provided much-needed hard currency for the local economy. For the most part, however, the county economy rested on the barter system. One early Kanosh resident remembered working for a woman who paid her in eggs, which she then sold to passing wagon freighters. The young woman eventually saved enough money to buy calico to make herself a dress. “When my first beau came to take me to the dance,” she later wrote, “wasn’t I proud! I had my feet washed nice and clean . . . and my new dress on. . . . We all danced in our bare feet while ‘Pap’ Young played his violin. He only knew one tune, but we didn’t mind in the least.”<sup>3</sup>

Kanosh farmers grew cane sugar and processed it into molasses. They boiled juice from the cane until it became thick and sweet and then used it with melon rinds to make preserves. The young people also enjoyed pulling molasses candy over a large peg on the wall. They stretched it until it glistened white, sometimes flavoring it with mint. Some candy was cooked to a hard tack and flavored with horehound; it was especially soothing to a sore throat.

Settlers also made their own candles and soap. For candles, tallow from beef, mutton, or deer was poured into candle molds containing a wick of string or cloth. Animal fat was also the main ingredient for soap. Hardwood ashes were placed into a barrel with holes punched in the bottom, and water was added to wet the ash and allow the natural lye contained therein to be leached through the holes into a wooden tub placed underneath. This brew was then boiled with fat—three gallons of lye to five pounds of fat—to make a good grade of soap.

In Kanosh, LDS church members met in the home of William C. Penney until the tithing office—a one-room log building used for

storage of the tithing contributions of the community members—was completed. In March 1869 the Kanosh LDS Ward was organized. Brigham Young had earlier asked the advice of Millard County church leader Thomas Callister in appointing a bishop for the Kanosh settlement. Callister reportedly said, “there’s a young man down there that’s the best hand I ever saw to break a pair of mules.” To this Young replied, “that’s the man for bishop.” Thus Callister’s son-in-law Culbert King became the first bishop of Kanosh.<sup>4</sup>

In 1869 William Penney moved the logs from the schoolhouse at Petersburg and reconstructed it on the public square at Kanosh. The reconstructed schoolhouse was about eighteen by twenty feet and had two rooms, a dirt floor, and a canvas door. The town hired Isaiah Cooms as the teacher; a few years later, William Damron replaced Cooms. By then school classes were held in the newly constructed adobe meetinghouse. This multipurpose structure measured forty by sixty feet and had a raised floor with a pulpit at the west end. With four large windows (four feet by eight feet) on either side, the building had an airy, light atmosphere. One big stove heated the building. A sandstone slab about four or five feet square served as the front stoop. The schoolchildren sat on benches holding their books and slates on their laps. Some knelt or sat on the floor and used the bench as a desk. Caroline Leavitt and Pearl K. Black were among those who taught in this school. The building also was used for church and public meetings, plays, dances, and other forms of entertainment.

About twenty families remained in Petersburg after the founding of the town of Kanosh. John Ormond became the local postmaster in 1870, but the post office closed the next year when Ormond moved to Kanosh. The Gilmer and Salisbury Stage Line stopped at Petersburg until 1871, when Kanosh received its own post office. Before then, a rider carried the mail from Petersburg to Kanosh. It would be six years before Petersburg again had mail service, and by then the town had outlived its name. Since there were several other Petersburgs in Utah, the Millard County Petersburg became known as Hatton after Richard Hatton who was appointed postmaster for the community on 12 December 1877. When the stage company rerouted through Kanosh, George Roberts did double duty as both a stage driver and postmaster.

Almost from the founding of Kanosh, William Hunter operated a store in his house. Sidney Roberts, known locally as “a mechanical genius,” established a blacksmith shop; his eldest son, George H. Roberts, and his wife, Sarah, ran a store in their home. Unfortunately, both father and son died in 1874.

From the inception of settlement of Millard County, settlers had a very good relationship with the local Pahvant Indians. Much of this amicable relationship was due to Chief Kanosh, a wise and just leader of his people as well as a friend to the whites. Local residents described him as being a “big man—not fat, but big,” who cropped his hair just below his ears and often dressed in a tan topcoat. He smiled, but seldom laughed aloud. An expert horseman, he owned a number of good mounts, which he liked to race for money. When he made long trips to California or to visit family and friends in Utah Valley or Sanpete County, he usually traveled alone and preferred to eat alone.

The Pahvant Indians taught their new neighbors many of the skills needed to survive in the harsh country, including teaching the white women how to use large flat stones for grinding grain before hand grinders were available and gristmills had been built.

An important trade item for the Pahvant Indians was buckskin. The process of transforming hide into buckskin was laborious, generally performed by women of the tribe. Each day a chalklike substance was smeared on the hide to aid in the removal of the fur. The hide was then rubbed with a stone until it was soft. From the hide the women made moccasins, gloves, dresses, and men’s pants and shirts, frequently trimming some with beads. The gloves were much prized by county residents. Mormons of the county also used buckskin for saddle string, and shoelaces.<sup>5</sup>

In the spring of 1868, Kanosh married a new wife, Mary Vorheas. There is historical disagreement whether she was a Paiute or a Shoshoni, but it is certain that she was raised in Payson by the George Hancock family, who had acquired her from Ute traders when she was only three years old. Described as being “tall and willowy, Mary had long black hair and sparkling brown eyes.”<sup>6</sup> Kanosh had known her since she was small. He often stopped at the Hancocks on his trips north, and George Hancock helped Kanosh trade pelts or horses

to other settlers. Kanosh had two wives already—Julia and Betsykin. Kanosh promised Mary he would “stack the trees” to build her the kind of house in which she had been raised. Mary, Kanosh believed, would be an asset to his people in helping them adjust to their new way of life among the whites. Besides being extremely attractive, she could cook, bake, card, weave, spin and sew, as well as read and write—a woman to be prized by almost any man.

Julia, a somewhat older woman, demonstrated symptoms of insanity by weeping at the slightest provocation and then pulling her hair and screaming. Fellow villagers believed that the mentally ill woman was possessed by evil spirits. One day, in Kanosh’s absence, they tied her behind a wild horse that dragged her to death. She was buried west of Hatton.<sup>7</sup> Mary, good at riding and handling horses, particularly enjoyed riding Kanosh’s horse “Jim” when the two rode together. They presented a picturesque sight as they passed through the county.

Betsykin became extremely jealous of Mary, who was pregnant with Kanosh’s child. While Kanosh was away visiting Brigham Young, she murdered Mary. When Kanosh returned to the village and could not find Mary he began questioning Betsykin. After she failed to respond to his inquiries, he denied her food and water, which forced her to confess to killing Mary. She showed Kanosh where Mary was buried.<sup>8</sup>

The Corn Creek Pahvants tried Betsykin for her crime and offered several forms of punishment, each with the same result—death. She reportedly begged to be allowed to die by starvation. Kanosh, still fond of Betsykin, did not interfere with Indian justice. As she died, “he stared at her without moving or shedding a tear.” Witnesses recalled how “in low tones she sang her own sad requiem until her voice was hushed in death.”<sup>9</sup> Afterwards, Kanosh rode to Payson to tell the Hancocks what had happened.

For most of the remainder of his life, Kanosh lived with his Indian wife Sally, who had been raised Brigham Young’s household by Clara D. Young. Sally was born a Bannock Indian but became a captive of some Utes. Charles Decker, brother of Clara D. Young, rescued Sally by trading his gun for her. Witnesses recalled that she had been horribly tortured with burns, cuts, and starvation. According to

Brigham Young's daughter Susa Young Gates, Sally was never a full-fledged member of the Young family; she "lived downstairs with the other maids." Susa described Sally as obedient: "She took her orders well and did her duties as she was told."<sup>10</sup> She was never taught to read or write. Kanosh first noticed Sally while he was visiting Salt Lake City in 1853 when she was about thirteen years old. According to Susa, he offered nine ponies for her. The church leader explained to the chief that Sally would eventually choose for herself whom she married.<sup>11</sup>

Kanosh remained persistent, and, after several more years of "courting," Sally consented to marrying him if he agreed to build her a house with windows and a wood floor. Brigham Young assisted by explaining that she could be of service to Kanosh and his people as an example of how to assimilate white people's ways. About the year 1871 Kanosh finally married Sally. She was then about thirty years old and Kanosh forty-five. They were married in the LDS Endowment House in Salt Lake City. Clara Young gave Sally a fine black silk dress and Kanosh wore a black suit given him by Bishop Culbert King. Brigham Young presented them a wedding present of a carriage, which he filled with household furniture and goods. In Fillmore, a large crowd greeted the newlyweds at the State House.

By this time, Emily Crane from London taught school in Kanosh. One afternoon after school, she was approached by a dignified woman dressed in black taffeta, wearing a hat under which her sleek black hair was bound. The woman, Sally, then asked if Emily could write a letter for her. Crane was puzzled by the request, since the stranger seemed to be accomplished. Sally then explained her background and that she was now suffering homesickness that only news from Salt Lake City could cure. Emily thereafter wrote many letters for Sally; but, to Sally's disappointment, she received few letters back from Brigham Young's family. This encounter between Emily and Sally developed into a warm friendship.

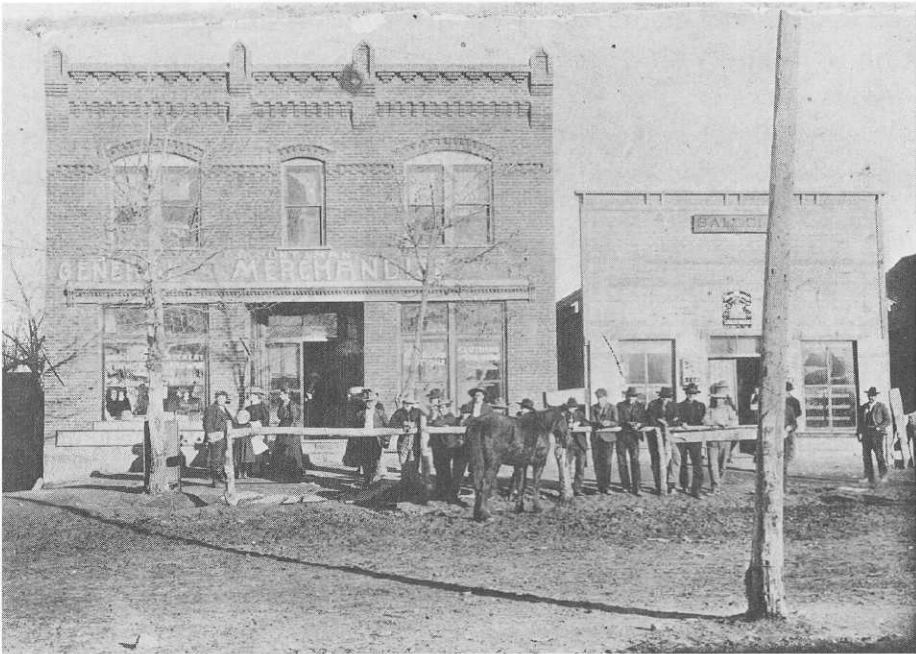
Emily Crane recognized the difficult situation Sally faced living in the nearby Indian village. Discussing the matter with the Culbert King family, with whom she was living, the one-room log tithing house, which had become too small for the bishop's storehouse, was made available for Sally and Kanosh to live in. During the week,

Kanosh lived with his people, but spent weekends with Sally in their modest cabin. They often attended and spoke in sacrament meetings in the Kanosh Ward, as he occasionally did elsewhere in the county. A number of residents of the town remembered eating at Kanosh and Sally's table and observed that he never ate without first asking a blessing on the food. Sally joined the local LDS Relief Society, where she was treated with love and respect.

In 1872 Thomas L. Kane, a longtime friend of the Mormons, and his wife, Elizabeth, visited Utah Territory. They joined Brigham Young and his entourage on their annual visit to the southern settlements. Young stopped at Kanosh's home, where he expected the Indian leader to come out and greet them. When Kanosh didn't appear, Young sent a messenger inside who reported back that when Kanosh visited Young at his home, "Brigham sat still in his house; and what was manners for Brigham was manners for Kanosh." Young understood, and he and the others were greeted inside by Kanosh. Like any good hostess, Sally served refreshments.<sup>12</sup>

By 1875 the town of Kanosh had obtained a local spring from the John and Jane Rogers family and then traded it to the Corn Creek Pahvant Indians in exchange for Indian land in town. Two years later, when the Corn Creek Irrigation Company was established to develop and manage water allotments, the organizers of the company donated twenty shares of water to the Corn Creek Pahvant Indians. The water had been used for some time by the Pahvants for irrigation and drinking purposes. The Kanosh band of Pahvant Utes formally remained a part of the national Indian reservation system until 1929, when, by an act of Congress, the parcels of land they were occupying officially became a reservation for both the Kanosh and Beaver bands of Pahvant Ute Indians.

On 9 December 1878 Sally preceded Kanosh in death, leaving him with no children. After Sally's death, Kanosh spent more of his time at his home in Kanosh than at the Indian village. He was so much respected that he was asked to speak at Thomas Callister's funeral. Kanosh passed away in the early 1880s, and hundreds of friends attended his funeral, although historians have been unable to agree on the year that Kanosh died—some indicate 4 December 1881, others 1884.<sup>13</sup>



C. R. Huntsman General Merchandise, Fillmore. (Utah State Historical Society)

At the time of Kanosh's death, approximately eighty Native Americans resided on land northeast of Kanosh, from which they produced about 400 bushels of wheat, demonstrating their ability to be successful farmers. However, several observers complained that men from several neighboring towns sold liquor to the Indians. The selling of intoxicants to Native Americans was against the law, but there were apparently few, if any, arrests made by county lawmen for such offenses. Numerous denunciations from the pulpit did little to deter the activities of those who had long before severed their ties with the Mormon church.<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence the situation changed, although it may have helped lead to countywide prohibition not long after the turn of the twentieth century.

After the Utah Central and Utah Southern Railroad was completed to Juab County in 1874, various stagecoach companies provided service to Pioche, Nevada, as well as serving as mail contractors for Millard County. Mail was delivered to each of the Millard County



towns along the main road. Benjamin Johnson still operated his station in Round Valley, providing fresh horses and needed respite for drivers.

The Gilmer and Salisbury Stage Company's stagecoaches were pulled by three teams of horses. The coaches comfortably seated nine people, with the driver and conductor perched on the high front seat. The latter, who was armed, was in charge of the passengers and their luggage, up to twenty-five pounds per person. At the strategically located larger stations, passengers rested and had the opportunity to secure meals and other refreshments. Such amenities were provided by the Georges at the Petersburg station.<sup>15</sup>

After the Willden family abandoned Cove Creek in 1865, Mormon church leaders became sufficiently interested in the area to purchase their land in 1867. Brigham Young continued to have apprehensions about the safety of settlers and overland travelers between Fillmore and Beaver following the Black Hawk War. He decided to build a substantial fort on the Cove Creek land and to construct a road from the settlements in Sevier County to the Cove Creek fort. Jesse N. Smith of Parowan wrote his cousin Apostle George A. Smith about the proposed road, which, Jesse argued, would "bring the wheat fields of Sevier County into convenient reach of Fillmore and Beaver." All that was needed was \$2,000 from the territorial legislature.<sup>16</sup>

In a letter to blacksmith Ira N. Hinckley, Brigham Young outlined the fort's purpose: "To afford protection from Indians to the telegraph and mail stations and to travelers who are almost constantly on the road." The fort was to "furnish feed and protection from bad weather to this latter class." Young assured Hinckley that there was plenty of farm and hay-growing land along with "herding facilities [and] good fire[wood] in abundance."<sup>17</sup>

Hinckley was a trusted and experienced builder who had assisted Brigham Young in the abortive attempt to establish a line of freight stations across southern Wyoming. Young counseled Hinckley to leave his two wives at his current home in Coalville in Summit County until the fort was completed.<sup>18</sup> In 1867 Hinckley traveled to Cove Creek in the company of Brigham Young to lay out the fort and other buildings and begin work. Young assigned the communities of

Fillmore and Beaver to provide workmen to complete the project, each worker receiving tithing credit in lieu of pay.

Former county resident Charles Willden was among the workers called from Beaver. He and his wife reoccupied their adobe house, and Eleanor Willden provided room and board for some of the other workers. A large family garden helped supply food for the tables. Their son Feargus also assisted with the lime kiln. Nicholas Paul, a Mormon convert from Capetown, South Africa, came from Holden to act as head mason, assisted by his son William. Two other father-and-son teams from Holden also worked on Cove Fort. Both Orange Warner, Sr., and Jr. produced lime for the mortar and plaster and made shingles; and superintendent of carpenters Christian Hanson, aided by his son Hans, oversaw and participated in the construction of the barn and did woodwork in the fort. Joseph D. Smith from Fillmore helped quarry the large black lava rocks that appear at the corners of the fort and throughout the walls, and John Trimble cut and hauled poles for the scaffolding; both men also helped the masons.<sup>19</sup>

Except for the metal work, most of the materials that went into the fort and outbuildings were gathered within a few miles of the site. The stone quarry was only a half mile away. In addition to the lime kiln, the workers built a sawmill and a shingle mill nearby and utilized timber from Shingle Creek, twelve miles southeast of the fort. It was reported, "All the doors, windows, frames and moldings were made by hand from rough lumber sawed at Beaver and freighted to the fort by team."<sup>20</sup>

The fort formed a square one hundred feet on each side. The walls were fifteen feet high and narrowed from four feet thick at the base to two feet at the top. Two sets of runways ran along both the east and west walls. One was three feet from the ground and designed so a person could stand on it and shoot a gun through the loopholes built into the wall. A higher runway allowed access to loopholes along the top of the fort. The roofs over the six rooms built along the inside of the north and south walls served the same purpose and were reached by stairs in the northeast corner of the fort. The fort had two entrances; large, double wooden doors secured the fourteen-foot-square main gate on the east, with an American flag unfurled above

it. An eight-by-four-foot single door opened on the west and featured a nearby bell.

A sixty-foot-square barn stood not far north of the fort. Attached to the west side was a 150-by-200-foot corral made of juniper posts placed side by side. A stone blacksmith shop with a sod roof, a small log bunkhouse, and a pig pen completed the outbuildings. After attempts failed to dig wells inside the fort, workers diverted part of Cove Creek with a ditch that ran through the fort. It entered the fort through the east gate and filled a large cistern in the center of the courtyard that overflowed back into the ditch, which exited out the west gate. This worked fine except when melting snow swelled the creek and flooded the courtyard.

By October the fort was sufficiently completed that Ira Hinckley moved his family there from Coalville. As it turned out, the fort was not needed for protection from Indians. Two stages arrived daily—one from the north and the other from the south. Freighters, telegraph employees, mail carriers, stagecoach passengers and drivers, together with a variety of other travelers, all found welcome food and lodging at Cove Fort.

The territorial legislature granted the citizens of Deseret a city charter on 3 February 1868. In the elections that followed, Isaac Pierce was elected mayor and William Radford was chosen justice of the peace. Thomas Memmott served as the town's first postmaster. Earlier, a combination school/church building, which measured eighteen by twenty feet, was built of logs. John Powell fashioned the sashes for the twelve windows. The townspeople dedicated the building on Friday, 13 December 1867, and for six months it served as the community center. When the settlement was abandoned, the log building was dismantled and moved to Oak Creek, where it was later destroyed by fire after several months of further use.<sup>21</sup>

Despite problems with grasshoppers, the 1867 grain crop was reasonably good. In the spring of 1868, the settlers planted more acres of wheat than in previous years. However, farmers faced another problem: the treacherous Sevier River again rose and washed around the well-constructed dam, destroying it. After four years of hard work to improve the land, Thomas Memmott lamented, "At night I thought I was worth \$1800, in the morning, \$180 would buy

me out.” Most farmers left; however, some remained to continue their struggle and to celebrate Pioneer Day in Deseret.<sup>22</sup>

Within a couple of years of the settlement of Deseret, Thomas Callister described a new grazing ground located northeast of town. An “extensive and excellent herd ground at Oak Creek, distant twenty miles,” could be utilized in the summer months. Oak Creek also became a source of firewood and fencing material for the settlers at Deseret. In the spring of 1867 William H. Walker built a sawmill at Oak Creek and opened a road to the timber of the adjacent canyon, probably concentrating on the timber in the side canyons later named for him.

Apparently the first semipermanent resident of the new settlement was Charity Prows, one of the first settlers at Deseret and a faithful convert to Mormonism from Canada, who suffered terrible hardships getting to Utah. Prows, along with her daughter Mary Jane, herded cattle and sheep in Oak Creek Canyon during the summer months. Prows, long a widow but not lacking courage or ambition, built a house at Oak Creek. There she and her daughter also were engaged in making butter and planted a garden, diverting most of the creek water for irrigation. The Prows women still spent the winter at Deseret, but when the settlement was abandoned, they became permanent residents of the Oak Creek settlement.<sup>23</sup>

Within a year or two after the Prows women located at Oak Creek, other families from Deseret and from the east Millard settlements, including those of Jonathan Partridge, John W. Radford, Thomas Morgan, and Alvin Prows, moved to the area to ranch on a more permanent basis. Together they fenced ten acres north of the future town, where they planted a wheat crop.<sup>24</sup>

When the Deseret dam was taken out by floods a fourth time in 1868, Millard stake president Thomas Callister and other county and stake officials, including county surveyor Thomas E. King, visited the families at Oak Creek and conducted a survey for a new town large enough to settle between fifty and one hundred families. William Walker was dispatched to Salt Lake City to make application to the territorial legislature for a section grant for the town. Although the grant secured was far from square, the city subsequently was laid out and each family head offered the opportunity to draw for a town lot.

Almost two dozen families and another dozen single men located there the first year, many from Deseret. Memmott returned to Scipio, the Croppers and Crafts went temporarily to Fillmore, William Prows returned to Kanosh, but the largest number located at Oak Creek. In the last news dispatch from Deseret as it was being abandoned, Thomas Memmott reported the demise of the town and the virtues of the new community: "It is now considered wise to make a general move to Oak Creek . . . on the benches, which is probably one of the finest locations for a settlement in the mountains."<sup>25</sup>

As had been the case in each Mormon pioneering venture, Oak Creek citizens made diverting the local stream and digging the necessary ditches among their first tasks. Many lived in dugouts in the hillsides while they were hauling logs from the canyons and dismantling houses at Deseret to provide material for their new residences. The first house completed was made of adobes by George Lovell and Pater Anderson. During the winter of 1868 the community founders combined efforts and fenced an additional 360 acres of farmland directly west of town.

During the first year, Oak Creek residents held school and church services in individual homes. The next summer (1869), they returned to Deseret and dismantled the school/meetinghouse that had been dedicated just before abandonment of the town. They reassembled the building on the southwest corner of the block east of the town square, where it served as the community's first public building. Unfortunately, the structure burned after a New Year's dance that very winter.<sup>26</sup>

Oak City, like its predecessor towns in east Millard County, had the advantage of timber close at hand in the nearby canyons. There, early sawmill activity produced good building lumber. William Walker was the first so engaged, as were several of Amasa Lyman's sons from Fillmore. Amasa Lyman was a founder of the Mormon settlement of San Bernardino, California, before moving to Fillmore where he operated several sawmills and a gristmill. Still visible in Lyman Canyon near the top of Oak Creek Canyon are both the skid trail where logs were dragged by oxen from the higher canyons and the millrace where creek water was diverted to generate more fall to turn a waterwheel.

In the spring of 1867, citizens of Oak Creek encouraged what one called "the Dixie travel" to use the Leamington Canyon Road rather than the more heavily used road through Round Valley. If travelers used this road, Oak City would become an important overland waystation where supplies could be purchased and livestock rested. A major problem with the route, however, was crossing the Sevier River. On 6 June 1870, John Lovell and thirty-seven others requested five hundred dollars from the county court to build a bridge across the Sevier River to better serve travelers. The request was denied. However, later in the year, a road which went from Holden to the Oak City area and on past future Leamington was completed including a bridge and a grade, across the slope of what is still known as Bridge Mountain, northwest through the Tintic District and Cedar Valley, where it joined the old road near Lehi. As near as can be determined, only local travelers used the road, however; others continued to use the older established road.<sup>27</sup>

Although the Oak Creek settlement usually displayed an impressive measure of cooperation and neighborliness, the relatively small size of the local stream of water was a source of periodic conflict. In 1868 William Walker moved his gristmill from Deseret to the mouth of Oak Creek Canyon, built a house, and took out water for the mill. His actions were sanctioned by Mormon church authorities in both Fillmore and Oak City. However, the next year, local presiding elder John Lovell concluded that the mill was too far from the main body of citizens and requested Walker to relocate nearer town. Walker agreed to do so if he could generate sufficient fall of water to operate his machinery. To obtain the necessary fall, Walker built a reservoir to ensure a constant supply of water, and in early 1870 he began operating his mill. While Walker was away in Salt Lake City a short time later, however, vandals drained the reservoir, which resulted in damage to the mill machinery. Although Walker repaired the mill machinery quickly, the breach in the dam took more time and money. Meanwhile, Walker attempted to use water from the creek during the peak irrigation season, which did not sit well with the farmers of the community. The water users in Oak City held a mass meeting and decided that Walker could not use irrigation water to operate his mill during the irrigation season. Dissatisfied with the

decision, Walker appealed to Mormon stake leaders, who also refused his appeal. The next spring, before Walker could reconstruct his dam, a flood destroyed the recently repaired mill machinery, putting him permanently out of the milling business in Oak City. Thereafter, Oak City farmers traveled to Fillmore or to Sanpete County to get their wheat ground.<sup>28</sup>

As the decade of the 1860s ended, the livestock industry became more safe from Indian incursions, and outposts for pasturing and ranching were established at several promising locations. In June 1869, four Fillmore men hauled heavy fence poles from Cove Creek to Black Rock Springs, where they constructed large stock corrals in an area well suited for cattle. In these years, several cattlemen with Texas roots trailed livestock from their old home to Utah; some undoubtedly ended up in Millard County. Jacob Croft and his Cropper stepsons were among those who relocated to the county. Since Texas beef was tough to eat as well as suspected of carrying disease, there was some local opposition to the cattle, but it did not stop other Texans from driving their cattle to Utah. In 1871 Gilbert Webb and his nephew Wise Cropper reached Utah from Texas with over 2,000 longhorns, and many of them grazed near the lakes scattered along the lower Sevier River.

The Texas family of William H. and Samuel H. McIntyre, having trailed cattle to Utah and sold them for a good price, returned to Texas, sold their land, and trailed more than 6,000 head of longhorns to the Tintic area. Soon thereafter, with cattle brought from Nebraska, the brothers located on land purchased from earlier homesteaders in the Leamington area, acquiring river water rights and gradually increasing their farm and grazing lands until the ranch was probably the largest in Millard County. As many as fifty men were employed in the summer months, not only riding herd on cattle and doing fence work as far to the northwest as the old Porter Rockwell Ranch in Juab County but also harvesting hay and grain to tide the livestock through the winter. For some sixty years the feed was stored in a barn that was said by Ripley's "Believe it or Not" researchers to be one of the largest in the world.<sup>29</sup>

Cooperative cattle roundups were staged throughout the county, with widespread cooperation of ranchers gathering cattle from the

Canyon and Pahvant mountain ranges and adjacent desert areas. In some instances, cooperative cattle roundups were mandated by the county court. For instance, on 13 November 1866 the county court decreed a general cattle roundup under the direction of Peter Huntsman and Orson Holbrook. Volney King recalled one such operation in 1869, when “all the people in the valley” turned out to drive the cattle and horses into one place, where the cattle were separated and the local cowboys demonstrated their roping, branding, and calf-throwing skills.

A decade later, in early January 1877, Platte D. Lyman recorded that he spent most of a week “on the range looking after stock.” In mid-June he noted riding over the extensive range of mountains from just north of Holden to Scipio to Leamington, as well as to the Oak Creek area. The roundups in the Pahvant Mountains and adjacent rangelands were equally extensive. Several LDS wards on both sides of the county had organized cooperative cattle herds during and after the united order movement, which had ended by 1877. Marketing of cattle also was often done cooperatively in the county. In 1870 some local residents organized the Millard Cooperative Horse and Stock Raising Company. Two years later, Francis M. Lyman, representing the group, secured a contract for thirty beef cattle a month to be delivered at the booming mining camp of Pioche, Nevada—a contract fulfilled thereafter under the direction of Thomas R. King.<sup>30</sup>

The county rangelands technically belonged to the federal government, which, in 1874, assumed more control, essentially prohibiting territorial and local government authorities from restricting non-resident livestockmen from the use of such resources. With virtually no supervision by any government agency, however, much of this area was woefully overgrazed for several decades. There would be some progress in mountain range management after national forest reserves were created beginning in 1891, with the Fish Lake National Forest established in the region by the end of the decade. Thereafter, grazing permits were allotted on the basis of prior use of forest lands to Oak City livestockmen as well as those in Kanosh and other east-side county towns.<sup>31</sup>

By the 1860s the Millard County Court not only appointed a jus-



tice of the peace for each community but generally oversaw law enforcement. In 1866 the court appropriated \$256 to reimburse acting Sheriff Peter Huntsman and eight temporary deputies, each at four dollars a day for man and horse, for services rendered "pursuing supposed thieves." Two of the deputies were N.M. McBride and Wise Cropper. William S. Hawley and John Kenny were similarly remunerated two years later.

In the 1870s, Millard County cattlemen organized themselves into livestock protective associations against the growing problem of cattle rustling by whites. Joseph A. Ray, Wise Cropper, and Jim Little were among the heads of the law enforcement portions of these organizations in Millard County during some of these years.

Cattle thievery was not the only law enforcement problem in the county. In late 1867, Millard County observers noted an abundance of untaxed whiskey circulating in the eastern portion of the county. The person charged with investigating was Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue Francis M. Lyman, who soon began to focus on rumors of "an illicit manufactory in the Oak Creek Mountains." After initial failure, on a second attempt the day after Christmas, Lyman discovered "a distillery in full operation on a large scale in a recess" in the mountains. There is no indication of the exact location, but, since the bootleggers were Holden residents and the closest canyon with sufficient water in the mountains to the north has long been known as Whiskey Creek, the still was undoubtedly located there. It took several wagons to haul out the distilling apparatus and barrels of whiskey, which were used as evidence in a subsequent trial.<sup>32</sup>

Peter Huntsman was elected county sheriff in 1875 during a time of growing crime in the county. Particularly troublesome was a gang of cattle rustlers, robbers, and murderers headed by noted outlaw Ben Tasker. Tasker made his headquarters in western Iron County near Modena, but his illegal activities took place throughout west central Utah. Tasker and his gang of robbers were attracted to western Utah because of the extensive mining activities that were occurring in Pioche, Nevada, and at Silver Reef, Frisco, and the Tintic Mining District in Utah. County farmers and ranchers who contracted to haul supplies and ore for the mines or peddled fresh produce and



State House, Fillmore. Used from time-to-time as a school. (Utah State Historical Society)

trailed cattle to the various mining camps generally were easy targets for the outlaws.

Some local teamsters became quite proficient at protecting themselves from being robbed. Joseph Dame of Meadow, for example, became so adept with firearms that the freight and large amounts of hard currency he often carried remained safe. Dame slept with his rifle strapped to his wrist and a pistol at his side. Some freighters, when passing near Tasker's hideout, acted friendly, providing him with provisions. Daniel Melville of Fillmore took such wise advice and had no trouble with Tasker.

Ben Tasker also stole cattle from county ranchers. On one occasion, near Deseret, Tusker and his men made off with twenty head of cattle. Sheriff Huntsman had been warned earlier by Judge Emerson of Provo never to try to apprehend Tasker without at least twenty men and a cannon. The loss of cattle to the ranchers was significant, however, so Huntsman and part-time deputies Joe Ray and Wise

Cropper of Deseret followed the thieves south into Iron County, discounting the judge's warnings.

Huntsman and his two deputies were able to get ahead of the thieves and the cattle before the rustlers could reach their hide-out. Huntsman, with some difficulty, was able to arrest Tasker, returning him to Fillmore, where he was placed in jail in Huntsman's home. The county, apparently, lacked a suitable jail. Huntsman's house proved to be unsuitable, with Tasker soon making his escape. Huntsman again was able to capture Tasker without incident. However, the cattle rustling problem would not be permanently solved for some time.<sup>33</sup>

Aside from some investigations by Ira N. Hinckley and several associates in the Cove Fort area, including claims of the nearby sulphur deposits for the Mormon church, there was as yet very little mining activity in the county. Some Millard County residents traveled to the extreme west side of the county and beyond to White Pine County, Nevada, to prospect for minerals or work in the mines; others worked in the mines in Juab and Beaver Counties.

The Mormon cooperative movement was partly a result of the apprehension toward non-Mormon outsider, or "gentile," businessmen who appeared to threaten to control the economic affairs in the territory with the approach and completion of the transcontinental railroad. Initiated through a series of sermons at the October general Mormon church conference in 1868, the cooperative movement spread quickly throughout the territory. Two lasting contributions of the cooperative movement were the organizing of cooperative livestock herds and the establishment of Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI).

The residents of Millard County were involved in the movement. On 4 March 1869, a number of potential shareholders met in Fillmore to form the Fillmore City branch of ZCMI. Thomas Callister was chosen president, with Thomas R. King, Francis M. Lyman, Chandler Holbrook, Joseph R. Robison, and John W. Dutson as directors. John Kelly was selected to be secretary and Levi H. McCullough treasurer. A *Deseret News* report at the time stated "the people at Fillmore manifested a lively interest in co-operation by subscribing liberally for shares."<sup>34</sup> Shares in the ZCMI branch were set at

twenty-five dollars each and 175 were sold, giving the company \$4,375 with which to rent store space and buy inventory.

The board of directors purchased Thomas King's entire stock of merchandise and rented his store as well as that of the Gabriel Huntsman Company. King was retained on a 5 percent commission to operate the co-op store. The board also authorized King and Francis Lyman go to Salt Lake City to purchase \$3,000 worth of additional inventory. The ZCMI board approached Fillmore mayor Joseph V. Robison and the city council with an offer to purchase the northeast corner of the town square on which to build a new store. The transaction was made and the building was completed in 1871; it still stands today.<sup>35</sup>

A cooperative livestock herd was established in Fillmore as well, but like the earlier attempt at living the united order, this effort was short-lived. A tannery and a shoe and harness shop also were cooperatively owned and operated for a time.<sup>36</sup>

While Fillmore residents were still conducting some cooperative enterprises, Brigham Young arrived in Fillmore on 15 April 1874 to reorganize the Millard Stake United Order. He stressed obedience to priesthood leadership, to industry, and to the plan, and he indicated that each member who joined the plan should be admitted according to their temperamental, social, and domestic qualities.

Volney King, bishop of the Kanosh Ward, was elected president of the Kanosh United Order. He earlier had worked on the cooperative farm and taught school during the winter months in Kanosh as well as working as a clerk in the cooperative store. Joseph Smith Black was elected vice-president. He wrote of the united order: "Each one's property was invoiced and placed to the credit of the owner and then put into one general fund. No one was paid wages for their work but all worked at that which they were considered best adapted for." This local united order lasted only about a year. Black believed that "the move was too sudden and great to be crowned with success." He added that some lost initiative and were careless, others wasted what they received.<sup>37</sup>

Holden also instituted a co-op store, which was started by the citizens with an initial capital of one thousand dollars. Charles Stevens also donated the inventory from the small store he had operated in

his home. Charles Wood, Sr., was the first manager of the new mercantile venture. The cooperative enterprise proved to be one of the most successful in the county, enduring until 1922. At that time, Edward F. Stevens bought the store and continued to operate it until 1934, when it finally closed.<sup>38</sup> In some of those years it paid dividends up to 25 percent. Another unique feature of the movement at Holden was that the Mormon church purchased the spring and surrounding property of David Savage north of town. There as many as a thousand church-owned cattle were maintained under the supervision of William H. Ashby and George W. Badger.

The Oak Creek LDS Branch also began its united order in 1874. There, too, members fell far short of divesting themselves of most of their private property, although at least some farmland was operated under a superintendent, with individuals appointed to plow, plant, and irrigate the land. There were also numerous sermons at the time admonishing the brethren to labor together in harmony. It is not entirely clear how many of the local citizens participated in the various enterprises, but they did establish a cooperative store and a butcher shop. One of the key enterprises of the Oak Creek United Order was molasses manufacturing, with two molasses mills being constructed near the school grounds. Perhaps because Oak Creek residents had already become so well established individually and had little irrigation water available for expansion, the cooperative enterprises did not last long there. Lucrative opportunities for individuals to trade and peddle fruit at the mining camps also may have caused the united order to be less than successful. As was the case in much of Utah, by the end of the first year the united order effort had essentially been abandoned in Oak City.<sup>39</sup>

Scipio organized a cooperative store, which was later transformed into an enterprise of the united order. When it appeared that some shareholders hesitated to fully participate in this level of cooperation, those who did join the order purchased those shares. By 1875 the Scipio United Order had a membership of forty families, led by Daniel Thompson, who in 1880 was elected to the territorial House of Representatives. Within the first year of operation, members also established a shoe shop and an 800-acre dairy with barn facilities for one hundred cows as well as for the necessary draft animals to run

the farm. Members built "a public coral," along with considerable fence and road construction and other unspecified "public work." Observer Volney King reported at the time that "the order [is] in a good condition & every body feeling well."<sup>33</sup>

John Lovell, who had been the last Mormon presiding elder in Deseret, continued in that capacity in the early years at Oak Creek. Early in 1871, stake president Thomas Callister assigned stake high councilman Platte de Alton Lyman to move from Fillmore to Oak City and take charge of the branch there. Lyman became branch president, with John W. Dutson and George Finlinson from Fillmore to assist him. Lyman was called on a year-long mission to Britain in 1876; in his absence, Lovell, his counselor, served again as the presiding elder. Upon Lyman's return in July 1877, he was sustained as bishop for both communities of Oak Creek and Leamington. However, developments later that week assured that this would be but a temporary assignment.

On the Tuesday after Lyman became the first Oak Creek bishop, he was elected one of the directors of the Oak Creek Irrigation Company, which was organized "to secure and protect the people . . . in their water claims." The next evening, while Lyman presided as company president, there was "considerable discussion" and "considerable bad feeling" from many town residents over Lyman's claim to water for eight city lots. Although a committee subsequently requested him to continue as company president, Lyman resigned later that week and soon withdrew his claim to the water, hoping that would "help to bring about a better feeling among all parties." Lyman began investigating opportunities elsewhere, and early the following year he relocated to Leamington while continuing to preside over the Oak Creek ward. He essentially had been emotionally alienated from Oak City.<sup>41</sup>

A natural consequence of the limited water supply at Oak Creek was that it led people to search other possible settlement sites in the county. Fool Creek Flat to the north presented one such possibility, and in the fall of 1871 an attempt was made to construct an intake dam there for a diversion canal on the Sevier River. The following spring, original Oak Creek resident Thomas Morgan surveyed another dam and ditch site and work immediately began on both.

Several houses were moved to the area from Deseret including Christian Overson's, a former inhabitant of Oak Creek and Deseret. Contrary to other area settlements in the county, Leamington, named by Frank Young, a nephew of Brigham Young, for a town in England, had little if any initial sponsorship from Millard County LDS church leaders, although there was certainly no opposition to the settlement.<sup>42</sup>

Thomas Morgan may have functioned as an unofficial presiding elder; but, early in 1877, Oak Creek church leaders assumed responsibility for overseeing the Leamington congregation of about seventy-five Mormons. Bishop Platte Lyman usually journeyed to Leamington on Saturdays, stayed overnight, and presided over services there before returning home. After his disagreements over water with other Oak Creek residents, Lyman investigated the possibilities in the newly reestablished Deseret settlement. He eventually purchased Ole Jensen's Leamington farm of eighty acres, a home, and other improvements. On 30 September 1877 Lyman set apart Lars Nielson to preside over the Leamington congregation in his absence, a function the faithful Danish convert performed first as a counselor and then as bishop until 1900.

Lyman took the occasion while attending the Mormon church's April 1878 general conference to visit with friend and relative Apostle Joseph F. Smith. Lyman told Smith about the water situation in Oak Creek—it being insufficient for the needs of people living there. He enquired of Smith and fellow apostle Franklin D. Richards if they could feel justified in releasing him from his church position in Millard County to seek a better location elsewhere in the territory. Shortly after this conversation, Apostle Erastus Snow approached Lyman about helping lead a colonization venture to the Grand River/San Juan region. This resulted in the loss to the county of one of the promising leaders of the pioneering generation.

The further development of irrigation in Millard County was critical for the expansion of settlements. In early December 1872, several dozen Chalk Creek water users petitioned the county court to create a Fillmore Irrigation District; the court granted the request.<sup>43</sup> A year later, the court undertook the difficult task of distributing the creek water among the growing number of users. The water available

any given year was divided into twenty-five equal shares. Starting with the assumption that the 800 acres of lots, fields, and gardens as well as culinary users within Fillmore City demanded more of the precious resource than the two main outlying farm districts—the “old field” of some 500 acres and the “sink field” comprising 400 acres. The court devoted sixteen shares to Fillmore users, five to farmers in the old-field district, and four to the sink-field people. It is possible that local farmers were seeking to irrigate more land than previously cultivated, because an agricultural report at about that time listed 1,700 acres that were being irrigated in the entire east side of the county, which was also the total acreage being irrigated from Chalk Creek. The establishment of the Fillmore Irrigation District also provided the farmers with the financial ability to expand the pioneer ditches.

This was not the final solution to the distribution of water from Chalk Creek. In a letter to the *Deseret Evening News* in 1881, a Fillmore correspondent stated tersely, “we have a water question to settle. The water commissioners have settled it once, but it won’t stay settled, and will have to go to the District Court.” As in most Utah communities, water distribution and use continued to be a problem. More land was cultivated and more water was needed to irrigate the expanded farmland in the county.<sup>44</sup>

The year 1870 was particularly productive for Millard County farmers: 12,267 bushels of wheat, 6,853 bushels of corn, and 9,714 bushels of potatoes. This yield was not surpassed until 1900, when farmers from west Millard County had a very good year. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century sorghum production dropped from a high of 6,158 gallons in 1870 to 2,043 gallons in 1900. Orchard products in 1870 yielded \$3,455 in income generated from fruit, which was also higher than in 1900 or 1880, when crops valued at \$3,216 and \$2,248, respectively, were produced. All figures appear to be incomplete, however. These income figures were rough estimates of fruit sales beyond the county. Much of these latter products were shipped to the booming Nevada and Utah mining camps.<sup>45</sup>

Some one hundred families in Round Valley organized the Scipio Irrigation Company in late 1872. The leading grain producers in the county, the families of Round Valley were eager to improve their



water supplies. While it seemed that Holden had numerous springs and an adequate water supply, Bishop Thomas Callister in 1867 had advised the people of Holden to develop water from Pioneer and Wild Goose Creeks. Holden farmers followed the counsel of Callister, as did farmers of Meadow and Kanosh, who organized irrigation companies in 1886 and 1887, each dividing the available water into shares. Water shares were sold to raise funds for the construction of additional ditches and to hire a watermaster to oversee the distribution of irrigation water.

The steepness of the Pahvant Mountain canyons made the construction of large storage reservoirs impractical, although irrigation companies sometimes attempted smaller retention basins at lower levels. These efforts were generally abandoned as a result of water loss into the soil and damage from periodic floods. Still, the acreage served by the water companies was generally expanded through better planning and improved delivery systems.

Meanwhile, a group of non-Mormons from the Tintic Mining District showed interest in building a new dam at Deseret in 1874. They apparently lost interest, however, and sold the materials to Gilbert Webb, who the next year commenced construction of another dam. Elaborately planned, it featured four log cribs thirty feet long and sixteen feet wide filled with rocks, with adjustable lumber gates in between. The first summer the structure leaked, so the next year Webb filled in earth behind the dam. About the time the dam was completed, two brothers, William V. and Joseph S. Black, originally from Utah's Dixie, moved their families from Kanosh to Deseret and took up land on both sides of the river in what became the new townsite.

Sarah Jane Barney Black and Cynthia Allred Black, wives of Joseph S. Black, were the first women to live in the reestablished settlement of Deseret. One of the women lived in a house which had been moved from the east side of the county.<sup>46</sup> Each woman gave birth to nine children; however, four of Cynthia's children died as infants or very young children. Joseph Black's third wife, Caroline Thompson, gave birth to eleven children. Cynthia served as one of the community's midwives, traveling about the country in a horse cart giving aid. Providing for such a large number of children proved

difficult for Black. Besides his farm, he owned a mercantile business that Caroline operated. Joseph Black eventually went to work on railroad grading contracts to provide additional income for his families.

William V. Black married sisters Almira and Victoria Ayers. He also had a large family. Almira died from complications during the birth of her tenth child. Victoria and William had fifteen children, some of whom were born in Deseret, where he was made presiding elder.

Meanwhile, mortgages essential to raise funds for the dam at Deseret along with the general financial distress during the nationwide depression of the 1870s overextended Gilbert Webb to the point that he and the Deseret farmers became alarmed at the prospects of the project going out of friendly hands. Wise Cropper, Hyrum Dewsnup, and William V. and Joseph S. Black went to Salt Lake City and arranged to assume the debts and gain control of the property. However, they soon learned that one of the creditors had already foreclosed on the dam in district court and it was to be sold at auction at the Millard County courthouse. Joseph Black attended and made the high bid of \$4,000, thus securing the property for the citizens of the settlement. The Deseret Irrigation Company was reorganized in July 1879, and for years thereafter a small percentage of the fees collected and proceeds from water stock sold went into a fund to repay the earlier dam purchase and construction debt.<sup>47</sup>

During the second year of resettlement, there not only was a surplus of available irrigation water but also a grain crop of 20,000 bushels, plus some corn. In efforts to attract more settlers, residents advertised unexcelled land and a consistent water supply. The next year saw the area's settlers "well satisfied with the yield of crops" on what they continued to assert was some of the best land in the territory, further publishing in Salt Lake City newspapers that there was still a good deal of property not yet claimed or occupied. One of the new settlers, William W. Damron, noted in a letter to the *Deseret News* that among the town's greatest needs was a gristmill, appealing for a good citizen to come and establish one.

In June 1877 the people of Deseret met with Mormon leader Thomas C. Callister and his counselor Edward Partridge, Jr., under a bowery at the home of George Bishop. After sermons by both men,

who would soon be in the official stake presidency, the Deseret LDS Branch was reestablished, with William V. Black appointed “temporary president.” A month later, the Deseret LDS Ward was reorganized, with Joseph S. Black as bishop.

School trustees, along with church leaders, again gathered materials to build a combination schoolhouse and chapel made of adobe on the south side of the river at the new town site. School classes moved from private homes to the building and a Sunday School also was organized. Both reported good attendance.<sup>48</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

1. Family tradition holds that the Olson Family Band furnished music for the opening of the Salt Lake Theater, and it did perform there on several other occasions. Another son, Culbert, later became governor of California. See Volney King, “Millard County, 1851–1875,” *Utah Humanities Review* 1, (July 1947): 378. See also Stella H. Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 536.

2. Fillmore Ward Records, 1864, LDS Church Archives.

3. Quoted in Alice Morrey Bailey, “Last Wife of Chief Kanosh,” *Frontier Times* (March 1980): 50.

4. Larry R. King, *Kings of the Kingdom: The Life of Thomas Rice King and His Family* (Orem, Utah: Larry R. King, 1996), 78.

5. Bailey, “Last Wife of Chief Kanosh,” 22, 50. Linda King Newell remembers as a child in 1950s going each fall to the Kanosh reservation with her father, Foisy E. King, to take his deer skin. Someone there would tan the hide and make one pair of work gloves for him as payment for the rest of the buckskin, which would then be made into more gloves to sell.

6. Madeline C. Dixon, *These Were the Utes*, (n.p., 1983), 98–100.

7. *Ibid.*, 101. See also Bailey, “Last Wife of Chief Kanosh.” For Julia’s grave site, see E.L. Black “The Life Story of Indian Chief Kanosh,” 1, typescript, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. The authors thank Larry Coats for providing us with a copy.

8. There are several stories about Mary’s death. The one used here is from Dixon, *These Were the Utes*, 100–3. See also Lee Reay, *Lambs in the Meadow*, 49–56.

9. Bailey, “Last Wife of Chief Kanosh,” 22.

10. John R. Young, *Memoirs*, as quoted in Dixon, *These Were the Utes*, 103–4.

11. Bailey, “Last Wife of Chief Kanosh,” 19.

12. Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974), 70–73.

13. See Reay, *Lambs in the Meadow*, 51–56.

14. *Deseret News*, 27 August 1881.

15. Stella H. Day and Sebrina Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 393–94.

16. Letter to George A. Smith from Jesse N. Smith, in *Journal History*, 21 November 1866.

17. Brigham Young to Elder Ira Hinckley, 12 April 1867, cited in Larry C. Porter, “A Historical Analysis of Cove Fort” (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1996), 38.

18. *Ibid.*

19. For a complete list of workers see Porter, “Cove Fort,” 40–45.

20. From an undated pamphlet, “Old Cove Fort, Southern Utah,” 4, as quoted in Porter, “Cove Fort,” 49.

21. *Journal History*, 7 January 1868.

22. Thomas Memmott, *Journal*, 1865, LDS Church Archives.

23. *Millard County Chronicle*, 30 January 1947.

24. *Journal History*, 2 February 1864, 21 April 1867.

25. *Journal History*, 9 February 1864, 21 April 1867, 24 July, 10 August 1868; *Deseret News*, 14, 26 July 1868; Roper, *Echoes of Sage and Cedars*, 7–16, lists the first families to settle at Oak Creek.

26. Roper, *Echoes of Sage and Cedars*, 14, 17, 21.

27. *Deseret News*, 21 April, 16 June 1867, 10 June 1870.

28. Roper, *Echoes of Sage and Cedars*, 131–33.

29. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 507; “Leamington History,” 1–4, Leamington file, Great Basin Museum, Delta, Utah.

30. Millard County Court Minutes, Book B, 1866–91, Utah State Archives; Walker, “Early Cattle Trade,” 19–28.

31. *Millard County Blade*, 3 April 1895; Levi S. Peterson, “The Development of Utah Livestock Law, 1848–1896,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Summer 1964): 200–5; Winifred W. Williams, *The W.R. Walker Family Book* (privately published, 1981), 8.

32. *Journal History*, 7 January 1868; Walker, “Early Cattle Trade,” 19.

33. Joseph A. Ray, *Reminiscences*, Joseph A. Ray Papers, Marriott Library, University of Utah; William R. Palmer, “Early Day Trading with the Nevada Mining Camps,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (October 1958): 367.

34. King, *Kings of the Kingdom*, 67; Andrew Jenson, Fillmore Ward History, LDS Church Archives.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 35–36, lists the co-ops' officers, directors, and superintendents.

37. "Excerpts of the Journal of Joseph Smith Black," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:267–69.

38. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 297.

39. Margaret W. Roper, comp., *Echoes of the Sage and Cedars: A Centennial History of Oak City, Utah, 1868–1969* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1970), 82–83; Minutes of Oak Creek United Order, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

40. Volney King Diary, 1873–1924, 15 January 1875, MS 638, box 1, fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

41. Platte de Alton Lyman, Journal, 25, 28 July, 2 August 1877, LDS Church Archives.

42. *Millard County Chronicle*, 20 February 1947.

43. Over time the territorial legislature legalized and institutionalized the distribution and management of water. In 1867, for instance, the territorial legislature enacted a law expanding the power of irrigation districts and granting irrigation districts power to incorporate as mutual irrigation companies.

44. Millard County, Court Record, Book 2, 23 December 23 1872; Edward Partridge, Jr., Journal, 23 December 1873, Utah State Historical Society; *Deseret News*, 21 February 1881.

45. Agricultural Census of the United States, various years.

46. *Deseret News*, 25 November 1876.

47. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 435–37; "Joseph S. Black Diary" in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:267–69.

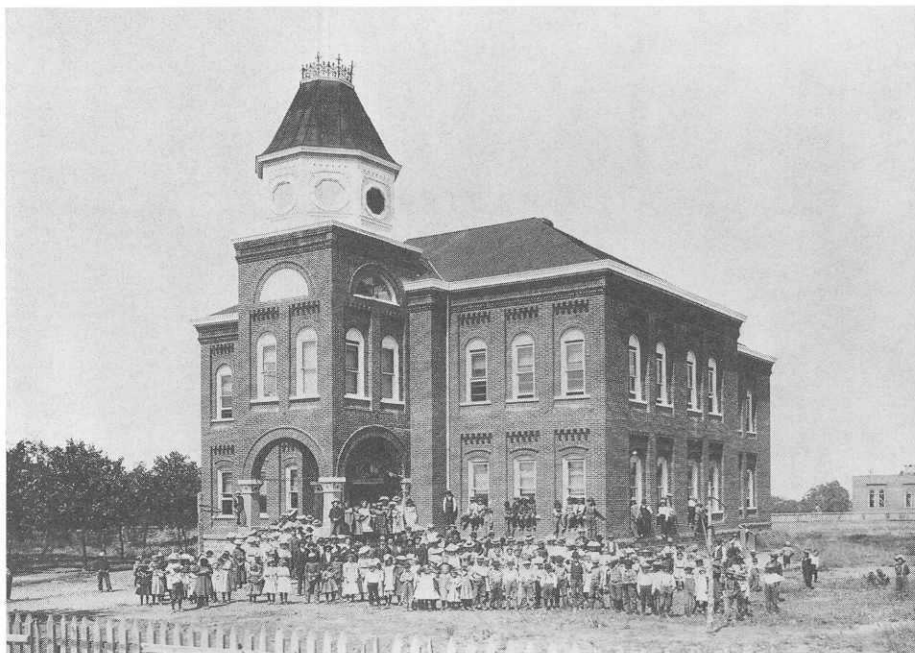
48. *Deseret News*, 25 November 1876, 27 August 1877; Edward Partridge, Diaries, vol. 2, Nov. 1872–Nov. 1878, LDS Church Archives.

## CHAPTER 5

# LATE-NINETEENTH CENTURY ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Political parties developed in Millard County early in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Liberal party, made up of non-Mormons and disaffected Mormons, was formed in the territory in 1870 partly to combat what some regarded as excessive domination of the LDS church hierarchy in the economic and political affairs of the territory. Former Mormon apostle and county resident Amasa M. Lyman was numbered among its earliest leaders. While serving a mission in Europe, Lyman began to teach ideas concerning the atonement of Jesus Christ which conflicted with church teachings. For this and perhaps a failure to submit totally to Brigham Young's authority, he was eventually excommunicated from the LDS church. Lyman and others of his Fillmore family became increasingly engrossed with spiritualism as well as opposing undue Mormon church influence in non-spiritual affairs. They were soon joined by others in the county who had become disenchanted with the church.

When the Liberal party of Utah was formed in Corinne in 1870, those opposed to economic and political leadership of Mormon church leaders found a means by which to voice their disapproval. A



Fillmore School, completed about 1899. (Utah State Historical Society)

second party, the Peoples party, composed principally of Mormon church members, was also established in the territory. The Liberal party generally aligned itself with the national Republican party, especially supporting its important political plank of ridding the country of slavery and polygamy.

The Liberal party in Millard County had little influence among county voters. In the 1880 general election, for example, only eight votes were tallied for Liberal candidates. However, only a total of fifty-six male adults voted in the election. Four years later, Peoples party voters were more enthusiastic. “News of the democratic victory at the head throughout the country was [well] received,” wrote John Powell, and “the people showed their joy and satisfaction in the holding of a rousing jollification meeting. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

In December 1870 stone footings and a foundation were finished for a new county courthouse in Fillmore. Since the establishment of the county, county government activities had been conducted in the school or the State House, but the county had outgrown these quar-

ters. When completed two years later, the county courthouse also served for a time as a church meetinghouse as well as a school for the three consolidated Fillmore schools.

At a quarterly conference of the Millard LDS Stake in November 1879 church officials conceded that the old meetinghouse built in 1854 was outdated and that a new meetinghouse should be built. However, little progress was made. The old Fillmore warehouse would remain the largest in Millard Stake for another decade, serving a church membership of about 700 people in 120 families.

Holden constructed its combination school, community center, and church meetinghouse in 1864. As was typically the case with many early Utah schools, it was too small soon after its construction. The one room measured twenty-four feet by eighteen feet, had a low ceiling and adobe walls, and housed ninety children. The school became so crowded that the townspeople remodeled it, lengthening it and adding a stage at the south end. The fireplace was replaced by a large box stove. By 1883 school enrollment had grown to one hundred students, all taught by Oscar B. Berglund, a graduate of Brigham Young Academy at Provo. John J. Ashby, William Probert, and Ebenezer Tanner organized a group to put on plays and provide other entertainment for the community in the enlarged school. Eventually the school was replaced by a two-story brick building on a site just east of the structure.

Alma Greenwood, a graduate of Brigham Young Academy in Provo, his eighteen-year-old brother Joshua, a Miss E. Crane, and Delilah K. Olsen were teachers at Fillmore for much of the 1870s. By the end of the 1879 school year, 165 students from Fillmore took the public exams held at the State House. On the occasion of the public exams for the 1879 school year, the *Deseret News* noted the superb manner in which the teachers . . . handled their subjects, and conducted their classes [which] showed that they understood their business." The newspaper was equally complimentary of the teachers: "[Miss Crane] is deserving of high commendations for the pains she has taken, more especially as she was without the use of wall maps." The newspaper also praised Principal Greenwood, who had "done more to advance the interests of education, and help the moral and



social condition of our society than any other person in Fillmore ever had.”<sup>2</sup>

Not all agreed with the *Deseret News* correspondent’s assessment, however. At a public meeting to discuss financing schools in Fillmore, those of the Liberal party outnumbered supporters of a school tax and voted down the proposition of a tax to support schools in Fillmore.<sup>3</sup>

A free Presbyterian church mission school was established in Fillmore in 1881 and was reported to be taught by a “young lady of culture and education.” Parents who sent their children to the school saw little need for public expenditures for education. With this division in education as well as economic and political differences, local Mormon church officials encouraged LDS church members in Fillmore and the county to treat the newcomers as ladies and gentlemen.<sup>4</sup>

The Presbyterian school held classes for thirty to forty pupils each term in the State House, primarily using the main floor for classrooms. Mary McCarn and Reverend W.A. Hough were in charge of the school during the fourteen years it operated. Sisters Mary and Emma Knox, a Miss Craig, and Ella Ray Reese, daughter of John A. and Elisabeth Nuttal Ray, taught at the Presbyterian school. During some of those years, the Fillmore public school also utilized the upper floor of the State House for a few of its classes. The Presbyterian school closed in 1895.

The Fillmore school did not have separate grades; rather, it divided pupils into a primary department and an advanced department, which did not go beyond the eighth grade. Ida Keith was hired in 1881 to teach in Fillmore. That year, there were thirty-seven students in the primary grades and fifty-six students in the advanced class. The *Deseret News* praised the Fillmore school district. “It may here be stated that Fillmore for many years had taken the lead in educational matters.”<sup>5</sup> To meet its growing educational needs, the community commenced the construction of a sandstone meetinghouse in 1881 that also served as a schoolhouse. The school population continued to grow in the county’s fifteen school districts, and by 1898 there were 1,760 students attending school in the county, with Fillmore enrolling 383.<sup>6</sup>

In November 1885, Alma Greenwood began the Millard Stake Academy, which was solely operated under LDS church sponsorship and followed the curriculum and teaching methods of the Brigham Young Academy. This was the first opportunity for county students to continue their education beyond the eighth grade. Territorial laws authorized the establishment of high school districts in first- and second-class cities in 1890, and in 1892 the law was broadened to permit high school districts to be established when the population of a school district was a minimum of 1,500 students or there were two or more school districts that agreed to unify their school districts. The county established a high school in the fall of 1900.

The Millard Stake Academy used the courthouse and later the tithing house as well. Mormon church support of the school ended in 1898, following five years of economic depression and passage of a law by the territorial legislature establishing a uniform system of free schools throughout the territory—meaning much of the funding for schools came from public tax funds through the territorial legislature. In the 1890s residents of Fillmore voted for a 2 percent tax over two years to raise funds to build a new red brick school located southwest of the State House.

One of the most fascinating episodes in Utah and Millard County history during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the confrontation between Mormon church members and federal officials over the issue of plural marriage. This confrontation escalated in 1879 when the United States Supreme Court upheld the federal anti-polygamy statute in the celebrated case of *Reynolds v. the United States*. A large number of Mormon women rallied in Salt Lake City to demonstrate their defense of the institution of plural marriage. Women in Deseret held a similar protest meeting to sustain the proceedings of the gathering at the territorial capital.<sup>7</sup>

The women of the Millard LDS Stake held a more elaborate meeting in Fillmore on 8 January to protest the anti-polygamy crusade. Mrs. Belinda M. Pratt was elected to chair the event, with Mary C. Lyman as secretary. Pratt testified to “the purity and divinity of the principle of plural marriage” and stressed that it was a principle established by God. Sarah L. Partridge protested against any interference with the institution, and Angeline W. Hinckley spoke out in sup-

port of the Mormon marriage system and protested against any movement to “destroy religious liberties.” She stated that she had lived half her life in polygamy and considered it “one of the most holy ordinances ever revealed to man.” Helen M. Callister, who had lived in plural marriage thirty-three years, testified similarly.<sup>8</sup>

The hunting of suspected polygamists began a period known as the “raids,” and it intensified throughout the territory. As in other parts of the territory, Millard County Latter-day Saints were committed to thwarting the efforts of the federal marshals. At Oasis, Lizzie Webb, who operated the Webb Hotel, hid her polygamist father for extended periods. She and others warned polygamous church members when a deputy arrived in town.

Scipio had the disadvantage during the raids of being located close to the railroad terminus at Salina and thus was in easy traveling distance for surprise visits from deputies tracking down polygamists. In early February 1889, officers posing as Presbyterian ministers came to town. Their real identity was quickly discovered, but when a lookout in Scipio tried to warn others the deputies shot at him. Fortunately, he escaped unharmed. The lookout was later asked to lead the deputies to the hiding polygamists; when he refused, the deputies detained him for the night. In an editorial about the shooting at Scipio, the *Deseret News* alluded to an earlier incident in Parowan where deputies had killed Edward Dalton, a young polygamist who had refused to surrender, and warned that if such methods continued deputies “might not get off as easy.”<sup>9</sup>

To avoid arrests and sentences, some of the polygamists in the county were sent on church missions. Edwin Mace and Frank Hinckley, for example, were sent to the northwestern states in May 1888. William Porter Payne began a mission to Great Britain the same month. Bishop Joseph S. Black of Deseret left for a mission to the east coast in September 1888.

Some polygamists in the county were arrested, tried, and served varying lengths of time in the territorial prison located in Sugarhouse near Salt Lake City. William Beaston of Fillmore was sentenced to four months imprisonment. Christian P. Beauregard served only six days of imprisonment and was fined fifty dollars for unlawful cohabitation.<sup>10</sup> John Powell served seventy-five days, and Christian

Anderson, first counselor to Bishop Callister, received a sentence of seventeen months. Mormon polygamists were not the sole targets in the county. A non-Mormon from Fillmore was sentenced to nine months imprisonment for adultery in 1888.

Women of the county were also arrested for polygamy, and some were held in a makeshift jail in Kanosh until they were taken to court in Provo. The red sandstone LDS tithing house in Kanosh served as a granary and dance hall, and the basement was well suited to hold women prisoners, many of whom left their initials on the walls and door.

Frequently, members of the Liberal party sought appointive offices even in communities where no non-Mormons resided. For example, John Dewsnup, Deseret's postmaster, lost his job in 1883 to an outsider, a "carpetbagger."

Important to east Millard County's economy was the accommodation of visiting church leaders and other travelers. Fillmore claimed two hotels: the Huntsman Hotel and the Robison Hotel. Gabriel Huntsman built his two-story, twenty-four-room hotel on the corner of Main and Center streets in 1872 from mostly locally made bricks. Later, a wood-frame section was added at the back to house his own family. A large barn stabled both family and guest horses, and the Huntsman Hotel was judged by some to be the finest in southern Utah.<sup>11</sup>

The Robison Hotel, built by Joseph V. Robison in 1880, also provided fine lodging. This well-constructed two-story frame house still stands near Main Street and First South. Both teachers and students at the Millard Stake Academy often took room and board at the Robison Hotel and referred to Joseph's wife, Martha, as "Mother Robison."<sup>12</sup> Almost all the materials for the structure were obtained or made locally. Blacksmiths Christian P. Beauregard and John Jackson, Sr., made most of the iron hardware; finished wood came from Parowan; timber came from the Warner brothers sawmill and the Davies and Deardon mill, both located in the canyons east of Fillmore; and Jesse Milgate provided the lime from his kiln up Chalk Creek.

During the 1880s farmers of Scipio continued to be the leading producers of grain in the county; for example, they raised just under

half of the 100,000 bushels of wheat harvested in the county in 1883. The town boasted three stores, including the Scipio Co-op Mercantile Institution store, managed by Bishop Thomas Yates in a large new building. Local stake president Daniel Thompson operated the second store and contracted to carry the mail. The third store was Robison and Company, successor to W. Roberts and Company, which also did a brisk business in general merchandise. Scipio also boasted a hotel owned by area pioneer William Robbins.

The Scipio school district constructed a new four-room, two-story school in 1895–96. Citizens were equally proud of the substantial number of large brick homes built during the period; the brick being a good indicator of prosperity for many farmers. (The Peter Quarnberg house and the Thuesen-Petersen house, built during the nineteenth century, are on the National Register of Historic Places.) Scipio formed an impressive sixteen-member brass band that played at various civic and private events in Scipio and elsewhere. By 1900 a saloon appeared on Main Street, and some citizens expressed hope it would not last any longer than one attempted a few years earlier.<sup>13</sup>

Despite probably suffering from more drought impact than that experienced by neighboring towns, Holden also was noted for its prosperity in the early 1880s. The residents boasted of the number of “substantial brick homes embowered in trees” then standing on the principal streets. In 1883, some ten years after the bricks were made for a new chapel, the building was completed, mostly with locally produced materials. Holden had two stores: the Holden Co-op (a branch of ZCMI), and the Wood’s Mercantile Institution, operated since 1870 by Charles Wood and his sons John and Edward.<sup>14</sup>

Meadow also experienced prosperity in the early 1880s. The *Salt Lake Herald* opined that Bishop Hyrum B. Bennett was “put to wits end to know where to store the tithing grain” at the close of the threshing season. In 1884 the Meadow LDS Ward replaced its log meetinghouse with a large brick chapel, which also served as the school for the next fourteen years. Early in 1899 the community finished two of the three lower rooms of its new rock school along with the large upper room, which had been designed as an “amusement hall.” That year, teachers Jesse Bennett and Rachael Beckstrand marched their eighty-five students to the new facility and com-

menced instruction. A third classroom soon was brought into use. A local correspondent to the *Deseret News* boasted that Meadow had no saloon or billiard hall. The town did have a band, which that same year performed at several political rallies.<sup>15</sup>

The community of Kanosh did not demonstrate its prosperity through the erection of public edifices. The old adobe all-purpose building served the community's needs until after the turn of the century, although it is likely that in the early 1880s Kanosh citizens possessed more money than did citizens of any other east-side town. At the end of 1882 a great many townsmen returned with final paychecks from an extended term of labor on Utah railroads, filling grading contracts arranged by former Kanosh resident and LDS bishop Joseph S. Black. A notable event of the season, the opening of the Kanosh Cooperative Beehive Store, which had the subtitle on its sign of Nadauld and Company and reportedly offered a well-selected stock of general merchandise, was celebrated by the railroad boys "scattering the jink." This was explained to mean that "so much money never did pass through the hands of storekeepers in the same time as has done within the last twenty days." The eighty Kanosh families enjoyed a celebration around a community Christmas tree laden with more than \$500 worth of presents distributed by Santa Claus.<sup>16</sup>

Droughts, flooding, dam washouts, and plagues of rabbits, grasshoppers, and crickets remained problems for county farmers and ranchers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Torrents of water, mud, and debris struck Fillmore in 1886, and floods occurred in other parts of the county as well. Hailstorms destroyed all of the crops in Kanosh in 1896 and were frequent occurrences elsewhere. Killing frosts on both sides of the county were more frequent. There was little that could be done about the voracious insects that periodically swarmed, eating anything resembling a green shoot or stalk. In the absence of seagull miracles and pesticides, to try and save their crops farmers periodically battled the insects with shovels, brooms, fires, and even attempts at drowning them. Other methods included horsemen attempting to snag the insects with nets. As farmers began raising more alfalfa and small grains, rabbits

became a major problem. Fencing, community killing drives and contests, and bounties were used to try to rid the county of rabbits.

While many east Millard residents would never admit that such might be the case, a *Deseret News* correspondent, after mentioning the less than full prosperity on the east side of the county, referred to the famine in the biblical story of Joseph who was sold by his brothers, and stated that “Deseret, thirty miles northwest if it continues to increase, will be our Egypt. There is plenty of room for settlers and fine land.”<sup>17</sup> It was only an opportunity for those who would avail themselves of it, although the county tax base was eventually much improved by development in that area. As it was rebuilt, the Deseret irrigation project featured a “canal” that followed an old bed of the Sevier River as it meandered in a southerly direction for several miles, supplying collateral ditches along its route and then emptying unused water back into the existing river channel some distance below the dam.

On the yet unutilized land a heavy undergrowth of greasewood flourished, and on adjacent cleared fields the grain sometimes had difficulty competing with the weeds. One observer asserted that the weed problem was most severe on lands that had been overirrigated and that the most successful grain crops were raised with less water. Part of the explanation for this related to the alkali and other minerals in the soil, which were more concentrated there than in most places farmers had cultivated in the territory. How best to deal with this problem would test the ingenuity of west Millard farmers for more than a century. The same reporter described the area as “anything but inviting, being an interminable stretch of greasewood, an occasional sand ridge, with here and there a house.”<sup>18</sup>

A *Salt Lake Herald* correspondent observed in the 24 April 1884 edition that the Deseret settlement was “more scattered than any [other] place in Utah,” but he went on to express the opinion that the area was “destined to be a place of considerable importance.” The less-than-flattering views of the area coupled with the affirmation of significance when developed were impressively accurate. The far-flung settlement pattern was to set the trend for much of west Millard agricultural development, with far more people actually residing on

their farms than was typical of settlements in which church authority had been asserted in maintaining the old Mormon village model.

In 1882 the Sevier River demonstrated that it was not yet finished vexing the community of Deseret. Through rapid thawing by south winds, the river ice broke up and moved downstream in such huge masses that the dam could not withstand the pressure. Observers far from the bank could feel the ground vibrate as the "moving piles of ice" generated devastating power. Damage was estimated at nearly \$50,000, leading to "great discouragement." The destruction in mid-March came too late for residents to replace the broken dam and save crops that year. Two months later, however, the *Deseret News* noted that "energy and perseverance can perform wonders." Bishop Black, who was absent at the time of the calamity, counseled that the best course was to repair the dam, which the citizens immediately set about to do. Mormon church authorities not only offered encouragement but material aid to the dam project and the replanting of some crops. By late spring the agricultural prospects were "almost as promising as in any previous season."<sup>19</sup> In June 1883 President John Taylor and fellow church authority George Q. Cannon visited Deseret, enjoying a feast under a large willow bowery. They inspected the dam and expressed their pleasure at the prospects for a large settlement. Bishop Black stated that the crops had never appeared so promising.<sup>20</sup>

Deseret resident Joshua Bennett, in a letter to the editor of the *Deseret News*, made the important suggestion that established Sevier River water users meet and confer on their claims "in order to avoid future litigation and to have the rights of every settlement permanently established." He recommended that delegates from the concerned communities meet in conference to have the various claims arbitrated and validated by a committee established for that purpose. Bennett predicted that should his suggestion not be carried out "litigation must eventually come." Bennett's observation proved to be a gross understatement of the problem.<sup>21</sup>

One J.H.H., a publicist of the thriving new town of Oasis, wrote to the *Salt Lake Herald* in the fall of 1885 that in the first years of extensive farming east of the Sevier River there had been bounteous harvests. He explained that often the water supply from the Deseret



dam was unreliable, but stated that plans were underway to “tap the Sevier” some eight miles farther upstream, enabling the watering of an estimated additional 100,000 acres of land.

Early the next spring the same writer reported the organization of the Oasis and Riverside Canal Company, with a capital stock of \$50,000. Preliminary surveys proved the feasibility of bringing water southward through the future Delta area, with a shortage of capital and labor as the only limiting factors. A week later, in a similar letter to the *Deseret Evening News*, the writer wrote that 5,000 acres and a sixth of the stock had been taken up by unnamed investors, principally non-residents of the area. The ambitious project did not reach fruition, however. The county and the nation faced several years of economic depression, among other things, that made the project unfeasible. The project, however, did foreshadow the Oasis Land and Water Company and Melville Irrigation Company developments more than two decades later. In fact, the first step of acquiring an excellent water right and reservoir site for the future projects was accomplished by Jacob C. Hawley, perhaps a relative of the correspondent who detailed the farsighted earlier scheme.<sup>22</sup>

In the fall of 1886 the recently organized Gunnison Bend Canal Company surveyed a new canal that would bring much more area land under cultivation. Stock in the company was being acquired by local irrigators, with many inquiries from other localities. The plan was to complete the canal for use the next season; but, instead, the project took three years. The completed canal, seven miles long and twenty-five feet wide, accomplished the irrigators’ aim to bring more land under cultivation.<sup>23</sup> The Deseret Irrigation Company drew water into a new canal southwest of “Pack’s Bottom,” ran it south, then branched it west and east as well as continuing on toward the main old settlement.<sup>24</sup> The entire irrigation system was called Deseret, but the eastern portion was sometimes referred to as “Deseret Number Two,” and Oasis, the west section, “Deseret Number Three,” which is present-day Hinckley.

Many of the pioneers who established farms on the east side of the Sevier River were recent converts to the LDS church from Denmark, Norway, and Switzerland. The Mormon church sponsored a local English language program for the adult convert immigrants.

Willows and mud were used in constructing some of the first rudimentary dwellings. The first substantial houses were John Styler's two-room log cabin and Jacob Hawley's home. Lars Hansen constructed his own irrigation ditch and commenced farming in 1878; some others soon followed his example. The completion of the Gunnison Bend Company's canal, a branch of which crossed the river by flume, markedly improved the eastern area's water supply.

The western portion of the Deseret project began when widow Jane Robinson Pack and her teenage son Rufus established a homestead about a mile southwest of the center of the later town of Hinckley. Hauling logs from Oak Creek Canyon, they constructed a one-room cabin in 1876. However, without irrigation water at their new farmstead, they continued farming their field at Pack's Bottom on the river. Mother and son proved to be good farmers, harvesting 800 bushels of grain that season.

Later, when the irrigation project ditches were extended westward from the so-called Peterson Ditch, Jane and Rufus Pack and other settlers quickly established farms south of what soon became Hinckley. Most of these new settlers were from the Dixie region of southern Utah, where they had suffered years of intermittent flood and drought. The community was briefly known as Bloomington but was quickly renamed Hinckley after Alonzo A. Hinckley, then Millard Stake president.<sup>25</sup>

One of those gravitating to the Hinckley area was William Hulbert Pratt, a young Mormon convert from Mississippi called to settle Utah's Dixie. Pratt discovered Hinckley while visiting his brother-in-law, a former Dixie resident who had moved his family to Deseret. Pratt learned of the project to develop the land, and in the winter of 1886–87 he returned to work on the new canal and acquire a homestead for his family. Pratt soon became one of the prominent church and civic leaders of the area.<sup>26</sup>

By October of 1879 the construction of the Utah Southern Railroad Extension had reached what was soon to be called Oasis. The railroad owned by national railroad magnates Jay Gould, S.H.H. Clark, and others permanently and effectively connected the county to the outside world of commerce. Later geologist and mining historian B.S. Butler accurately stated that the discovery of silver at the

Horn Silver Mine near Milford was a most important event which dramatically altered the western part of the state. The results of silver mining was the construction of the Utah Southern Extension Railroad years earlier.

In the mid-1880s, Bishop Joseph Black confidently predicted that the Deseret area would soon be the center of considerable agricultural activity. Nearly a decade later, he secured needed financial assistance from the Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company in Salt Lake County. He not only took into account the abundance of still-unappropriated farmland and water but also was even more confident because of the recent arrival of the railroad and the developing mining taking place south, west, and north of Millard County. The mining success in Beaver County, along with the fading frenzy of activity in nearby White Pine County, Nevada, and the mounting excitement in the Tintic Mining District to the north, encouraged Black and others to comb parts of Millard County for similar mineral strikes.<sup>27</sup>

One of the most consistently producing mining districts, just beyond the county line, was tied to the county because of the railroad. This was the Joy (later Detroit) Mining District in the Drum Mountains, organized in 1872. The distance from the center of the mining activities to the railroad at Deseret/Oasis was thirty miles. During subsequent years, many local freighters were engaged in hauling ore from the mines to the railroad. In the early 1880s the E.P.H. Mine produced ore assaying from thirty-six to forty-three dollars in gold and silver and some samples with 14 percent bismuth. Some ore shipments were processed at a plant near Chicago, Illinois, in 1883; the next year, some ore was shipped to Swansea, Wales, famous for reducing complex ores.

One of the foremost mining families of west Millard was that of David Crafts, who located his family about twelve miles southwest of Deseret at what was later called Crafton and still later Laketown. The hamlet was abandoned in 1906–07 because of drought, crop failure, and excessive alkali in the soil. Crafts and his sons mined several claims in the Detroit District, and his daughter Rebecca married Charles M. Howard, a successful ore locator in the district. The Crafts had earlier built and operated mills to reduce gold ores at Swazey

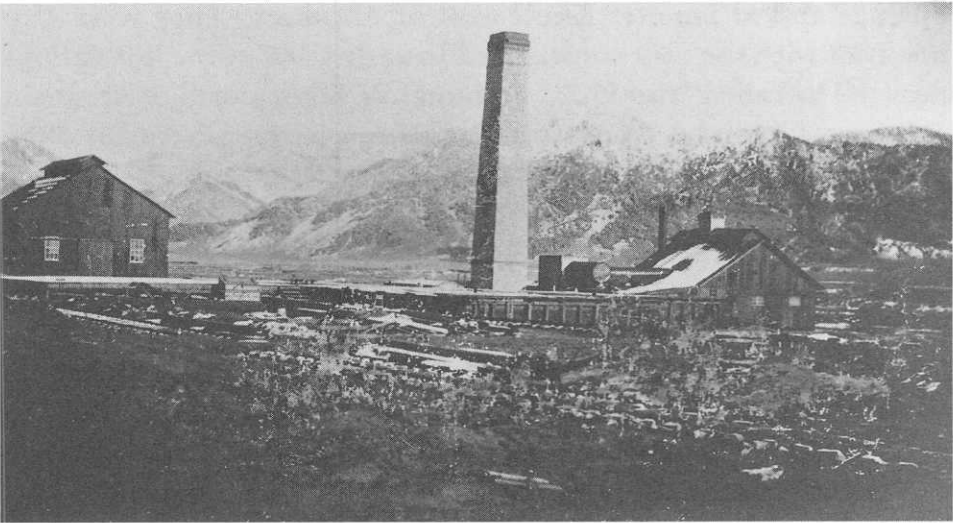
Springs and at Smelter Knoll west of Abraham. They were also involved with the mill constructed in early 1888 at the hot springs near the so-called "Hot Plug," or Fumarole Butte, north of Abraham and west of Lynndyl. Their trusted Indian employee Silver named the smelter and post office Wyno, which reportedly meant "good" in his language.<sup>28</sup>

The Hardtimes Mine, located by Edward Crafts in 1883, and the Alto Mine, discovered the same year by Charles M. Howard, were key properties of the Alto Mining and Smelting Company, incorporated in early 1888. Financial backers in the enterprise were James F., James, and Henry B. Joy of Detroit, Michigan, later manufacturers of the Packard automobile. Several members of the Joy family were involved earlier in mining in the Drum Mountains. The mining district of Joy (Detroit) was named for the Joy family and their hometown of Detroit, Michigan.<sup>29</sup>

After much difficulty, the Wyno smelter commenced operations later the same year. Besides the water supply, another reason for locating at the hot springs was apparently the intent to utilize the "iron ore" that was reportedly around the old spring vent for fluxing material. However, only a small amount of the ore was mined. Most of the ore processed at the mill was from the Blaine Mine in the Simpson Mountains on the Tooele-Juab county line. Some 130,000 pounds of reduced copper bullion was shipped east, the largest amount from any Utah district during the late 1880s. The operation was not deemed a success, however, and when the smelter was destroyed by fire around 1890 it was not rebuilt.<sup>30</sup>

The Ibex smelter, located near Leamington, was built to process ores mined in the Detroit District. Two of the most steady producers in the Detroit District were the Ibex and the Charmed mines. The Ibex Mine featured an elaborate three-track iron tramway that transported ore down a steep mountain slope to waiting ore wagons, which hauled it to Oasis, where it was transferred to railcars and shipped to the Ibex smelter.<sup>31</sup>

The Ibex smelter was first powered by a steam locomotive boiler; a permanent boiler plant was built later. The smelter was the scene of an industrial accident that took the life of Hans Anderson, who was killed instantly when the boiler's smokestack fell on him during one



West Millard's first industry—Ibex ore smelter, Leamington, 1890s. (Great Basin Historical Society)

of the area's frequent windstorms. Smelter manager John Williams and Ibex Mine superintendent J.G. Marx resigned shortly after the accident. Both were credited with helping lift the mining district out of its lethargy.

Eventually impatient creditors forced the smelter to close, however, which was a significant loss to the county. The smelter was to be dismantled and moved to Provo. The Millard County *Blade* lamented the change stating, "continuation of the industry at that point [meant] the development and prosperity of Millard, Beaver and a portion of Tooele Counties." Editor Josiah Gibbs pointed out that the smelter was located near many ore bodies, had a good water supply, and access to the railroad. Provo, Gibbs conceded, did have better access to fuel and fluxing material, and the city had promised the company a bonus and free land on which to relocate. As near as can be ascertained, however, the project of rebuilding the smelter there was never carried out.

There were a few ranches and small settlements established on the far western border of Millard County that would have profited directly from the mines and related freighting enterprises. As early as the late 1860s Robert and Nick Dowling took up squatter lands at

what was later called Garrison, possibly on land abandoned by the Bean-Bunnell mission of the previous decade. Alex Gonder later purchased the location, which his descendants still occupy. Similarly, Charlie Roland sold his squatter claim in the area to the Deardon family.

In 1869 Samuel Hockman and his family, traveling from Iowa to California, stopped to rest their cattle and concluded to stay in the county. Abe Lehman settled on Weaver Creek the same year, but later moved to Lehman Creek, closer to the caves that he helped discover. Even prior to the twentieth century, Lehman Caves attracted some notice. C.W. Rowland was owner of what was described in 1895 by the *Millard County Progress* as “that underground fairyland of stately monuments, crystal palaces and enchanted grottoes.” County groups frequently visited the caves.<sup>32</sup>

Englishman Thomas Deardon opened the Rancher’s Store in Baker, Nevada, receiving much of his merchandise via the Oasis railroad station. There were also ranches located south of Garrison and Baker at Burbank, an area surrounded by excellent cattle range featuring stream- and spring-fed meadows. E.W. and Margie Clay built a log home there in 1880; soon after, her brother Willard Burbank surveyed Pruess Lake on Snake Creek, which was later transformed into a reservoir. In 1898 Mrs. Emma Garrison became the first post-mistress of Garrison, which may have been named for her for that reason or the fact that she was a well-loved early schoolteacher. Born in Buffalo, New York, in 1833, Garrison resided in Snake Valley for fifteen years, endearing herself to many and leaving a reputation as a “highly accomplished woman” when she left for California, where she died in 1915.<sup>33</sup>

By the end of the 1880s, Tom and Joe Carter of Nephi and George Bishop of Deseret had established homes and ranches east of Warm Creek at what was later named Gandy in the northwestern corner of Millard County. Nearby, at Salt Marsh, were neighbors and sheep-ranching partners W.C. Berry and A.G. Earl, along with Josiah Smith and Trefle and Alex Doutre. The Doutres later moved to Spring Valley, Nevada.

The beginnings of the small ranching community of Gandy were rather violent, with at least two unsolved murders arising from land

disputes. Also, a man named Stevens was killed in a gunfight at Salt Marsh by Trefle Doutre. Isaac Gandy, a thirty-five-year-old Englishman, arrived in Millard County in 1870 to take up a homestead south of the Gonder Ranch at Garrison. He later purchased the Rhodes Ranch in what was then called Smithville, forty miles farther north in Snake Valley. The settlement at the lower ranch was named for him and continues to be home to a number of families.<sup>34</sup>

A number of Goshute Indians continued to reside in their traditional homelands of western Millard County and White Pine County, Nevada—for the most part living peacefully and working for white ranchers and mining prospectors. A Nevada census in 1875 reported 340 Indians living in the Spring and Snake Valleys of eastern Utah. Another census conducted in 1873 revealed 256 Goshute Indians in Utah and 204 in Nevada. The population of Goshute Indians fluctuated somewhat as portions of the Indian population moved about in western Utah and eastern Nevada.<sup>35</sup>

An incident in the fall of 1875 assured that most of the Goshute Indians would be removed from the area to Skull Valley in Tooele County or Deep Creek in western Juab County. James Toland employed a Goshute Indian named Toby to work on his claim at Mt. Moriah in the Snake Creek Range in eastern Nevada. However, in 1875, when Toland refused to pay Toby for the work done, Toby killed him. The dead man's partner, Albert Leathers, immediately reported the incident, igniting hysteria that Indians were on the warpath. Newspapers as far away as San Francisco and Salt Lake City reported the incident, and local rancher Abner C. Cleveland, a well-known Nevada politician, organized the local ranchers to hunt down the culprit and other Indians believed to be hostile.

General John M. Schofield, commander of U.S. military forces for the region, however, correctly concluded that the matter had been blown far out of proportion and that some of the local white men were guilty of creating a hostile situation in the area. Part of the local hysteria over the murder was the desire of local ranchers and miners to rid the country of Indians. Lieutenant George Jaeger was ordered to the area to preserve peace. Levi Gheen, Indian sub-agent residing at Hamilton, decided he had the responsibility to investigate the incident.

The Indians had no choice but to cooperate or suffer gravely, and they concluded to surrender the fugitive Toby to the ranchers, who promptly hanged him. Many of the Goshutes subsequently moved from the area north to Skull Valley in Tooele County and Deep Creek in Juab County.<sup>36</sup> The U.S. Census of 1880 counted only thirty Goshutes living in Snake Valley and another forty-two residing in Spring Valley. Two decades later, there were only fifty-two Indians living in White Pine County, Nevada, almost half of whom were in Snake Valley. There were also still a few residing in the Garrison area.

In late January 1883, a telegram was received at Deseret that a Southern Pacific pay train had been robbed and a messenger killed in eastern Nevada. A few days later, the same culprits robbed a merchant at Deep Creek in Juab County and were reportedly well provisioned, armed, and hiding in Millard County. Deseret law enforcement officers Joe Ray and Wise Cropper, who was serving one of his two terms as county sheriff, reported seeing men answering the descriptions in the lower Sevier River slough hunting waterfowl. The suspects had sold watches and other valuable property in Oasis, which had raised some suspicion among the people there. The men had also participated in a shooting contest in which Ray and Cropper had been contestants.

A posse including at least a dozen local men headed for the Swasey Mountains west of Oasis. Before long the posse spotted two horsemen riding toward them up a canyon. When the horsemen were within shouting distance, they were ordered to put up their hands; instead, they started shooting. One of the suspects' horses was killed in the exchange of gunfire, forcing the horseless suspect to seek cover. He was hit, surrendered to the posse, and was recognized as Arm Ney, the gang leader. The second fugitive also was wounded and surrendered. Not far from where Ney and his sidekick were captured, the posse discovered others at the gang's hideout. At least three men—Frank Francis, Tex Anderson, and a man named Earl—were arrested. Inside the cabin, the posse to its surprise found Ed Crafts and Charlie Webb from Deseret tied up. They had been captured the night before and were awaiting Ney's decision on their fate. All of the robbers were sentenced to terms up to ten years in the Nevada state prison. Many old-timers of the county call Ney's hideout "Robber's Roost."



Interestingly, Ney's wife moved to Deseret for a time to make a home for herself and her two sons.<sup>37</sup>

Leamington received a hefty boost economically when the Utah Southern Railroad, later named the Utah Central, entered town in 1880. The permanent local section crew included roadmaster James Latimer and Robert and Guy Crosby, fresh from Scotland, as were some of the Oasis section gang. The Scots, particularly, frequented local drinking establishments to celebrate occasions such as the birthday of famous Scottish poet Robert Burns.

John H. Hornung, an ambitious young man from Nephi, followed the advice of Scipio LDS Bishop Daniel Thompson, and learned Morse Code. He was hired as the telegraph operator at the Deseret Station, later named Oasis. A telegraph office was built at Leamington which was part of the local store, and Ann Overson was hired as its first operator. The first store in Leamington was erected by George Morrison. The first formal school was conducted in 1877 in a small house owned by the Talbot family; Julia Ross was hired as the first teacher.<sup>38</sup> In January 1883, Apostle Francis M. Lyman and Millard LDS Stake President Ira N. Hinckley organized the Leamington LDS Ward, with Lars Nielson as bishop.

By the early 1880s Leamington farmers were cultivating nearly a thousand acres, including some along the McIntyre Ditch, which was dug in 1884. Farming remained precarious in Leamington, with the dam and canal occasionally washing out. In addition to agriculture and work on the railroad, the community's economy flourished from the cutting of cedar posts and the making of charcoal in four dome-shaped kilns north of town, which today are landmarks. Much of the charcoal from Leamington was probably shipped by rail to the fuel-scarce Beaver County mining camp at Frisco.<sup>39</sup>

In the mid-1880s a small and brief mining boom took place in Wildhorse Canyon, where an outcrop of galena silver was discovered by several Oak Creek residents including Bishop Peter Anderson. A number of other claims were subsequently located by people from Leamington. In 1886 the Leamington Mining District, consisting of four mines, was organized. The most promising ore sample assayed that year indicated a yield of 81 percent lead and thirty-two ounces of silver to the ton. For the next decade mining interest remained

high locally; but, with the low yields from the ore coupled with the national issue over silver and the depression of the 1890s, the mining district was moribund by the turn of the century.<sup>40</sup>

The county periodically faced serious health problems. In 1889 a diphtheria epidemic raged through Kanosh. George and Anne Howe Crane lost three sons to the epidemic during a ten-day span. In 1896 Thomas Edwin Ivie and his wife Laura Iseletta Porter Ivie of Scipio lost three of their children to the same disease. The presence of diphtheria at Hinckley caused the temporary closing of the district school. When a case called "black diphtheria" was reported in Deseret, newspaper editor Josiah Gibbs appealed to the people of the community to exercise a little more common sense than was exhibited a few months earlier when an unnamed disease apparently spread due to improper precautions being taken. He called for the infected residents to be strictly quarantined and every possible precaution taken to prevent spread of the contagion.<sup>41</sup> The George Lettlewood family of Meadow lost two children to diphtheria, and a neighbor woman who nursed the family during its trials also succumbed to the disease, leaving a family of six small children. In 1896 Scipio was particularly hard hit by the same epidemic.

Smallpox also periodically struck the county. In June 1899 John T. Ashman arrived home from the mining town of Mercur terribly sick.<sup>42</sup> Dr. Andres of Gunnison diagnosed the ailment as smallpox and, as a precautionary measure, quarantined fourteen families whose members had come in contact with the Ashman youth. In the summer of 1900, Fillmore experienced an outbreak of smallpox that prevented Kanosh from contesting Deseret for the county baseball championship. Fillmore officials also postponed the planned Independence Day festivities until Pioneer Day.<sup>43</sup>

There were a few people in the county who had some limited knowledge of medicine. Joseph S. Giles, who served as the county's only "doctor," pulling teeth, setting broken bones, dressing wounds, and occasionally performing amputations, gained his medical knowledge as a "hospital steward" with Johnston's Army. One of his daughters, Maranda Giles Turner, became a practical nurse and sometimes helped her father.<sup>44</sup> John A. Ray and Noah W. Bartholomew of Fillmore both had medical and surgical experience. Nurse and mid-

wife, Ann Green Dutson Carling used common herbal remedies included saffron tea, given to new babies to clear their skin; yarrow tea as a general tonic and yarrow leaves as an ointment; tansy tea to relieve “female troubles”; tame sage for colds and fevers; and dried rhubarb stems as a laxative. All were used by Carling in her practice. She ended her practice as midwife at the age of ninety following a fall and a broken hip.<sup>45</sup> Midwife Sybil Frink Warner Scottern traveled by horseback or carriage throughout the county delivering babies, treating the sick, and laying out the dead. Sybil reportedly possessed first-hand knowledge of the Mountain Meadows massacre in 1857 and died unexpectedly and quite mysteriously while on a mercy errand in 1906.<sup>46</sup>

Early pioneer schoolteacher and medical practitioner Fanny Powell Cropper concocted a home-brewed remedy from sage, vinegar, alum, honey, and other ingredients that some claimed protected its partakers from contracting diseases.<sup>47</sup> But local caregivers lacked the medical training to treat smallpox and other serious ailments. Most so feared the disease that they refused to assist stricken families or to help bury the dead. Prevention and treatment included quarantine and the burning of clothing and bedding.

Fatal and serious accidents occurred with some frequency in the county. For instance, three of Culbert and Esther McCullough King’s eleven children died untimely and tragic deaths. Their eight-year-old daughter died from severe burns when her dress caught fire while she was playing close to the fireplace. A two-year-old son fell into the family well and drowned, and a third baby died at three months from an unnamed illness.

Two little cousins, Florence Holbrook, daughter of Orson and Virginia Ray Holbrook, and John A. Ray, son of Joseph and Emily Ray, drowned in the high waters of Chalk Creek on 12 May 1894. Chalk Creek claimed a number of lives of young children. In August 1896 one of the worst floods ever in Fillmore took the life of Jennie Robison and completely destroyed Martin Hansen’s sawmill, washing away lumber, uprooting trees, and causing considerable damage to property along its banks.

Preparing the dead for burial and digging the graves generally fell to family and friends. Wooden caskets were made locally, as were bur-

ial clothes. Other than washing and clothing the deceased, little other formal preparation was done. The dead were kept cool on a "cooling board," packed with snow in the wintertime or with wet clothes or ice in the summer. The dead were watched to ensure that the bodies remained cool.

The 1890s witnessed changes in both the county's and the territory's political makeup. In 1891, Mormon church leaders announced they were no longer interested in dominating the political situation in Utah, a practice they had been informed was thwarting Utah efforts to be admitted to the Union as a state. To persuade church members to affiliate with the two national parties, Apostle John Henry Smith and other Mormon church leaders undertook an extensive campaign throughout the territory. In July Smith held a meeting in Deseret. After previously securing the support of several prominent local church leaders, a rally was held to enroll voters in the Republican party. Twenty-four people from Deseret became charter members of the party, and similar efforts were carried out with equally good results in Fillmore.

Sometime Millard County resident and Mormon apostle Francis M. Lyman was also involved in the effort to make the division between the national parties nearly equal despite traditional leanings of most Mormons towards the Democratic party. On one of his annual tours through southern Utah, he conferred with stake leaders to convey the quiet but emphatic message from the First Presidency that it was not wrong to be a Republican. Those who were not already active Democrats should consider joining the rival party, thereby making the political system politically competitive in the county, he urged.

Lyman's message did not sit well with all residents of the county. Brothers Alma and Joshua Greenwood of east Millard were among some who were outspoken against the message and the messenger.<sup>48</sup> Though it was a challenge, Lyman and others eventually pacified irate Democrats in the county. Millard County voters ignored the plea to vote Republican in at least one early election. When Republican activist and Mormon apostle Anthon Lund of Sanpete County ran for the territorial legislature from a district which also included Millard County, he was defeated by his Democrat opponent James

Melville of the county, a development that dismayed some church officials.

Even after the establishment of the two national parties, many county residents sought advice from local church leaders before becoming involved in politics. For example, Hinckley resident David Stout conferred at the turn of the century with his ecclesiastical leaders prior to running for political office.<sup>49</sup>

It was often not easy to be a non-Mormon living in a community so heavily dominated by the Mormon church as was east Millard; this was evidenced by Charles Crane's comments to fellow county Liberal party member George Viele. Crane stated that during the years of conflict he and others experienced "social ostracism" that people in northern Utah, where more gentiles resided, knew nothing of. Crane was in the forefront in founding the Republican party in the territory when the Mormon and anti-Mormon parties were finally disbanded and regular national political parties established in Utah in the early 1890s.<sup>50</sup>

Embracing the two national political parties helped sooth the longstanding religious and political animosities between many Mormons and non-Mormons in the state as well as in the county. Non-Mormon Charles Crane of Kanosh took a lead in the Utah territory in organizing the new Republican party. The political salve of the 1890s paved the way for non-Mormon George Viele to be elected mayor of Fillmore in 1898 and again in 1902.

Fruit production looked promising for county farmers during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Fruit, wrote a *Deseret News* correspondent, was "one of the main dependencies of the people, especially in Fillmore."<sup>51</sup> The county had a narrow belt of land extending from Kanosh past Oak City with soil and climate conditions that were conducive to fruit growing. Gabriel Huntsman in 1885 returned from Santa Cruz, California, where he had studied fruit canning. Huntsman established a small fruit-canning operation at the old Bartholomew mill in Fillmore; however, the enterprise was stillborn.

The failure of Huntsman's enterprise, coupled with insect problems, low prices, and the frequent problem of late or early frosts, diminished the local enthusiasm to produce fruit. In 1881, for exam-

ple, an infestation of codling moth substantially reduced the county's fruit crop. Referring to economic conditions in the county in 1881, Stake President Thomas C. Callister reported in Salt Lake City that "times were very dull."<sup>52</sup> Two years later, 40,000 bushels of apples were picked, but poor prices for the apples resulted in a diminished enthusiasm for raising fruit. On top of low prices for apples, most of the area's peaches froze in 1883. The 1891 growing season was a good fruit year; however, the next season, apples, pears, plums, and peaches were a partial failure because of frost damage. It was becoming increasingly difficult to compete with frostfree southern California and other fruit-producing areas.<sup>53</sup>

Several years later, Gabriel Huntsman reported to the *Deseret News* that Fillmore was "not surrounded with encouraging prospects financially"; however, with tongue in cheek, he added that it was hard to get Latter-day Saints discouraged, partly because they so well understood the biblical teaching of it being easier for the poor than the rich to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>54</sup> Likewise, an anonymous observer noted that much of the east-side trade had declined following the completion of the railroad through the county. Added to the agricultural woes was growing evidence that the open rangelands grazed extensively in years past were no longer as productive.

There were still high hopes for the future as the century neared its end. In 1884, an announcement was made that a new stake tabernacle 85 by 55 feet with a gallery on three sides was being planned by the brilliant young Josiah F. Gibbs. This could only have been possible with prospects of Mormon church members meeting their financial commitments in a bright economic future. Bishop Joseph D. Smith informed the *Deseret News* that tithing contributions that year were greater than ever before.<sup>55</sup> Yet, despite good intentions, the generally slack economic conditions in the county during the next dozen years were probably factors in the building not being completed until after the new century had commenced. Like the rest of the nation, the county experienced a very serious economic depression during much of the decade of the 1890s.

Livestock raising grew in economic importance as the century drew to a close. Improvements in transportation, good free public grazing grounds on the Pahvant Range and similar open grazing

grounds in the west end of the county, and relatively steady livestock prices encouraged county farmers to raise livestock. The number of cattle in the county increased from 2,773 in 1870 to over 7,500 head in 1900, and by 1910 it exceeded 10,400 beef cattle. The number of milk cows increased less rapidly: there were 1,533 in 1890, some 2,288 by 1900, and 3,256 by 1910, when a number of local creameries were established. Millard County ranked tenth in gallons (645,700) of milk produced in 1899.<sup>56</sup>

The number of sheep raised in the county also increased substantially during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In 1880 there were 4,125 sheep; a decade later, the number of sheep was more than 48,000, and by the end of the 1890s there were nearly 63,700 head of sheep. The subsequent decline of sheep in the county was in part due to the closure of the woolen mills in Beaver and grazing restrictions placed on sheep ranchers on the Fishlake National Forest, created in February 1899.

A prominent sheepman in the county was Charles Crane, an English-born veteran of the American Civil War and brother of Mormon church official George Crane. Crane established several large sheep operations at the head of Skunk Creek above Pole Canyon and at Herd House on Second Creek in the Corn Creek watershed. Crane made good use of the free grazing land to the west and on the Pahvant Range, at least until restrictions and grazing fees were established. He added lambing pens and shearing corrals on Kanosh city lots purchased from Collins Hakes, who was called on a Mormon colonizing mission to Arizona.<sup>57</sup>

While Jericho in Juab County was probably the largest center of sheep-shearing activities in western Utah, Oasis and Black Rock were important shearing locations as well as outfitting centers for sheep camps.<sup>58</sup> There were also considerable numbers of cattle shipped from the Oasis station. One Tooele County cowhand who kept a diary of an 1894 cattle drive recounted coming by way of Antelope Springs driving over 500 head of cattle. They held the stock in the swamplands beyond Hinckley until cattle cars arrived at the Oasis siding. The diarist noted the many welcome trees at the settlements and recalled, drawing from a well-known Mormon hymn, it was truly "our lovely Deseret." A newspaper notice the next spring recorded

that a Salt Lake City cattle buyer in association with a local ranch operation shipped fourteen railroad carloads of cattle from the Oasis station.<sup>59</sup>

Congress in 1877 passed the Desert Land Act, which encouraged individuals to homestead up to 640 acres of arid land provided that a portion of the land be irrigated. On one of his regular ecclesiastical visits to Millard County in 1889 Abraham H. Cannon toured the Deseret area with Bishop Joseph Black, who showed Cannon the accomplishments and possibilities for future water and land developments. Black carefully outlined the potential for a new canal, with costs estimated to be \$10,000, which would open an entire new tract of land. This was the inception of the development of the area later named Abraham for Cannon. The church leader agreed to be one of the underwriters and to arrange for outside financial backing for the project as well as organizing a water and land-development company.

In Salt Lake City Cannon met with Mormon church officials including George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith and convinced them of the feasibility of developing the land and constructing a new canal in west Millard County. The Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$50,000; each of the incorporators investing \$500 cash in the company and project. They intended to claim all unappropriated Sevier River water to enable members to secure claims to government lands under the Desert Land Act. Millard County Surveyor Joseph S. Giles was engaged in preparing and filing on the land at the federal land office on behalf of the company. Prominent surveyor Jesse W. Fox from Salt Lake City was hired to lay out the project in greater detail. Within a couple of weeks, the company assessed the first of many additional levies upon the stockholders to commence canal construction, instructing superintendent William V. Black to proceed with "all possible speed."<sup>60</sup>

In mid-October George Q. Cannon, church president Wilford Woodruff and other stockholders in the Salt Lake company traveled by special railroad car to Oasis to meet directors of the Deseret Irrigation Company to decide on water rights and establish a working arrangement. The two companies agreed that the Salt Lake company would build the dam and reservoir at the Gunnison Bend site,



upstream from the earlier dams. It was further agreed that the older Deseret Irrigation Company would receive a third of the water stored as remuneration for its previous expenses and for sharing the reservoir site.<sup>61</sup>

The Abraham project faced one early problem from Washington, D.C. As plans for the land and water developments were being formulated, John T. Caine, a stockholder in the company and a territorial delegate to Congress, informed the Salt Lake company that Major John Wesley Powell, the famed explorer of the Grand Canyon and a key figure in federal reclamation projects as head of the U.S. Geological Survey, might not allow entry on certain public lands near the damsite. Caine was successful working with other state and territorial representatives in Congress to modify troublesome provisions of the so-called Powell Act.

Construction and development of the reservoir and land progressed rapidly in the early 1890s. The company provided funds to plant a thousand acres of grain on the assumption that water could be delivered to the land. Farming was done cooperatively under the direction of superintendent Lehi Pratt. The company provided Pratt with teams of horses, farm implements, and a house. By April the diversion dam and canal were completed and water was delivered to some of the first fields plowed. The success of the project prompted non-Mormon investors to attempt to purchase the project, offering a good profit for the Salt Lake company. However, none of the shareholders were interested in selling, affirming their desire to provide a good location for more Latter-day Saint farmers.<sup>62</sup>

In the summer of 1890 a serious crisis developed when company officials discovered leaks in the dam, which had not maintained a sufficient water level to divert water into the canal to irrigate the thriving crops. After careful deliberations, company officials concluded to relocate the dam still "higher up the river than was originally intended and to construct a frame obstruction and load it with slag, instead of driving piles which [were thought to] be very insecure in the sandy bed of the river."<sup>63</sup>

The new dam site, located on a gooseneck of the Sevier River, was capable of storing sufficient water for both the Deseret and Salt Lake companies. Work on the earthen dam began in the fall. The dam was

600 feet long, with a spillway to release excess water back into the river channel. Jesse Fox and his son were appointed initially to supervise all the work, but the two were replaced before the end of the year. Charles D. Haun, a highly respected farmer and irrigation project developer from West Jordan, was hired to superintend the Salt Lake company's operations. A contemporary description of the dam held that it was "very substantial . . . able to stand the test of the very treacherous Sevier River."<sup>64</sup>

During construction of the dam, a committee of Jesse Fox, Sr., C.H. Wilcken, and L.G. Hardy from the Salt Lake company were appointed to negotiate with the older Deseret Irrigation Company to resolve some questions about the water rights of the two companies. An agreement was reached whereby the Salt Lake company received 40 percent of the water that flowed in the canal until the water level dropped to 2.5 feet, at which time the Salt Lake company would close its headgates entirely. The remaining water was considered a primary water right belonging to the Deseret company. The two companies further agreed that construction costs for the new dam were to be "equally borne by both companies." Some members of the Deseret company regarded the outside company "with a degree of suspicion [as] a menace to vested rights." However, after the new dam was completed, a "degree of confidence" was generated that made the promoters of the project "appear as benefactors of Millard County." A century later, irrigation experts still credit Charles Haun and others for their significant contributions to the success of the entire irrigation system.<sup>65</sup>

There is some evidence of efforts to develop a dam and canal at the new location several years earlier. A note from Joshua Bennett of Deseret to the *Deseret Evening News*, 18 September 1886, stated: "a company has already been formed under the name of the Gunnison Bend Canal Company, who intend going to work at once and if possible to complete the canal in time for use next season. Stock in the company is being taken by the settlers here and a great many persons in other places who seem to be desirous of joining in with us in this enterprise, which we have no doubt will be a success." This was not assumed until assistance was received a few years later.

Other efforts were underway in late autumn 1890 to develop a

townsite for the project. President Wilford Woodruff appointed A.H. Cannon, L.S. Hardy, and B.Y. Hampton to assist Jesse Fox in selecting a community center. None objected to Woodruff's acting in the tradition of Brigham Young in designating those who would lay out the new town. Fox and the others selected a location on an elevated sandhill near the northwest corner of a section Cannon had filed on in the name of his first wife, Sarah. The locators discovered arrowheads and other "evidences of an ancient race" at the townsite location and concluded to name the town Montezuma. Later, the town's name was changed to Zarahemla, an important city in the Book of Mormon. Finally, the company and residents of the small village changed the name in 1897 to Abraham following the death of original promoter Abraham Cannon in 1896.<sup>66</sup>

Water rights continued to be an important issue for the Salt Lake company and the farmers in the Abraham area. In the autumn of 1891 stockholder Charles W. Wilcken warned that others upriver, presumably in Sevier and Sanpete Counties, were diverting water that was claimed by the Salt Lake company and the farmers of Abraham. Company officials agreed to "take such steps as [were] necessary to make [their] claim secure upon all surplus water of the Sevier River"; however, they soon learned they could not claim water by simply diverting it onto unplanted land. It was thus deemed necessary for each farmer to "appropriate . . . water for useful purposes during [the approaching 1892] season or [they were] liable to have it taken from them by another company." The stockholders agreed to do all that was necessary to secure their water rights.<sup>67</sup>

The two companies continued to struggle with their mutual relationship. In the summer of 1891, for instance, the older Deseret Irrigation Company complained that the Salt Lake company was failing to comply with some financial obligations agreed upon earlier. The Salt Lake company disagreed and proposed that the various expenses incurred in relation to the "joint claim" be submitted to arbitration. If this proposal was rejected, the Salt Lake company officials resolved to take the issue before the territorial courts. At issue was a \$1,650 claim against the Deseret company. The Deseret company argued that the claim was only \$150.<sup>68</sup> The differences over this matter lingered unresolved for several years. The issue was compli-

cated when Abraham Cannon suddenly died at the age of thirty-seven. With his death the people of Millard County lost an important supporter. The issue could not be resolved until the Salt Lake company was reorganized.

The newly reorganized company, which included several members of the Mormon church's First Presidency, once again pressed for settlement of the financial claim as well other unresolved issues. Company officials also demanded that they receive one-fifth of the low-water right. To Deseret Company shareholders this was an unreasonable demand, but it placed them in a difficult position of refusing a demand seemingly coming from members of the First Presidency of the church. Local church leaders resolved to discuss the issue in priesthood meetings. It was the feeling at those meetings that the Salt Lake people were asking too much. They also believed that if they submitted to the Salt Lake company perhaps agreements made earlier with other irrigation companies upriver might be canceled.

In 1897 the Millard County farmers agreed not to fight the demands of the Salt Lake company, which agreed to improve the reservoir and dam in exchange for receiving three-sevenths of the Deseret company's water rights to the Sevier River. In the end, however, the Deseret company was the benefactor of what appeared to be a one-sided agreement. During the continuing economic depression, most of the outside interests lost interest in the project. Wilford Woodruff symbolized this when, upon his death in 1898, he left the company house and other property he had owned in Abraham to faithful local participants in the project.<sup>69</sup> Clearly, without the outside capital and expertise the earlier dam failures might have continued to plague the area.

The national economic depression beginning in the mid-1890s did not halt imaginative entrepreneurs from developing other land-promotion schemes in western Millard County. Foremost among developers was a Colonel Holloway of Fairland, Texas. One of his schemes was to develop land in the Burbank-Garrison area with water from Snake Creek, storing irrigation water in an improved reservoir. A feature of the project undertaken by the Snake Valley Land and Water Company was to blast an outlet tunnel through hard

limestone so that the stored water could be carried to more of the potential farmland.

Others involved in the scheme included county residents Virgil Kelley and James A. Melville, a key promoter of the Delta area a decade later, and two Texans, C.H. Silliman and a Dr. Westphal. By April 1895 Holloway had reportedly arranged for 250 families to emigrate from Texas to the Snake Valley. However, none of these settlers ever took up land in Snake Valley. Four years later, the Holbrook Land and Irrigation Company, organized by Lafayette Holbrook and Joseph A. Ray, former county residents, gained control of the Snake Valley land project. Holbrook and Ray vigorously promoted the land, but they too had no real success beyond what had been previously enjoyed by a few longtime residents of the valley.<sup>70</sup>

Colonel Holloway was also general manager of the Beaver Land and Water Company, which aimed to build a reservoir on the lower Beaver River just inside Beaver County in order to develop potential farmland lying mainly on the Millard County side of the boundary line. However, this project raised immediate legal objections over water rights from farmers previously located in the so-called Beaver bottoms. The land development scheme never progressed further than a law suit in one of the last sessions of Judge George W. Bartch's territorial district court. A decade later, the Delta Land and Water Company also attempted to develop the project, and it also lost similar legal challenges. Today, the water is well utilized by farmers in Beaver County.

Another land promotion scheme was developed for the Clear Lake area of the county in the 1890s. For many years the area around Clear Lake had been used for the grazing of livestock. In 1893 C.J. Aldrach, representing capital interests from Kansas, organized the Clear Lake Land and Irrigation Company to turn the land into farmsteads and to develop the area's several springs as sources of irrigation water.

Later that year Aldrach and the irrigation company sold the lake and surrounding lands for \$100,000 to a Kansas company headed by Timothy B. Sweet. In 1895 the Clear Lake Land and Irrigation Company combined with other land planners in 1895 to develop the area around Swan Lake, located a few miles west of Clear Lake. The

new company was called the Clear Lake and Swan Lake Reservoir Company. Sweet engaged Virgil Kelly to survey the land and to construct an eight-mile canal to convey water from the lake to fields west of the railroad tracks and near what became the town of Clear Lake. The development attracted several families, who began to grow alfalfa hay and seed. Sweet also developed a ranch in the area, but, when his health began to deteriorate, so did his interest in the ranch. He sold out to another Kansan, J.C. Gafford. Without direct interest among the directors, who were essentially speculators, the project lagged even further. Finally, Dan Livingston of Salt Lake City purchased the ranch in 1920 and operated it until 1932, when he lost it to foreclosure early in the Great Depression.<sup>71</sup>

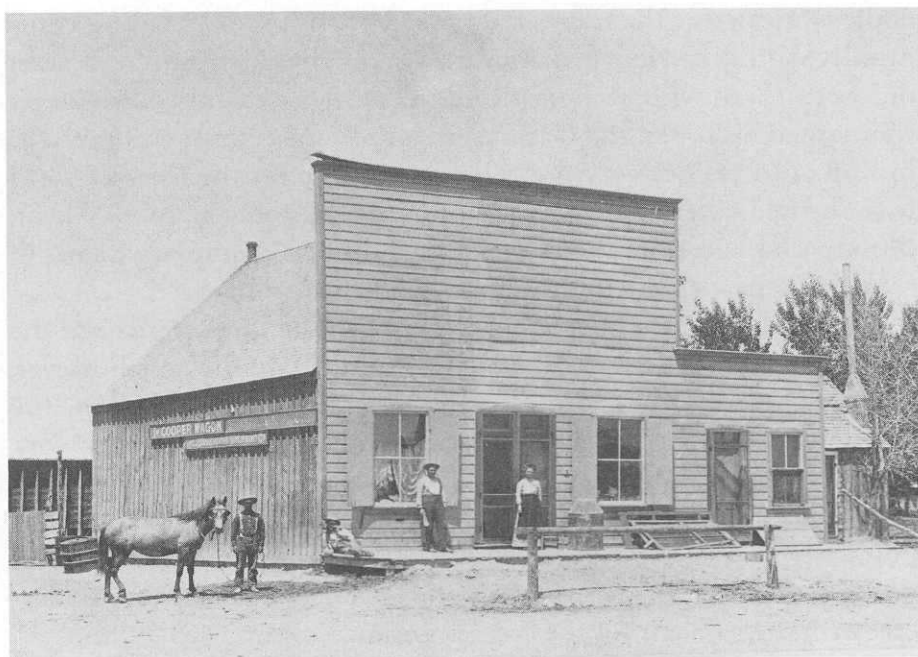
Aldrach also had been involved in a scheme to reclaim 6,000 acres of land located eight miles southwest of Crafton on the lower Sevier River near its convergence with the Beaver River before entering Sevier Lake. Little development occurred until 1912 when a group of wealthy Jewish investors from Salt Lake City including Harry Joseph and brothers Samuel H., Frederick S., and Theodore Auerbach developed a plan to bring 30,000 acres under production using several hundred Jewish families from the east. Some work was done on the Swan Lake-Crafton project and some evidence is still visible; however, a major stumbling block to the enterprise was the completion in 1914 of the Minersville Reservoir. This dramatically reduced the amount of water in the lower Beaver River, and superior water rights prevailed far upstream from Crafton.<sup>72</sup>

In the spring of 1895, commencing at a meeting at the Deseret School attended by interested parties from throughout the county, developers organized the Millard County Land, Reservoir and Canal Company—later reorganized as the Millard County Reservoir and Canal Company—to launch what claimed to be “the greatest irrigation enterprise ever undertaken in Utah.” The project was to bring between 10,000 and 100,000 people onto a thirty-mile strip of 56,000 acres of fertile land located on the Whisky Creek Bench and later named McCornick. Engineer R.E.L. Collier drafted a plan which included a six-foot diversion dam located seven miles above Leamington and a highline canal to carry the diverted Sevier River water to a storage reservoir to be constructed at the Fool Creek Sinks.

The organizers of the scheme were careful to prevent the enterprise from falling under the domination of outside capitalists. No individual could own more than eighty shares of company stock and each person had only one vote in any corporate election. By October 1895 a sufficient amount of stock had been subscribed to warrant commencement of work on the new canal. A large number of Utah farmers were reportedly ready to bring their teams and scrapers to work on the canal in return for shares of stock in the project. By early December a gang of graders was at work on the upper end of the canal and promoters were confident that corporate bonds were about to be purchased by a company with "abundant capital." However, the economic depression, then in its third year, dampened the efforts of promoters to raise sufficient funds to complete the canal and thus to settle the anticipated people on the land. A similar project would come to fruition two decades later, however.<sup>73</sup>

In 1880 Bishop J.S. Black noted the population of his Deseret Ward at 617 souls. Five years later, some 200 more individuals had arrived in the community. Residents still expressed willingness to share their lands and water with additional families. By 1890 about 1,200 people lived in the Deseret Ward area, composed of the separate communities of Deseret, Hinckley, and Oasis. With such a large ward, a new brick meetinghouse was completed at Deseret in 1889. A fair proportion of Millard LDS Stake meetings were held there during the next dozen years before the stake was divided. Fillmore numbered nearly one thousand people, making it the largest single community in the county.

Oasis by 1880 had developed its own separate identity with a small but flourishing commercial center consisting of S.H. Alexander's general store, a cooperative mercantile enterprise, and a hotel possessing a fine restaurant operated by Edward and Lizzie Webb that also served hot meals to Utah Central Railroad passengers. Other business in Oasis included a saloon and west Millard's first bank, the State Bank of Oasis (with Henry Huff as its president), a creamery, and an alfalfa-seed plant.<sup>74</sup> Despite the closure of the Ibex smelter, Oasis continued to serve as a shipping point for mines of the Detroit Mining District as well as the Clifton-Deep Creek Mining District located in Juab and Tooele Counties until 1915, when a rail-



Alonzo Hinckley's store, Hinckley. (Utah State Historical Society)

road was built from Wendover. There were significant new mining strikes throughout the region which maintained a high level of mining activity and excitement.<sup>75</sup>

Hinckley was a booming town by the 1890s. While most community life revolved around common church activities, music teacher Frank Whitehead provided an extra measure of culture. The local band offered free street concerts and on holidays such as 24 July serenaded the town by wagon. Independence Day and May Day were also celebrated in Hinckley. In the 1890s the three-room brick school and church meetinghouse, fondly dubbed the "mud temple," was replaced by a larger building. The Pratt brothers operated a store, and just prior to the turn of the century a semi-cooperative flour mill was built.

The growth of the communities of Hinckley, Oasis, and Deseret caused the Mormon ward serving the area to be divided into three wards in the spring of 1891. Bishop Joseph S. Black was extended an honorable release. For some time his frequent and lengthy absences



while working for the railroad created hardships and holding community dances in Henry W. Hawley's "nice" brick saloon in Deseret did not sit well with ecclesiastical leaders in the county. John Styler was named bishop of the Oasis Ward and William Pratt was called as bishop of the Hinckley Ward. The new bishop for the Deseret Ward was a single, twenty-three-year-old schoolteacher named Milton Moody. His selection was in part based on his "exemplary habit" of refusing to participate in the dances held at the saloon.<sup>76</sup>

For some, the support asked to establish the three wards and the new bishops was easy; for others it was difficult. In the end, however, Apostle Anthon Lund congratulated the church members on "the harmony now manifested among the people," urging them to work together "for the advancement of the place and each other." Apostle John Henry Smith, in his sermon to the newly established wards, pointedly warned against the "evils of drink" and exhorted members not to patronize the saloon. The people were encouraged to "be liberal with their means for the erection of meeting and school houses," particularly needed for the two new wards.<sup>77</sup>

In spite of the admonitions, a second saloon and dance hall were opened and conducted a brisk business in Deseret. The proprietor of the Petty Saloon and Hall, one "Professor" Petty, brought his family from Manti and constructed a dance hall that contained a small stage for the musicians. All of the Petty family played for the dances. Bryan Petty, who played the cornet, recalled that people came "from all over the flat" and paid either fifty cents in cash or commodities or danced on credit.

In 1900 John Dewsnup received a liquor license. A group of citizens later complained to the county commissioners that Dewsnup was keeping a "disorderly house" and should lose his right to dispense alcoholic beverages. Whether he closed the saloon or not, liquor continued to be sold at the Dewsnup store. There were other means of halting liquor sales. During one of the Burtner Dam breaks in 1909 or 1910 a flood through parts of Deseret quickly undercut the corner of Petty's saloon, causing the entire building to collapse, to the cheers of a nearby group of women.

Petty had earlier promoted another form of entertainment—horse racing. In 1896 he had purchased a race horse and promptly

called for a race against a well-known Oasis sorrel. The sorrel beat Petty and his horse. A return match of the two horses generated considerable countywide interest, with plenty of wagering taking place at the newly finished Deseret racetrack. The touted race also greatly increased business at Petty's saloon. Jack McBride rode the Petty horse and Virge Kelly rode the Oasis horse. The Petty horse was the strong winner, sparking allegations that the first race had been "bait to catch suckers."<sup>78</sup>

The longstanding horse racing interest continued the next year. In the summer of 1897 what was reported as the "largest gathering ever" in Millard County occurred for a horse race in Fillmore. Almon Robison matched his horse Maudy against Nelly Grey, owned by a Mr. Hammond, who had been in town about a month. Local backers for the race put up \$300 for a purse for the local favorite with "some thousand dollars" changing hands after the outcome of the contest. Kanosh residents placed some credence in a seven-year-old town resident who had several dreams claiming the grey horse would win. It did. A later newspaper story mentioned that "the stranger walked off with the honor and dollars."<sup>79</sup>

Deseret remained an important commercial center for the central section of the county, often termed west Millard. In 1893 Josiah F. Gibbs established the *Millard County Blade* there. The editor emerged as one of the most respected newspapermen in central Utah. His paper included a wide array of articles and stories which reflected his own scientific expertise, interest in history, political insight, and promotional spirit. He lauded the local efforts to develop a silkworm industry as well as the area's agricultural and mining activities and his family-operated "lithia" water enterprise. The editor also served for a time as secretary of the Deseret Irrigation Company.

Gibbs used the power of the pen to encourage the community to undertake moral reforms. Early in 1895 he launched an editorial attack on the laxity of supervision at dances, held presumably at the new Petty Hall. Besides questioning the frequency of such occasions, the type of dances, and how the young people danced, he criticized the parents for "criminal negligence" in allowing their children to participate in such activities. A strong advocate of temperance if not

outright prohibition of liquor, he also denounced the heavy patronage of the “gin mill” just a few rods distant from the dance hall.

Not all of his readers were pleased with his strong editorial comments. Within a week after he criticized parents and dances at least one irate parent, who was also a local church leader, visited the newspaper office to cancel his subscription and issue a “personal chastisement” to the editor. Gibbs remained undeterred; he continued to affirm the good which had been done and the support from many in the community.

It is unclear how much negative financial impact Gibbs felt from his columns; however, by June 1895 he had moved his publishing operation to Nephi, Juab County, sending his weekly newspaper to Millard County by mail. In late July the outspoken newspaperman alleged that “Deseret has a large number of hard working, industrious men, but a like proportion of idlers and saloon bums cannot, it is believed, be found in Utah. They are a positive drag on, and curse to the community.” This was the editor’s parting slap at some of his former neighbors. The *Blade* continued publication for another year, after which Gibbs moved to the Marysvale area to develop a mining claim.<sup>80</sup>

The *Millard County Blade* was the first newspaper published in the county; it was followed by the *Millard County Progress*, which began publishing in Fillmore in 1894. The *Progress* was backed by a half-dozen prominent Fillmore businessmen, and P.P. Jacobsen served as its first editor. There were several subsequent owner/publishers, including L.W. Gaisford and Christian Anderson. Joseph Smith, who married Eliza Mitchell, operated the paper for more than a decade in the late 1910s and early 1920s, after which it was purchased by a Mr. Mountford. Smith, among other things, was an ardent booster of dry farming and supported the drilling of more water wells.<sup>81</sup>

East Millard was fortunate to have a number of venturesome entrepreneurs willing to invest in community recreational centers. The Rassmusson brothers operated Liberty Hall, a favorite location for community dances and celebrations until 4 January 1896 when the building was destroyed by fire. The Alcazar and Bartholomew halls in east Millard and the Marsoni Hall in Delta experienced the

same fate later. Besides its use for school and various meetings, the State House was the site of many dances and was proclaimed to have the “finest dance floor in Southern Utah.”<sup>82</sup>

In the summer of 1899 the Ladies Physical Culture Club was organized in Fillmore under the auspices of the LDS Young Women’s Mutual Improvement Association. They staged a grand ball at the State House that included several “fancy dances,” including the new national fad the “cake walk.” Immediately thereafter, city fathers prohibited further use of the facility by the young women’s group on the pretext that such dances “impair[ed] the floor for dancing.” Some might surmise that a few powerful members of the older generation simply did not approve of the type of dances. Within a month, another grand ball was staged at the same location under more acceptable sponsorship.<sup>83</sup>

As the twentieth century approached, Oak Creek, located in the foothills of the north east edge of the Pahvant Valley, reached maturity with a stable population of 250. When the community applied for and was granted a post office, the government agency demanded a name change to Oak City. The local LDS ward remained Oak Creek until 1922, when it adopted the Oak City name.<sup>84</sup> Residents of Oak City boasted of their fine old black locust trees, and mature fruit orchards gave the community a “venerable appearance” in contrast to younger towns with their quick-growing poplars, cottonwoods, and “balm of gilead” trees.

Other communities experienced more growth at the turn of the century. Abraham’s population surpassed 150 in 1900, even after most of its Salt Lake City investors had either sold out or given up on the enterprise. A considerable number of families, largely from Idaho and Utah’s Dixie, took up land in Abraham. A branch of the LDS church was reorganized as a ward there in 1900. George A. Seaman, a recent Spanish-American War veteran, was sustained as bishop. Charles H. Wilcken was one of George Seaman’s counselors. Wilcken was an old Prussian war hero, served in Johnston’s Army, later embraced Mormonism, and was a bodyguard for John Taylor and George Q. Cannon. Through his association with Cannon he became interested in the Abraham project. Abraham boasted a school, a post office, and a store owned by R.E. Robinson and Richard Palmer. In

subsequent years the population of the community fluctuated widely, but there were always some successful farms.<sup>85</sup>

By 1900 Hinckley had bypassed Deseret's population, 510 to 408, although the latter community with five stores was still the commercial center of west Millard. A correspondent to the *Salt Lake Herald* termed Deseret's businesses as the "best commercial facilities of any place in Millard County." Many substantial homes still remaining in Hinckley, Deseret, and Oasis date from this period. The latter town remained the primary county rail shipping point and was the first to have a bank and a dairy as well as an alfalfa-seed cleaning plant.<sup>86</sup>

Newspaperman Josiah Gibbs asserted that Hinckley growers had established themselves as grain producers unsurpassed in the state on proportionate acreage. Many in east Millard had been in a position to contest that statement, but drought, frost, hail, and economic depression in the 1890s took a heavy toll on agricultural enterprises there.<sup>87</sup>

Few Millard County farmers in the first several generations owned their own threshing machines; instead, they hired crews to thresh their grain and alfalfa seed. Crews often worked from sunup to sundown, eating in the fields where they worked. Farm women provided meals for the threshing crews, working equally long and hard in their kitchens. Often there was competition among farm women vying for the honor of setting the best table. Meadow resident Lee Reay recalled that over the years certain women were known as "good feeders." Many farmers experienced the transition from horse-powered threshers to steam-propelled and later gasoline- and diesel-powered combines that were driven through the field harvesting and threshing at once.<sup>88</sup>

David Stout's detailed diary illustrates farm life common at the turn of the century in west Millard. In need of a new wagon, he purchased a Studebaker wagon at Deseret, paying partly in cash and accepting credit on terms at 12 percent on the balance of the purchase price. To clear his virgin land, acquired under the federal Desert Land Act, Stout used a horse-drawn rail and grubbing hoe. He obtained his fencing material and firewood from the Whiskey Creek area. Excellent windbreak fences were fashioned from "slabs," the

outer cuts from juniper trees, from the Oak Creek mills and later from a sawmill located on Swazey Mountain.<sup>89</sup>

With the further development of irrigation at Deseret, Hinckley, and Oasis, farmers of the area became quite successful raising grain and alfalfa, boasting they had “no superior in Utah.”<sup>90</sup> One of the keys to agricultural success, according to local newspaperman Josiah F. Gibbs, was learning to limit the amount of irrigation water used on the land. Too much water caused waterlogging and salt rising to the surface.<sup>91</sup>

Particularly in the last years of the nineteenth century, Millard County farmers recognized that raising alfalfa seed was indeed a lucrative enterprise. Mormon faithful saw a direct connection between the onset of the first area boom of what the *Deseret News* soon afterward termed the “most profitable of all farm crops” and church president Lorenzo Snow’s delivery of his “Windows of Heaven” sermon in Deseret in June 1899. Days before, President Snow had visited the east side of the county where it was reported that “the entire community [had] been enthused with his visit” and where many resolutions were made to live “nearer to God than in the past.”<sup>92</sup> Snow promised the residents prosperity if they paid their tithing. After the year’s harvest and threshing were completed, at least thirty-five boxcar loads of seed were shipped from the area. With a November price of seven cents per pound, the estimate that local growers would net at least \$50,000 for the yield was probably quite low.

One local correspondent recalled in 1899 the hardships of past years in seeking to make a living from the alkaline soil, also noting that during this period visiting church presidents John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff had each blessed the land and predicted it would become productive. The writer affirmed that the “prophetic utterances regarding its future [were] being fulfilled to the letter.”<sup>93</sup>

By the turn of the century, Dan Black had been in business some time in Oasis cleaning weed seeds and other foreign matter from the precious alfalfa seed harvest with a hand-operated cleaning machine. Other local seed dealers—William R. Ray, Jacob C. Hawley, and Milton Moody—installed a steam cleaning plant at a cost of several thousand dollars. It was capable of eliminating foreign matter at the

rate of some 300 bushels per day. John Dewsnup later had a similar operation, with each enterprise also functioning to market seed for their patrons. There were also buyers representing companies from Springville, Salt Lake City, and Ogden to compete for a share of the crop.

Prior to the next season's harvest, there were reports of unprecedented prosperity in the district, almost entirely credited to the mounting demand for "the precious yellow alfalfa seed." Many farmers reportedly produced in a single year crops worth double what their farms had been valued at prior to the seed boom. One correspondent asserted about the area, "we must declare this the farmer's paradise, for even in the silent prairie regions of the Mississippi Valley or of the famous northwest, there is no example of a greater income to the farmer per acre of land than has been known here." The writer conceded the possibility of seasonal disappointments but then asserted that there had been no such setback in the last five years. One of the great advantages frequently noted in 1900 was that even during drought years, such as was then underway, there was little of the disappointment that usually accompanied such reversals, because alfalfa-seed production did not require much irrigation water.<sup>94</sup>

According to the press notices at the turn of the century, few Deseret area farmers even considered selling their property. One correspondent stated that each individual was "getting rich and [knew] it, and that fact makes him spurn all offers for his land. His money that he realizes from seed comes in far easier than the income of the average farmer, and he spends it cheerfully too, in the purchase of conveniences, and even luxuries." It was said that there was a surprising number of pianos, organs, and other such items, hardly necessities, which had been purchased in recent years by local residents. Many new buggies and other "turnouts" appeared in the area that would do credit to any prosperous city, driven ostentatiously about the area on Sunday afternoons and holidays. The evidences of prosperity eloquently testified to success achieved by the pioneering generation and their immediate successors in west Millard County.<sup>95</sup>

While not devoting nearly as much acreage to the endeavor, east Millard farmers also engaged in alfalfa-seed raising. Several growers in the older farming area consistently garnered lucrative seed crops

from the earliest years of “going for seed.” Anthony Paxton of Kanosh operated an east-side seed-cleaning establishment. Seed was one of several agricultural crops that helped east-siders overcome a decade of general economic slump in the 1890s.<sup>96</sup>

There were some agricultural problems, including early manifestations of insect problems that became extremely serious in the 1920s and 1930s. The *Deseret News* reported that because of grasshopper damage some west Millard County farmers were compelled to cut hay that they had hoped would provide second-crop alfalfa seed. Sarah Langston recalled how her family coped with the grasshopper plague when she was a young girl living in Hinckley. A large fabric “catcher” that “skimmed” over the top of the seed or grain was pulled by a fast-riding horseback rider. The “hoppers” were caught, dumped into sacks, and buried. This process was repeated every few days. Sarah recalled that her family caught a good many insects, thereby saving their crops.<sup>97</sup>

Kanosh citizens were particularly hard hit by bad weather at the end of the century. In February 1898 many sheep died from the unprecedented intense cold. Stored apples, potatoes, and bottled fruit were ruined by the cold, which penetrated the cellars as temperatures dropped to twenty-three degrees below zero. That spring, fruit growers experienced six straight nights of late frost which almost dashed their hopes for a good fruit season. Some peaches and berries still set, however, and the apples, pears, plums, and currants were hardly affected. That summer was exceptionally dry and the crop was poor.

The cattle range did not fair well in 1899. Few cattle buyers bought local cattle that year. If this wasn't enough, the following year, some cattle were caught in snowstorms just after they had been driven to the summer range; they had to be fed hay costing a high five dollars per ton to tide them through the crisis. The irrigation water available for that summer was about a third of what farmers were accustomed to utilizing. Thus the alfalfa and other irrigated crops were “very small” and the grain crop only about half the usual yield.

For some farmers, however, conditions turned dramatically for the better during the summer of 1900, partly due to the national economic recovery, which was reflected in increased livestock prices. Kanosh stockmen sold 1,300 steers at an average of \$21.50 per head,



5,000 sheep for \$3.25 each, and 250 bags of wool, each weighing 300 pounds, for \$0.15 per pound. This brought a total of some \$55,000 into the local economy, or at least into the accounts of the families involved.<sup>98</sup>

By the end of 1900, following poor harvests and nearly a decade of a national economic depression, the list of delinquent taxpayers was growing. However, when the county treasurer attempted to sell the property of the less fortunate area farmers, few bidders came forward. Some east Millard residents, including a few Scipio families, chose to relocate voluntarily. There were promising agricultural opportunities in both Idaho and the Big Horn Basin of Wyoming as well as possible employment opportunities in Salt Lake City. As many as half the adult men of Kanosh were said to be working at least temporarily in mines and smelters in Nevada. Some, such as Petersburg founder Peter Robison, moved their families there permanently.<sup>99</sup>

As the century ended, Fillmore completed Central School, with its four ground-level rooms occupied by grades four through eight. Justly proud of the accomplishment, the *Millard County Progress* reported, "It is the finest school building south of Provo City, and although it has been a hard struggle for some of the taxpayers to meet the heavy tax, few have complained and all now point with pride to this magnificent house." The \$14,000 structure was dedicated in February 1900.<sup>100</sup>

Despite economic difficulties, Millard County emerged as a significant producer of agricultural goods and a transportation center for mining activities in west-central Utah and east-central Nevada. Farmers and irrigation companies worked to bring more land under the plow. The number of acres being irrigated in the county increased from nearly 8,200 acres in 1889 to more than 30,530 by 1899. By the beginning of the twentieth century, in the county there were 131 miles of canals and ditches delivering water to 627 farms. Millard County ranked fifth in the state in miles of irrigation ditches and canals. County fruit farmers owned 16,726 apple trees, which produced 4,794 bushels of apples, ranking the county sixth in the state. In 1900, Millard County farmers produced 17,438 bushels of clover and alfalfa seed, making the county the top producer of such seed in the United States. In addition to these crops, county farmers grew

barley, corn, oats, and rye, and in each category ranked ninth or higher in the state.<sup>101</sup>

Livestock raising as well as mining, freighting, and a small amount of manufacturing added to the county's growing economy. The last decade of the nineteenth century saw many residents living more comfortably and enjoying a greater number of leisure activities than in previous years. The county's population of 5,678 in 1900 was more than holding its own, as citizens sought to adapt to changing economic conditions and opportunities as the new state of Utah entered the mainstream of the nation's economic affairs.<sup>102</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

1. John Powell, *Autobiography and Journal, 1849–1901*, LDS Church Archives.

2. *Deseret News*, 11 June 1879.

3. Two sets of figures, one on school-age population and the other on property evaluation of non-Mormons, suggest the importance of tax collection based on property values in the funding of schools. According to two reports of the Utah Commission, one for 1884 and the other for 1887, Millard County ranked eleventh in the territory in percentage of property owned by non-Mormons, with approximately 17.5 percent; Uintah County was highest at 65 percent. Millard County school population for 1884 was 657 male students and 641 female students. See "Report of Utah Commission, 1887," and "The Edmunds Act, Report of the Commission: Rules, Regulations, and Decisions, 1884," both at Utah State Historical Society Library.

4. *Deseret News*, 16 June 1881.

5. *Deseret News*, 32:90. These figures indicate that there clearly were elementary school pupils attending other schools not mentioned.

6. Powell, *Autobiography and Journal*, 92–103; Richard W. Payne, *The Legacy of the Lone South Wing*, 51–52 n. 9; *Third Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah* (Salt Lake City: State of Utah, 1901), 332.

7. *Deseret News*, 9 February 1879.

8. *Journal History*, 8 January 1879.

9. *Deseret News*, 14 February 1889.

10. Andrew Jenson, *Fillmore Ward History*.

11. Stella H. Day and Sebrina Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 117. Following the death of Gabriel Huntsman, his son Gabriel and his wife,

Hanna, bought the hotel, eventually making improvements in it including plumbing. They operated it for many years before it was finally torn down in 1938. The State House Museum displays some of the artifacts from this hotel.

12. *Ibid.*, 119. Albert and Dora Carling Robison ran the hotel after Joseph Robison's death. In 1921 they sold the hotel to Andrew and Mary Alice Christensen, who remodeled it. Before Fillmore had a hospital, this structure was used as a place where women went for birth and recovery.

13. *Deseret News*, 2 April 1900.

14. *Salt Lake Herald*, 16, 24 June, 9 November 1883; 10 January, 24 April 1884; *Deseret News*, 22 August 1885.

15. *Salt Lake Herald*, 16 June 1883, 30 April 1884; *Deseret News*, 6 March 1899, 11 September, 15 October, 1900; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 326–29.

16. *Salt Lake Herald*, 12 January 1883.

17. *Deseret Evening News*, 24 February 1877.

18. *Journal History*, 23 July 1880; *Deseret News*, 14 August 1878.

19. *Journal History*, 16 March, 2 May 1882.

20. *Ibid.*, 19 June 1883.

21. *Ibid.*, 25 April 1883. See also chapter four herein.

22. *Salt Lake Herald*, 13 September 1885, 2 March 1886; *Deseret Evening News*, 10 March 1886.

23. *Deseret Evening News*, 15 September 1886; Abraham H. Cannon, *Journal*, 2 May 1889, Utah State Historical Society. Roger Walker, an area authority on irrigation history, asserts that Gilbert Webb was the original organizer of the Gunnison Bend project.

24. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 511.

25. *Ibid.*, 462–66, 509, 511; Roger Walker, notes, in possession of authors.

26. Thomas Pratt, "A Sketch of the Life of William Halbert Pratt," undated manuscript, LDS Church Archives.

27. *Journal History*, 23 July 1880.

28. "David King and Phoebe Crafts, Early Pioneers of Deseret," undated newspaper clipping, Crafts File, Great Basin Museum, Delta, Utah.

29. Millard County Incorporation Register, Book A, 1871–1893, 269–74, Utah State Archives.

30. B.S. Butler, G.F. Loughlin, V.C. Heikes et al., *The Ore Deposits of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 463–64.

31. *Millard County Blade*, 20 February 1895; John W. Van Cott in *Utah*

*Place Names* notes that there are two Ibexes, one near Joy and the other directly west of Sevier Lake.

32. *Millard County Progress*, 3 April 1895.

33. *Millard County Chronicle*, 5 January 1911; *Millard County Progress*, 24 August 1915.

34. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 532; *Deseret Evening News*, 19 January 1892; Effie O. Read, *White Pine Lang Syne* (Denver: Big Mountain Press, 1965), 132; Boyd E. Quate, *Pioneers of Snake Valley, 1865–1935 as Remembered by the Descendants* (Norfolk, VA: Atlantic Lithography, 1993), 56; Ken Hill, ed., *North Snake Valley* pt. I (n.p., n.d.), 38.

35. See John W. Powell and George W. Ingalls, *Report of the Commissioner, 1873*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1874), 51.

36. Steven J. Crum, “The ‘White Pine War’ of 1875: A Case of White Hysteria,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Summer 1991): 286–99; James B. Allen and Ted J. Warner, “The Gosiute Indians in Pioneer Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 162–77.

37. Joseph A. Ray, papers, Western Americana, Marriott Library, University of Utah; *Millard County Progress*, 21 January 1916, 19 June, 26 June 1925.

38. *Millard County Chronicle*, 30 January 1947.

39. *Journal History*, 17 January 1883.

40. *Deseret News*, 31 December 1886. Butler, Loughlin, et al., *Ore Deposits of Utah*, 418–23, states that the Yellowstone Mine in Yellowstone Canyon southeast of Leamington shipped some fifteen carloads of ore with some gold and silver over a twenty-year period. The nearby Arbroath mine had similar ore. The Wood Canyon group on the north side of that canyon includes traces of galena and zinc blende.

41. *Millard County Blade*, 13 February 1895.

42. *Deseret Evening News*, 28 June 1899.

43. *Journal History*, 10 February 1890; *Deseret Evening News*, 6 September 1892, 10 August 1896, 14 July 1900; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 390.

44. Carling Malouf, “Joseph Sinkler Giles,” 8, unpublished paper provided by author.

45. *Deseret Evening News*, 18 June 1900; Stella H. Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 128.

46. Patsy Carter Iverson, undated notes from family interviews. The death records say she died on January 15 of “consumption, of nephritis,

etc.” The death notice in the *Progress Review*, 30 March 1906, states only that she died while visiting her daughter.

47. Ladd R. Cropper, “Early History of Millard County and Its Latter-day Saint Settlers, 1851–1912” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), 46–47.

48. Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 162, 166, 199; *Journal History*, August 3, 1891; Josiah Gibbs, *Lights and Shadows of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Tribune Publishing Co., c. 1909), 344–45.

49. Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 173; David Fisk Stout, *Diary*, 15 September 1898, LDS Church Archives.

50. *Deseret Evening News*, 21 February 1881; Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 199.

51. *Deseret News*, 22 August 1885; *Journal History*, 22 September 1885.

52. *Deseret News*, 18 May 1881.

53. *Deseret News*, 16 June 1881, 30 July, 6 September 1892; *Salt Lake Herald*, 9 November 1883.

54. *Deseret News*, 24 December 1882.

55. *Deseret News*, 30 March 1885.

56. See *Twelfth Census of the United States, Agriculture Part II: Crops and Irrigation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902), table 44.

57. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 365. Leavitt Christensen, *Birth of Kanosh*, 59–66, includes a good discussion of rangeland claimants and users for that area.

58. *Millard County Progress*, 14 May 1926, stated that the wool clip at Jericho in 1925 was about a million pounds and that in 1926 it was down to 800,000 pounds with a week of shearing remaining. Much of the best wool was controlled by interests from Fountain Green in Sanpete County.

59. John W. Bush, *Reminiscences*, Utah State Historical Society; *Millard County Blade*, 3 April 1895.

60. Abraham H. Cannon, *Journal*, 28 May, 4, 26, 27 June, 1, 2, 6 July, 4 October 1889; Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Some of the early stockholders in the company were John and Charles H. Wilcken, Alfred Solomon, Brigham Y. Hampton, Joseph S. and William V. Black, Andrew Jensen, John Q., Frank J. and Abraham H. Cannon, Joseph S. Booth, Charles D. Haun, Heber J. Grant, Seymour B. Young, John T. Caine, Francis Cope, Jesse Fox, Samuel Bateman, Owen Woodruff, and Joseph S. Giles.

61. Cannon, *Journal*, 14 October, 1 November 1889.

62. *Ibid.*, 15 April, 1 August, 5 September, 24 November 1890.

63. *Ibid.*, 19 November 1890.

64. The Deseret Irrigation Company first cemented the walls of the Cropper cut and long fill of the dam in the fall of 1913, *Millard County Chronicle*, 13 November 1913.

65. Cannon, Journal, 11 November 1890; *Deseret Evening News*, 24 March 1891.

66. Cannon, Journal, 12, 19 November 1890.

67. L. John Nuttall, Diary, 20 October 1891, 5 February 1892, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Cannon, Journal, 30 January 1892.

68. Nuttall to President and Board of Directors Deseret Irrigation Company, 16 August 1892, L. John Nuttall, Letterbooks, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Cannon, Journal, 28 May 1891, 9 August, 25 November 1892.

69. David Fisk Stout, Diary, 2 October 1897, Utah State Historical Society; Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: the Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 330.

70. *Millard County Blade*, 20 February, 3 April, 15 June, 27 July 1895; *Deseret Evening News*, 27 May 1899.

71. Venetta Bond Kelsey, *Life on the Black Rock Desert: A History of Clear Lake, Utah* (Provo, Utah: Kelsey Publishing, 1992), 28–33; *Millard County Chronicle*, 30 March 1911.

72. *Millard County Blade*, 13 February, 3 April, 27 July, 1895; Kelsey, *Clear Lake*, 140–41; *Millard County Chronicle*, 17 October 1912. Stephen L. Carr, *The Historical Guide to Utah Ghost Towns* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1972), 160, mentions an enterprise of a group of Quakers who supposedly developed 10,000 acres of alfalfa in the area in 1893. However, Gibbs's newspaper, of which many issues of the ensuing two years are extant, does not mention this community, which was probably developed on paper only.

73. *Millard County Blade*, 13 February, 3, 10 April, 22 May, 5 October, 7, 21 December 1895.

74. *Deseret Evening News*, 27 July 1884, 6 October 1894.

75. *Millard County Blade*, 20 February, 3 April, 22 May, 27 July 1895, 8, 27 February, 2 March 1896.

76. Journal History, 25 March 1891; Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, 20 March 1891, Utah State Historical Society Library.

77. Cannon, Journal, 22 March 1891; *Deseret Evening News*, 25 March 1891.

78. *Millard County Blade*, 21 March 1896.

79. *Deseret Evening News*, 26 May, 5 June 1897.
80. *Millard County Blade*, 13, 20 February, 27 July 1895, 18 April 1896.
81. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), 63–64, 74.
82. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 95–96, Day, *Builders of Early Millard*, 147.
83. *Deseret Evening News*, 5, 11, 31 May 1899.
84. Oak City's population rocketed to 425 in 1910. Thereafter the town's population dwindled to about 280 in 1970. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, the town's population has more than doubled; in 1990 it reached 587.
85. *Millard County Chronicle*, 23 January 1947.
86. *Journal History*, 23 July 1880; 15 September 1886; 28 May, 27 November, 1889; 19, 20 June 1900; *Salt Lake Herald*, 24 April 1884.
87. *Deseret Evening News*, 27 February 1884; *Millard County Blade*, 27 July 1895.
88. Reay, *Lambs in the Meadow*, 188–91.
89. Stout, *Diary*, 20 September, 8 November, 4 December 1897, 10 June, 14 June, 4 October 1898; *Burtner (Millard County) Chronicle*, 23 February 1911.
90. Collins Hakes and John Duel of Kanosh and Amasa and Francis M. Lyman of Fillmore had learned about alfalfa while residing in San Bernardino, California, in the late 1850s. See Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 217–19.
91. *Deseret News*, 27 February 1884.
92. *Journal History*, 24 May 1899; *Deseret Evening News*, 27 May, 2 June, 12 July 1899.
93. *Deseret Evening News*, 7, 22 November, 1899; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 609.
94. *Deseret Evening News*, 7, 20 June, 5 July 1900.
95. *Deseret Evening News*, 30 January, 5 July 1900.
96. *Deseret Evening News*, 1, 29 November 1899.
97. Sarah Langston Adams, *Autobiography*, (1969), LDS Church Archives.
98. *Deseret Evening News*, 10 February 1898, 21 April, 5, 16 May 1899, 17 April, 18, 20 June, 24 August 1900; *Journal History*, 5 May 1899.
99. *Deseret Evening News*, 18 December 1900.
100. *Deseret Evening News*, 26 February 1900.

101. See *Twelfth Census*, 187, 274, 690, 860, 858.

102. Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 432.



## CHAPTER 6

# MILLARD COUNTY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, plans to extend the Utah Central Railroad to Los Angeles, a matter of periodic interest for two decades, finally came to fruition under the leadership of William Andrews Clark of Montana and financier Edward H. Harriman of New York. The old roadway through Juab and Millard Counties had been adequate for a feeder line to Frisco, near Milford, but was deemed unsuitable for the new and extended San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City Railroad route.

An important feature of the refurbished railway through central Utah was the so-called Leamington Cutoff. The old route had run south from Salt Lake City around the Point of the Mountain, east of Utah Lake, from Payson to Nephi, and then on toward the southeastern corner of Juab County, where it turned west, following the Sevier River through Leamington Canyon. The new cutoff completely changed the route. It left Salt Lake City heading westward around the northern end of the Oquirrh Mountains, then went southward across Tooele County, skirting west of the Tintic Mountains and then curving east into the valley below Eureka, before bending back slightly to



Leamington LDS wardhouse and relief society hall. Wardhouse destroyed by fire 1928. (Utah State Historical Society)

the west to intersect the earlier line five miles west of Leamington. The new railway cut sixteen miles from the route between Salt Lake City and what would first be called Lynn Junction, and it was deemed even more desirable because it virtually eliminated excessive grades. The entire project was lauded as an impressive feat of engineering.<sup>1</sup>

Railroad company engineers planned for a railroad terminal and repair station to be located at Lynn Junction. A water tank was built first, supplied with water from a well dug by Frank Jewett. John Thompson was hired to manage the water tank. The depot was completed in February 1904.<sup>2</sup>

The first dwellings at what was soon called Lynndyl were tents, one-room shacks, and a few dirt dugouts. A more substantial section house for foreman Charlie Gowning's family was erected in 1906, and about the same time a boarding house, known by many as "cold storage" for its lack of heat, was built and managed by a Mrs. Wagner. Dan Black of Deseret soon opened a hotel, and O.T. (Tom) Mead of Levan started the first store in a tent north of the depot. In 1910 Mead built a more substantial stone store; the next year, Mrs. A.V. Morris opened a restaurant in the basement. A year later, S.D. Atkins of Milford also opened a store in the growing railroad town.

Permanent housing for families of railroad employees was constructed, a larger roundhouse facility was built south of town, and a year later the "road house" was sufficiently equipped to overhaul and repair steam engines.<sup>3</sup>

During the early years, when the areas of Deseret, Oasis, Hinckley, and Abraham were beginning to be farmed, farmers of the lower Sevier River basin received adequate amounts of irrigation water despite the heavy diversion of water upstream by water users holding less valid water rights. However, just after the turn of the century the combination of increased upstream use and a series of dry years in the Sevier River watershed brought on a water crisis of major proportions for west Millard County. In desperate need of water, farmers of the Deseret area sent a party of men upstream to remove all small diversion dams. The makeshift dams were quickly rebuilt by upriver irrigators, which resulted again in a water shortage for the Deseret area.

The Deseret Irrigation Company filed suit in district court in 1899, petitioning Judge E.V. Higgins to make a determination of all primary rights to the Sevier River downstream from Rocky Ford Reservoir in Sevier County. The judicial decree in 1901 attempted to equitably allocate water allotments to contesting water users. A similar problem of equitable distribution remained for upstream water users. In 1906, using the Higgins decision, Judge C.W. Morse issued a decree for the upper Sevier River water users. Since there was yet no state agency to regulate water utilization, provisions were made for a commissioner to measure the water being diverted.<sup>4</sup> The two decrees were important in guaranteeing Millard County water users their rights to the river's water.

Still concerned with the lack of water, Deseret Irrigation Company stockholders met frequently to discuss other steps they could take to ensure sufficient irrigation water during the growing seasons. They concluded that they needed a storage reservoir to store the excess flow of winter runoffs. In August 1902, company stockholders voted to build a storage reservoir near the Sevier River Bridge at a site recently recommended by the United States Geological Survey. Company president Jacob C. Hawley traveled by train and

bicycle to the reservoir site to claim it. In addition, Hawley posted notices appropriating unclaimed Sevier River water.

To finance the construction of the dam, the Deseret Irrigation Company assessed each share of stock five dollars. Shareholders unable to meet the financial commitment were allocated labor assessments to work on the dam. Work began on the project in October under the direction of E.F. Pack of Hinckley. Three shifts of miners and muckers were employed to dig a diversion tunnel around the dam site. By the following spring the main regulation gates were installed in the tunnel and core walls were excavated to bedrock for the dam's foundation. For the next four years, at first under the supervision of Virgil Kelley, every available man, boy, and team of horses from Deseret, Oasis, and Hinckley worked at building the thirty-foot-high earthen dam.

Confidence in the project was high when the reservoir began to fill in the spring of 1907. However, during a Millard LDS Stake conference at Deseret in June disaster almost struck the project. Word was received that the water was rising quickly, threatening the dam and the growing season. Apostle Francis M. Lyman, who was conducting the conference, called upon every able-bodied man in the county to help. Their efforts saved the dam.<sup>5</sup>

For years near the turn of the twentieth century, Edward Leo Lyman, Jr., a struggling young farmer from Oak City, visualized farming on the greasewood-covered flats he crossed frequently to attend Millard Stake meetings and to peddle fruit at Deseret. In the summer of 1903, with his father, Frederick R. Lyman, Joseph S. Anderson, and others, he investigated the possibilities of farming a large section of land south and east of what later became Delta. In 1905 they conducted a survey farther north and concluded that water from the Sevier River could be successfully diverted onto the land.

Some area residents probably recalled a similar venture attempted twenty years earlier that was thwarted by the economic depression of the 1890s. This time the Oak City men relied on Frederick R. Lyman of the stake presidency to carry their proposal forward. He understood that the Deseret Irrigation Company had undertaken a larger task at the Sevier Bridge Reservoir than they could handle themselves. The local stake presidency turned to James A. Melville for legal advice and

to T. Clark Callister for engineering assistance. Following favorable reports, the Melville Irrigation Company was incorporated with F. R. Lyman as president and O. L. Thompson, Samuel Bennett, Edwin Bartholomew, and W. E. Robinson as company directors. Stock was sold in the company for five dollars a share and was offered to county residents as well as others.

That spring of 1905 fifteen of the men involved met at Oasis to discuss the location of a new town for the 10,000-acre project. They selected a site that included the railroad siding of Akin near its northwestern corner and was one of the more unlevel sections of the entire tract. Their idea was to select land that was least desirable to farm. Initial settler Nelson S. Bishop recalled that the group concluded that leveling the hills and hollows of the town site would be easier collectively than leaving it to the individual farmers. Every person who purchased forty shares of Melville water stock was also given a lot in the town site at cost. Many farmers chose town lots situated close to the route to their farms. For his work in organizing the Melville Irrigation Company, Frederick R. Lyman was honored with the first selection of a town lot. It was later said that Lyman “wore out his life in his great enthusiasm to put the project over.”<sup>6</sup>

The new town was laid out in a typical Mormon town grid system, with Center Street running north and south, and Clark Street, named for William Andrew Clark, president of the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City Railroad, the main street running east and west. When the U.S. Postal Service refused to accept the name of Melville, Burtner was selected after J.H. Burtner, passenger agent for the railroad company and an enthusiastic promoter of the land and water project.<sup>7</sup>

The Melville Irrigation Company provided culinary water for the town lots from a 400-foot well that it dug at the public square adjacent to the intersection of Center and Clark Streets. A second well also was dug in the spring of 1907 to provide water for the town. This water was used primarily for livestock. Bill Bassett, Jr., later recalled that it was sometimes after eleven o'clock at night before the last livestock in town were watered.

A building boom in Burtner began in the spring and summer of 1907 when Nelson Bishop hired carpenters from Hinckley to erect a



View of Burtner looking east from railroad tracks in the early 1910s. (Great Basin Historical Society)

small “lumber shell” for a temporary dwelling while his two-story, nine-room combination house and hotel was being built. By May, Alonzo Billings’s two-room frame house a mile south of town was also completed. The Walter Gardner family was the first to reside in Burtner, however, living in a tent for most of the first year. The town’s new post office and small dry-goods store was located in the Henry J. McCullough log house, built from material he had hauled from Fillmore.<sup>8</sup>

The settlement of Burtner occurred much differently than had that of other towns in the county. There was no direct involvement by Mormon church authorities to settle Burtner; rather, land settlement and development occurred exclusively as a private enterprise. Most of the land within the irrigation project boundaries was entered upon by individuals under the revised federal Desert Land Act of 1891, which allowed up to 320 acres to be homesteaded, provided that 80 acres were irrigated within a three-year period. This fit perfectly with the Melville Irrigation Company plans.

In early March 1908 the Oasis Land and Water Company, com-

posed mainly of non-Utahns from the Midwest, was organized to promote a land and water project near Burtner. That same month, the company entered into an agreement to purchase a half interest in the Hawley reservoir and water filings owned by the Deseret and Melville companies. In August the Utah State Land Board authorized the company to proceed with its project to divert water onto 43,119 acres of federal land that had been relinquished to the state of Utah earlier under the Carey Act of 1894, passed to encourage the reclamation of western arid lands.<sup>9</sup> The next year, the Oasis company expended more than one-half million dollars joining with the Deseret and Melville companies in their efforts to build the larger Sevier Bridge storage reservoir.

Everyone involved in the new land reclamation scheme understood that the Sevier Bridge reservoir was too far away for the purpose of water storage. Thus, a diversion dam nearer the farm land but upstream from the older Gunnison Bend Reservoir used by the Deseret and Abraham irrigation companies was necessary. In 1907 work commenced on the dam, located about four miles north of Burtner.

The irrigation project was engineered by Salt Lake City civil engineer Richard R. Lyman and consisted of a thirty-foot-high earthen dam 800 feet long and eighteen feet thick at the bottom. A large concrete spillway was constructed to release water destined for the Gunnison Bend Reservoir eight miles farther downstream. A concrete headgate at the outlet regulated the amount of water into the main canal, which skirted the edge of a prominent bluff southward to Burtner.<sup>10</sup> Through the efforts of local workmen, enough of the reservoir was completed by August 1908 that some water was delivered to the Melville project lands.<sup>11</sup>

During the intervening period there were repeated washouts along the new canals. A major crisis hit the reclamation project in June 1909 when the spillway and part of the dam washed out, draining the reservoir and leaving crops without much prospect of maturing. The rush of water downstream also raised havoc with the Deseret and Abraham irrigation companies' reservoir. Work was immediately undertaken to rebuild both dams.

Melville and Oasis stockholders acted quickly to make the necessary repairs. Engineer Lyman designed a wooden-piling system of



Dam construction camp north of Burtner about 1908 with railroad trestle in the background. (Utah State Historical Society)

two rows of closely spaced two-by-twelve piles driven into the riverbed. Work proceeded at a fever pitch, and the whole project was completed in August to furnish some water to those who had crops to save.<sup>12</sup> E. L. Abbott recalled that men became exhausted from the hectic work, the summer heat, the constant dust, and the flies. Mosquitoes from the nearby pools of the just-drained reservoir “nearly devoured” the workers and those of their families camped nearby. The break of the spillway and dam coupled with other problems caused some to withdraw from the project.

Amid these difficulties, the Oasis Land and Water Company continued raising of the Sevier Bridge dam in Juab County, markedly increasing its reservoir’s storage capacity. The company also commenced to deliver water to its project lands west of the Sevier River channel. This could only be accomplished by means of a flume to carry the water across the old riverbed. In 1909 the company erected a wooden flume for this purpose and some water was delivered that irrigation season.

But problems persisted for the irrigators of the Burtner area. Just after midnight on 20 May 1910 both the main canal headgate and the spillway washed out, leaving community residents terribly discouraged and the companies involved in grave financial distress. As financial assistance was being desperately sought by Melville company



officials, stockholders decided to build a new dam two miles upstream.<sup>13</sup> The project included a main canal with cuts through several hills and one major fill. Work was accomplished by gangs of men and teams of horses pulling slip scrapers. Various construction groups were led by Irvin Jeffery, Will Reuben Black, and LDS bishop Hiatt Maxfield. Because of his recognized dam building and organizational abilities, Alonzo Billings was placed in charge of the eighty horse teams assigned to construct the new diversion dam. The construction project was completed in fifty-seven days, saving some of the crops.<sup>14</sup>

The irrigation companies completed the concrete spillway at the new diversion dam and enlarged the main canal. As many as 150 scraper crews worked on the canal from the new reservoir to both irrigation projects. The original wooden flume was soon replaced by two steel flumes measuring 520 feet long, 9.5 feet wide, and 4.5 feet deep, supported by large timbers bolted in place with iron bands. The flume provided water to North Tract farmers for more than seventy years until 1983 flooding of the Sevier River destroyed it.

Financial difficulties forced the Oasis company into receivership in 1910, and this in turn threatened the stability of the Melville company. To protect the company's investments, John Steele and James A. Melville sought financial relief elsewhere. George A. Snow, former surveyor general of Utah, and his business associate Walter I. Moody of Chicago were approached. After considerable investigation, these men concluded to form a new Delta Land and Water Company and to assume the assets and financial liabilities of the Oasis company, including some damage payments to farmers who had lost crops because of the dam washouts.<sup>15</sup>

The day after the new flume was completed and water began flowing, the *Chronicle* reported "every canal and lateral was booming full clear to the end of the tract." The important occasion was recognized in verse by editor Norman Dresser:

The gates are raised, with rush and roar  
The long imprisoned waters pour  
    Along their new-made way  
Above the ancient river-bed  
To dry and thirsty acres spread  
    A score of miles away.<sup>16</sup>

Shortly after the opening of the Carey land tract in 1909 C.J. Bunker, W.E. Bunker, Tom Reed, Myron Abbott, and Perry Abbott, all from Utah's Dixie and southern Nevada, settled on a section of land at the southernmost edge of the project. The area was identified as Bunkerville. Myron Abbott's property further northwest eventually became the site of the agricultural community he named Sutherland. Others from the Midwest, including Herman Munster, John B. Heydt, and Homer Derr, settled and built their homes at the far north end of the Carey land tract. J. J. Clark like others, lived in a tent until his house was built. His family enjoyed their piano even while living in the temporary quarters.

With the confidence generated by assurance of irrigation water from the newly formed Delta company, earlier purchasers were encouraged to take up their 17,000 acres of land in what then called West Burtner. The combined land and water sold for an average of \$45.50 per acre, with \$4.75 per acre payable in cash and the balance in nine equal yearly installments at 6 percent interest.

The early success of the Melville and other companies in selling land prompted a redoubling of the Delta company's efforts in 1911. Project manager George Snow and promoter James Melville extended their promotion to southern California. Besides advertising, they convinced the railroad company to offer special excursion packages to draw interested buyers to the area. Railroad employee Douglas White, publisher of *The Arrowhead* magazine, also became a strong supporter of west Millard County as well as other land-development projects along the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City Railroad line. In later years, he promoted the California-to-Utah Arrowhead Trails Highway through the county.<sup>17</sup>

Land development and settlement in western Millard County was part of a "back-to-the-land" movement in the United States during the first dozen years of the twentieth century. Federal government land policies and federal assistance in the development of irrigation systems proved most effective. In the years 1909 and 1910, for example, more than 18 million acres were homesteaded, the largest amount of homesteading in any two-year period between 1862 and the 1930s. The west Millard County project was also featured in a Utah exhibit in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1911. Homeseekers from

Nebraska were second only to those from California during the first years of the project. The *Millard County Chronicle* often referred to sections of west Millard as the “California colony” and the “Nebraska colony” because of so many homesteaders from the two states.<sup>18</sup>

Potential buyers received a hospitable reception upon their arrival at the railroad station. In late May 1911 Melville greeted sixty prospective buyers with a barbeque prepared by a chef brought from Salt Lake City for the occasion. Tours in large touring cars were conducted to established farms in Oasis, Deseret, and Hinckley. During one tour a prospective buyer commented: “I have seen more alfalfa than I ever saw before.”<sup>19</sup>

Melville was very successful selling land as were a half-dozen other agents, including Frank L. Copening and Charles A. McClain, former Oasis company employees. In December 1911 nearly 4,000 acres of project land was sold. The *Millard County Chronicle* reported that dozens of buyers had arrived that month, and in January 1912 between thirty and eighty buyers visited the county weekly. Even more potential buyers came in February. During this land-buying frenzy, land seekers reportedly arrived “on nearly every train, and after looking over the situation, nearly all become buyers.”<sup>20</sup>

With the railroad offering special rates for “pioneer cars,” many land purchasers availed themselves of the opportunity. In March 1912 at least thirty-eight boxcars plus passenger cars arrived packed with settlers, their farm equipment, and household items. The grounds around the Akin railroad depot “look[ed] like a camping ground with the large number of settlers’ tents and stock” scattered about, wrote the *Chronicle*.<sup>21</sup>

Particularly troublesome to the tent homesteaders was the west Millard County wind. It not only demolished one of the early commercial establishments in the community but also deposited layers of gritty dirt on everything exposed inside the tents. Almeda Lewis of Fredonia, Arizona, recalled that even with the boarded sides of her tent house a windstorm blew the structure over, breaking her entire collection of dishes.<sup>22</sup>

Twentieth-century homesteaders in the county were often fully equipped. Early South Tract resident Lydia Callaway recalled that when her family’s boxcar arrived in October 1911, they unloaded

three horses, a colt, three jersey cows, two pigs, a dozen chickens, a dog, a hay wagon with large rack, a high-seated buggy, three harness sets, one plow, one rake, one harrow, one cultivator, and one disc. Her household items included a coal stove, heater, table, chairs, a cupboard, linoleum, beds, dressers, carpet, a piano, boxes of dishes, clothes, pots, pans, and tools. Also unloaded were oiled canvas, a ready-built six-by-eight-foot house, and a chicken coop.<sup>23</sup>

While most Burtner citizens were more involved with the Melville project, the community was impacted more by the Delta company's land boom, including the town name. Moody, Snow, and other Delta Land and Water Company officials expressed a desire to change the name. Finding no objections from the railroad or the U.S. Postal Service the new name of Delta was formally announced in the *Millard County Chronicle* and implemented on 1 July 1911.<sup>24</sup>

By then the makeshift railroad depot had become an affront to many citizens. Editor Norman Dresser of the *Millard County Chronicle* campaigned for a new station to replace the two railroad boxcars that served as the town's station. Dresser sent articles featuring photographs of the makeshift facility to railroad officials, pointing that the Delta station was the busiest in the county and was nowhere as good as the stations at Oasis, Lynndyl, or Clear Lake. Within two weeks a construction crew from the railroad arrived from Salt Lake City to begin constructing a station that measured 24 feet wide by 110 feet long. The new depot included a large freight room, an office, a waiting room, and living quarters. The newspaper editor accepted the railroad excuse for past delays relating to a recent strike tying up needed building materials and acknowledged that the company managers knew how to "smooth out irate editors." When completed, the Delta depot was the largest in Utah south of Salt Lake City.<sup>25</sup>

Important to west Millard County was the establishment of the *Millard County Chronicle*. For the first several years, Norman B. Dresser, originally from Illinois but having lived in Utah for twenty years (most in the mining camp of Ophir), was the newspaper editor. He understood Mormon culture and the growing pains of west Millard County. Some remembered Dresser as "a small dried up man" who journeyed from town to town in a little cart selling sub-

scriptions and gathering news items. The editor was often critical of the Salt Lake *Tribune's* periodic anti-Mormon church campaign, arguing that such actions retarded Utah's progress and specifically charging that such sentiments were tarnishing land seekers' opinions of western Millard County. Dresser often wrote that he found Mormons as a group to be honest and upright. Never on a retainer from the land and water companies, Dresser did not hesitate to criticize their lack of attention to stockholders' or community interests. The mud and debris of the townsite often caused by overflowing irrigation ditches were among his favorite topics for editorial attention. Dresser was not the type of unrestrained booster who usually published newspapers for infant towns, but he was certainly one of the foremost supporters of the burgeoning community. Dresser was forced to retire from the newspaper business when he lost several fingers in a printing press accident, and in 1935 he was killed when he was struck by a Salt Lake City trolley car.<sup>26</sup>

The term "scraggly" used by some early observers to describe Delta was not unwarranted. Frank A. Beckwith came to town with his family in early 1913 and purchased the Delta newspaper in 1919. He asserted that he was occasionally depressed for moving to Delta. "Scattered over nine hundred acres was the most miserable collection of huts, sheds, shacks and whatnots ever slung up in a hurry," he later recalled. He remembered that N.S. and Avery Bishop and a few others had good homes, but that Delta was "a city of magnificent distances" and not much else. With a touch of the humor he was often prone to exhibit, Beckwith claimed to shudder at the thought he had deliberately chosen to make his home in such a place.<sup>27</sup>

Longtime area resident Josephine Bunker Walker, who worked for her uncles at the Hub Merc, held the same view as Beckwith:

I never saw a town with so much streets. There was a rather ramshackle array of tents, shacks, two story frame houses, inhabited granaries, and sheep wagons widely interspersed across the large brush covered blocks on lots somewhat randomly drawn by purchasers of outlying farmland. This was a growing group of settlers, all rarin' to get their land into production, from every state in the union, including old farmers, new farmers, and farmers that never saw a corrugation nor turned a stream [of irrigation water].<sup>28</sup>



First School in Delta, also used as an LDS church, 1910–1911. (Great Basin Historical Society)

Mary Lyman Henrie, who arrived in the rapidly growing town as a young girl, explained that “lots were drawn, scattered in the tall greasewoods—many several blocks apart. Thus it took years for all the lots to be taken and cleared and for Delta to appear as an organized, beautiful town. Neighbors cleared roads through the greasewoods so they could get out and communicate with neighbors.”<sup>29</sup>

A Mormon Sunday School was organized at the McCullough home in early September 1908 with sixty-four members present. The following February the Burtner branch of the LDS church was organized and met in the one-room schoolhouse hauled to the town square the previous year from Hinckley. The full range of Latter-day Saint church services was conducted in the schoolhouse. A ward amusement hall/chapel featuring a basement with five classrooms was begun in 1909. Mormon church records indicate 188 members in forty families as well as thirty-five non-Mormons residing in the Burtner area. School was held in the same building and was first taught by Emaline Allred from Deseret. In 1909 Avery and Lemira Bishop arrived from Fillmore to teach school. A small addition to the school accommodated a growing student body.

In the third year of the school Nina Sidwell, Mabel Sperry, and Millie Workman joined the teaching staff. Their average monthly salary was about sixty-four dollars, while their male counterparts received at least ninety-two dollars a month. As the school population increased, classes were held in the basement of the First Ward amusement hall/chapel. The community struggled to provide adequate educational facilities as the school population continued to increase. In 1916 the county school board finally agreed to build a ten-room school; by the time the school was completed, the student population in Delta was some 300 and the facility consisted of eight teachers.<sup>30</sup>

Eighth grade ended public education in the state except for those cities designated as first class cities. Many Millard County families wanted more education for their children. Before the local academy and high schools were established, families who wanted more education for their children were often forced to send their children to Salt Lake City or elsewhere to attend high school. Abby Steele, for instance, lived with her grandparents in Panguitch while she attended high school there. Bank cashier and future *Chronicle* editor Frank Beckwith was compelled to live the bachelor role while his family resided in Salt Lake City so the children could attend high school.

At the quarterly stake conference of the Mormon church in August 1908, President Joseph F. Smith and apostles Anthon H. Lund and Francis M. Lyman presented the idea of establishing a church-sponsored academy to provide additional educational opportunities. County church members embraced the proposal, but they then had to resolve the important issue of where to locate the academy. Members of the high council and each local bishopric were given votes in selecting the site. The impasse between east and west side locations was broken when voters from Holden opted for the Hinckley site, a move that angered their east-side counterparts.<sup>31</sup>

Construction began on the building early in 1909, with T. George Theobald in charge. Fillmore, Holden, Kanosh, Meadow, and Scipio wards paid most of their assessments for the school, even though many east Millard residents did not seriously consider sending their students to the academy. Two years after the completion of the Millard Academy, the state legislature authorized less-populated

counties to establish and fund high school districts. Millard County school district officials moved quickly, and in 1912 work began on a high school in Fillmore.

The Hinckley academy opened to an unfinished building. Seventy-nine students enrolled in the first class in September 1909. Student numbers grew to 130 by the following spring. Louis F. Moench, a well-known Utah educator, was the first principal, with a faculty of six.<sup>32</sup> Millard Academy flourished during the next dozen years as a Mormon church-operated school. Student achievement was outstanding, and Moench and his successors, Thomas L. Martin, Camila Eyring (later wife of Mormon leader Spencer W. Kimball), and others distinguished themselves as they began illustrious careers in education. The academy's supporters confidently expected to reach a total of 300 students by 1920, which would qualify it as a regional junior college similar to the academies in Ephraim, Cedar City, and St. George. The goal was never achieved, however, partly because of the establishment and growth of a public high school at Delta near the end of World War I. The stake academy was eventually taken over by the state in 1923, making it a public high school for students from the Hinckley area.<sup>33</sup>

With several extra classrooms available in the new Delta elementary school, Beckwith and others petitioned county school district officials for a junior high and high school. N.S. Bishop carried the message to Fillmore, and, in the summer of 1918, with sufficient funds in hand, convinced the school board to establish a ninth-grade class to be taught in the Delta Elementary building that fall. Shortly thereafter, the rather hesitant board agreed to a tenth-grade program. Domestic arts classes were held in a vacant store building and wood shop classes constructed their own building under the direction of teacher Evan Jacobsen. Construction of the first wing of the new high school began in 1918. In 1921 the persistent community pressed for an eleventh grade, and the trustees agreed only if the citizens raised money for an additional teacher. The community responded and the eleventh grade was created. The following year, the twelfth grade was added. The new high school for a time was called West Millard.<sup>34</sup>

The east Millard-dominated school board had moved slowly to meet the educational demands from west Millard. The county



already had a hefty financial commitment of \$46,000 to build a high school in Fillmore. This undoubtedly contributed to the county's hesitancy to make further commitments until the new high school building was completed and paid for. Before the new high school was built, students met in the old central school, which was finished in 1899 and served as a junior high for many years, as well as in the upper floor of the courthouse and the old State House. Millard High School finally got its own building in 1916 and 1917, with the "old main" facility serving as the basic classroom structure for two generations.

The Burtner precinct by 1910 had a population of 437 people, or about 7 percent of the total population of the county. Being quite centrally located, Burtner/Delta quickly replaced Oasis, Deseret, and Hinckley as the main business and distribution center for west Millard County. Commercial establishments were quickly established. Postmaster Henry J. McCullough, backed by his father-in-law T.C. Callister of Fillmore, sold staple goods from the same building that housed the post office. In 1908 Andrew Sorenson, who later became first president of the town board, and George Day opened a tent store with goods shipped in from their former Osceola, Nevada, store. When winds raised havoc with the tent store, they shipped in lumber from Oasis and erected a more substantial store.

In 1909 Stewart Eccles of the prominent Ogden family constructed a store and living quarters on the west side of the railroad tracks a block south of the depot in what was then known as the Burtner addition. Robert J. Law arrived from Beaver and opened a brick store on the corner of Clark and Center Streets, at the time a long way from most others clustered near the railroad tracks. Law's selection for a store location was a long way from the existing business district but was near the center of the planned city and the church/school building and the amusement hall/chapel, then under construction. The main business section of town would later be closer to the Law establishment.

Other early businesses included the Hub Produce and Mercantile, managed by John Steele and owned by him and his silent partners D.A. Bunker and a Mr. Jimpson. The Hub Mercantile later expanded to sell farm implements as well as being involved in a



Delta Hotel, Delta about 1919. Standing in front of porch at right, James A. Melville. (Utah State Historical Society)

creamery. These two later businesses earned the lasting appreciation of the community for offering goods on credit to those working on the new diversion dam.

Shortly after completing his house, Nelson S. Bishop added a second story and converted that portion into a hotel—Bishop Hotel. Bishop provided daily meals to as many as thirty guests. The equally large house of John and Zephyr Steele located a block east of the depot also served for a time as a boarding house. The Delta Canal Company office offered rooms to visiting land seekers. Dinners were prepared for guests at the company boarding house by several women from a nearby kitchen tent.<sup>35</sup>

In December 1911 Bert Cooper was hired by the canal company to manage the two-story, fifteen-room Delta Hotel located a block south of the depot. Cooper provided transport service between the hotel and train station for his guests, first using a wagon and then an automobile. The Cooper family also operated a restaurant and popular pool parlor on Clark Street. Mrs. Isaac Jacob operated the Delta Restaurant, located southwest of the depot and near the Delta Hotel.

In February 1912 Dr. W.W. Stockham arrived from Pioche, Nevada, and moved into his newly built Dunsmore Hotel containing thirteen guest rooms. The hotel was located next to the Hub Merc. In one half of the ground floor Stockham opened a drug store; he leased the other side to Frank McDowell, who operated an eating establishment. Stockham stayed for only a year before moving back to Nevada. A Mrs. Andrews assumed management of the hotel, and Stockham's drug store became the grocery portion of the neighboring Hub Merc business.

Following the loss of his store by fire, S.W. Eccles built a new store at a location near the new LDS church amusement hall building. The two-story building was built of brick. The Eccles building included the Pahvant Hotel; for a time, a bakery occupied a portion of the ground floor. Justin Greyley operated a confectionery and bakery that furnished goods to merchants in neighboring towns as well as to local customers. In the summer of 1912 James A. Kelly from Mills, Juab County, began another substantial hotel a block west on Clark Street. It was completed in February 1913.

A.B. Ward built still another hotel south of the Dunsmore Hotel on the same block, making a total of five hotels and three boarding houses operating in Delta. Lynndyl had two hotels, and there were hotels in Leamington, Oak City, Oasis, Hinckley, Deseret, Clear Lake, Woodrow, and Snake Valley.

Ward, who served briefly as mayor of Delta before moving to California in 1920, established a large livery stable with first-class rigs east of his hotel. A year later, in 1911, he expanded his stable to accommodate up to thirty-seven horses. Drayage was also part of Ward's business. Others engaged in livery and hauling businesses were Bert Cooper, an early Delta marshal, Cass Lewis, and temporary resident from Sanpete County Foster Funk, who operated an automobile.

Lumberyard proprietor Arthur Humphries did a "rush business" suppling lumber to homesteaders and commercial establishments. N.S. Bishop, in association with A.P. Wallace, was similarly engaged also selling hardware, coal, and cement. A third lumber company from Oasis opened a branch in Delta. William N. Gardner and F.L. Hickman established a pressed-brick operation near the Gunnison



South side of Main Street, Delta, about 1917. (Utah State Historical Society)

Bend Reservoir. Lewis Koch's concrete-brick works was northeast of Delta on the sandhill bench. Koch's son-in-law William Van DeVanter constructed several contiguous business structures in Delta that were considered the "handsomest" business block on Clark Street. Other builders in Delta were Hyrum Knight, Ed Marshall, and Douglas Lisonbee, along with the T. George and Charles Theobald from Hinckley.

August Miller occupied a portion of the Van DeVanter building with his furniture store. A Dr. Murphy had previously operated a furniture store, a portion of which was occupied by Wesley Lackyard, a jeweler and watchmaker. When Murphy vacated his building, it was converted into the town's first Protestant church by Sunday School missionary M.H. Herrich and Rev. Josiah McClain. Earlier, Rev. W.H. Worrall of the American Sunday School Union organized Sunday Schools at Burtner and West Burtner (Woodrow). These continued intermittently during the next several decades. Next to the Murphy building was a millinery and dressmaking shop operated by a Mrs. Winterrose from Heber City. Her husband was the community's first undertaker; he was succeeded by Hyrum Knight.

Delbert Searle operated a meat market on Clark Street, sometimes in partnership and at other times in competition with broth-

ers William and Robert Jenkins. Dr. D.H. Richards purchased a building situated near the Stockham-Hub Merc building and moved it to Clark Street next to the Kelly Hotel, where he operated a drug store in 1913. O.P. Callister, Ben Bunker, and T.C. Gronning operated blacksmith and machine-repair shops. Frank Bucanon along with John Alvey, a deaf-mute, repaired shoes and leather goods including horse harnesses.<sup>36</sup>

On the north side of Clark Street were various businesses, including the small real estate office of former Deseret LDS bishop Milton Moody, Searle's meat market, and Job Riding's photographic studio. On the opposite side of the street were the Winterose establishment, Tom Johns's barber shop, the Jenkins grocery store, the *Chronicle* office, and the Murphy church building. Farther east were the two hotels, the Richards drug store, the Law store, and the Mormon amusement hall/chapel.<sup>37</sup> The Delta Mercantile and Implement Company, organized in 1912 by Andrew Sorenson, Hyrum Knight, and Ed Marshall, was also located on Clark Street.

That same year, the Delta Merc partners erected a large amusement pavilion with a fifty-by-ninety-foot maple floor just behind their Clark Street store. A large community dance inaugurated the pavilion and, on that occasion, Mrs. H.G. (Doris) Ottley won the prize for naming it Marsoni Hall, combining letters from the names of the owners.

Local banking came to Delta in 1913 when the Delta State Bank was chartered with capitalization of \$20,000. James A. Melville served as bank president and Frank A. Beckwith as cashier. It was located on the ground floor of the Kelly hotel building, which for years was known as the Banque Hotel. Seven years later, First National Bank also opened in Delta. Frank Copening was the bank's first president and J.B. Christenson served as cashier. First National was short-lived, closing its doors four years later. Delta State Bank failed in 1926, and a year later the Oasis State Bank also failed, leaving west Millard County with no financial institution for a full decade.

Extensive social interaction has always been an integral part of Delta's community life from the beginning of its settlement. A music ensemble consisting of Levi McCullogh playing harmonica, Wilford McClellan on accordion, Orson McClellan on cornet, and Johnnie

Shales playing violin provided music for many different occasions. Plays were frequently performed by various dramatic groups, often traveling to appreciative audiences in neighboring towns. The ward meetinghouse, often called the amusement hall, was headquarters for the Home Dramatic Club. Special community social events included Thanksgiving dinners and Christmas gatherings. One of the impressive and essential events early in 1912 was a "get acquainted party" at the church amusement hall, attended by 250 adults. A good many newcomers reportedly were made to feel right at home.<sup>38</sup>

Fillmore's business development also grew significantly early in the twentieth century. Brigham Tompkinson built the Alcazar Hall in Fillmore in 1908. For more than a decade, the hall served as a community social and recreational center for local Mormon wards and others. In 1915 M.S. Smart and Tompkinson purchased a gasoline-powered projector for showing moving pictures in Alcazar Hall and in ward buildings in other towns. Alcazar Hall was later destroyed by fire. In 1916 Noble Peterson built the Paramount Theater. After the adjacent garage took over the building, Marvin and Lynn Peterson built the Avalon Theater in 1926. Vern Bartholomew erected Bartholomew Hall in the 1920s, providing yet another social hall in Fillmore.<sup>39</sup>

Other commercial enterprises were being established after the turn of the century in Fillmore. Charles Frampton operated a store at Main and Center Streets until 1909; after a short interval as a doctor's office, it then became the first part of Kelly's department store. William Speakman had a butcher shop next to it, and Benjamin Watters built a shoe and harness repair shop nearby. In 1904 James A. Kelly moved a previously constructed building to the same area, adding to it several years later. In 1919 Kelly built a larger department store, which was considered one of the most modern department stores in the region. In August 1929 Kelly opened a modern concrete and steel meat packing plant with a large cold-storage capacity. Kelly sold meat from Marysvale to St. George.<sup>40</sup>

McBride Lumber Company also grew from small beginnings as a sawmill partnership in Meadow Creek Canyon in 1905 into a modern family-owned lumber and hardware establishment in Fillmore. In 1926, Newton McBride, assisted by brothers Gene and Charles and

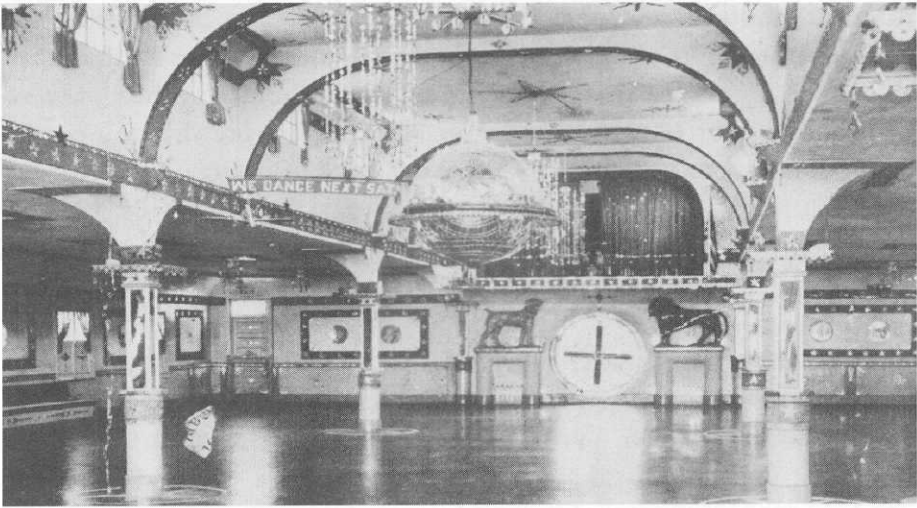
other family members, built a lumberyard and store. The Stevens family operated a general mercantile store since 1888. In 1905 the store was remodeled and enlarged, and in early 1929 the Stevens Company opened a large thirty-room hotel with a dining room.

One of the longest family-owned commercial establishments in Fillmore was Sadie Bartholomew's dress shop, opened before the turn of the century. In 1913 Mary Dame moved the store to James King's store and added children's clothes to the line of women's dresses. The Dame family operated the business until it closed in 1959.

The State Bank of Millard County was incorporated in February 1907. Almon Robison was chosen president by the bank's shareholders, Judge Joshua Greenwood was vice-president, and a board of directors represented shareholders from Kanosh, Holden, Oak City, and Hinckley. The bank did business in a corner of the courthouse until its own building was completed on a corner of the old public square. The bank provided much-needed local financial assistance in the economic development of the county and continued to serve the community until closing during the depths of the Depression in 1932.

County residents participated in many of the sports activities of interest throughout the state. Horse racing and other sporting events were part of Independence Day activities in the county. In Delta sometime before 1914 a horse-racing track, baseball field, and grandstands were built on the block now occupied by the high school. Besides the popular horse and harness races, track events and (later) motorcycle races were also held at the race track. Until after World War II, high school football games were played on the grassless infield of the track.

Towns and LDS church Mutual Improvement organizations for youth sponsored track and field meets as well as baseball and basketball teams. The boys of the Millard Academy often challenged the boys of the Murdock Academy in Beaver to track and field contests. At one such event, Charley Roper won all of the distance races and Roy Walker both of Oak City won the high jump and the shot put events. The Oak Creek Ward young men won the championship in Salt Lake City in 1910 in a precursor to the huge church tournament staged later. Hinckley won the same tournament the next year. Two



Billy Van's Dance Hall in Delta—opened in 1920s and still standing. (Great Basin Historical Society)

outstanding athletes of the county before 1930 were Nels Cooper from Fillmore and Bryan Petty from Deseret, rivals in track sprint races.<sup>41</sup>

Nearly every town had a ball field and a team. Oak Creek had two teams, the "Limbers" and the "Stiffs." Weekend games between town teams were common.<sup>42</sup> Limited by the few basketball courts, basketball nevertheless was played during the winter months. Basketball games were played in the small gym at the Millard Academy, in Anderson Hall in Leamington, and in Oak City after the cultural hall was completed. On occasion, the Delta First Ward amusement hall served as an improvised basketball court. The Millard Academy team won the southern Utah championship in basketball in 1911.

An interesting source of income for a few ranchers at the turn of the century was capturing and selling wild mustangs. In the summer of 1911 Roy Dresser, brother to newspaper editor Norman Dresser, and Al Searle announced their intention of going into the business on a more permanent basis. They reported locating twenty-three different bands of mustangs and expected to capture and ship several hundred head that season. One local man recalled that the mustangs were corralled in Oasis and were shipped to St. Louis for sale for pur-



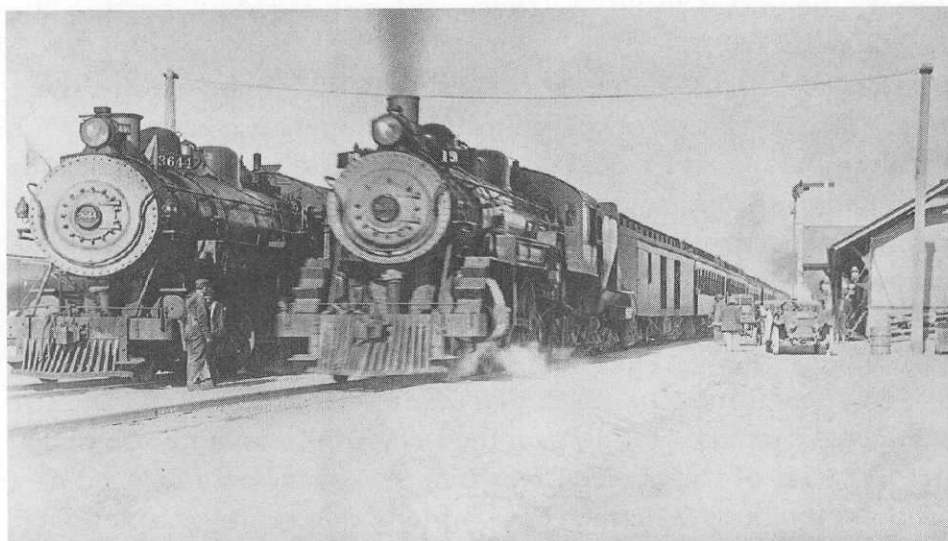
poses unmentioned. Veneta Kelsey, historian of Clear Lake during the period, stated that there were several scattered ranches in that area that were not for cattle herding “but places where wild horses were brought and broke to ride and then sold. They were shipped out of Clear Lake by the carload.” One such mustang wrangler was Joe Anderson, who had a camp just south of the Cricket Seeps. At least one friend was shocked to discover that the meat supply Anderson kept cool in a nearby mineshaft included a horse hoof on the hindquarters.<sup>43</sup>

Delta was incorporated as a town on 21 December 1911. Andrew C. Sorenson was elected president, and John Steele, Ed Marshall, B.J. Johnson, and Fred S. Lyman were selected to serve on the town board. C.A. Clawson was appointed town marshal several weeks later. Town ordinances were written and much discussion was held among board members including closing businesses on Sundays. City officials joined with editor Norman Dresser to urge individuals to clean up and maintain their town lots. In the fall of 1912 the town of Delta planted 10,000 shade and fruit trees, which markedly changed the appearance of the community.

Other improvements were also made to the town. Fourth West was graded from the Hub Merc to Clark Street in August 1914 by volunteer work of men and boys. The town council was urged to change the street name to Broadway, but the proposal failed because many in the community were interested in shifting the main business district to Clark Street, a major thoroughfare soon to be lined with new businesses.

The LDS church experienced steady growth in the county. After more than three decades of indecision over where to build a new meetinghouse, the Fillmore wardhouse was completed in August 1908 and dedicated by President Joseph F. Smith. The Fillmore church building served two wards for the next two decades. In August 1912 the division of Millard Stake occurred with the creation of Deseret Stake. The new stake kept the existing stake president Alonzo A. Hinckley; Orville L. Thompson was sustained as president of Millard Stake. The division of the stake widened the existing breach between the two ends of the county.

A small controversy arose about moving the county seat in 1911



Locomotives at Delta railroad depot. (Great Basin Historical Society)

when a Deseret correspondent to the *Chronicle* replied to east Millard complaints that the sheriff should reside at the county seat by suggesting that perhaps the government center should be transferred to the “business part” of the county and closer to the railroad. Reacting to the *Chronicle*’s comments, T. Clark Callister suggested that perhaps county division was the only way to resolve the dispute.

Important to this discussion was the division of the tax base of the county. The railroad was an important resource; in 1909 the railroad paid nearly 39 percent of all property taxes in the county on 102 miles of trackage as well as various railroad buildings.<sup>44</sup> Land salesman Frank L. Copening, one of the civic and business leaders of the Delta area, checked county records in order to most equitably divide assessed property, including the railroad line. A convention was held early in 1914 to organize a petition drive to place the creation of the county of Deseret on the ballot. East Millard residents refused to sign the petitions; however, talk of division did not end, and for the next several years efforts to separate continued. Among many county residents there was the feeling of growing unity, however. M.M. Steele, for instance, argued that no county had developed more in recent years and that it was better to forget differences and make the united

county the best it could be. That argument, aided by inertia, ultimately prevailed.<sup>45</sup>

Even as discussions were occurring to divide the county, there were other developments which fostered cooperation and unity. One involved the county's fairs. For several years two annual fairs, one for each end of the county, were held with less-than-impressive attendance and participation. In 1915 representatives decided to hold one fair, which would alternate from year to year between the two ends of the county. With some variation, this arrangement continued through the 1920s.<sup>46</sup>

By the summer of 1912, there were eighty families with 121 school-aged children residing on the Delta Land and Water Company project west of the Sevier River. The area was badly in need of a schoolhouse but because the land owners had yet proved up on their land it lacked a sufficient tax base. In mid-June George A. Snow met with the county commissioners and school district officials to initiate a program to meet immediate educational needs. Unwilling to wait for county officials to act, several prominent citizens secured school-building construction notes from the Fillmore bank, and before the end of 1913 a thirty-by-sixty-foot brick schoolhouse was completed. Miss Cora Heise, recently arrived from Nebraska, was the first teacher. All eight grades were contained in the same large room.

With the construction of the schoolhouse, the residents of the North Tract, or West Delta, petitioned the county commissioners for their own voting precinct and school district, both to be named Sutherland after Utah Senator George Sutherland.<sup>47</sup> Wynn R. Walker served as Sutherland's first postmaster while also establishing a small general merchandise store. In 1913 Mormon members living in Sutherland were split from the Delta Ward to form a dependent branch, and a year later the Sutherland Ward was organized, with George D. Shipley as bishop. Church services and most other social functions were conducted in the brick school the first few years.

North of Sutherland was the rapidly expanding agricultural area of Woodrow, named after President Woodrow Wilson. The community received a school and post office at the same time as its southern neighbor. Woodrow's community center was initially Rock School, named for early settler Fred Rock. Community dances were held fre-

quently using a Victorola rather than a live band to provide music. Woodrow was more an agricultural district crossroads rather than a village or town, yet it generated community spirit as surely as did more populated areas. The community had a higher proportion of non-Mormons than elsewhere in the county. The population of 431 was probably about equally divided between Mormon and non-Mormons according to the 1920 United States census; but, since the LDS figure included more children, there was a preponderance of non-Mormon adults.<sup>48</sup>

The most successful social organization in Woodrow was the Jolly Stitchers Club founded in 1913. The club reached out to isolated farm women to provide some social interaction and overlapped into educational and civic affairs as well, functioning for some eighty years. One of the prime movers of the group was Dr. Elizabeth Cahoon Tracy, who came to the area as a middle-aged bride of Judge Jerome Tracy.<sup>49</sup> Few individuals in the county equaled her accomplishments of cementing together the community—both body and soul. The Tracys and others enlisted community support to build Woodrow Hall, which remained a center for community activities for more than half a century.

Early in the summer of 1911 Delta Land and Water Company engineer J.W. Thurston began surveying 10,000 acres of Carey Act land then called the South Tract, located southeast and east of Delta. Within a year, 3,700 acres were under cultivation. The new homesteaders leased the main Melville Company delivery canals and the homesteaders constructed their own lateral lines in the area.<sup>50</sup> By 1913 a one-room school had been built for the area's thirty-three school-aged children.

Although not nearly as extensive in land or population as Woodrow, the southernmost section of what was called the South Tract was even more densely populated with non-Mormons. The project was heavily advertised in the Midwest, attracting homesteaders from Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, and Iowa. They organized a literary society in 1913 followed by a home economics association with assistance from the county home-demonstration agent. These organizations quickly fostered a good level of community spirit and coop-

eration. There was an unusually large degree of intermarriage among the first non-Mormon families settling on the South Tract.<sup>51</sup>

The Utah State Land Board offered much encouragement to those involved in the great west Millard County Carey Act project. Yet, there were problems. The heavy alkaline soil proved a challenge even for the most experienced farmers. Maintaining permanent occupancy and getting water on the land were often difficult for homesteaders. There also were unscrupulous land sales agents who switched unsuspecting customers from good to worthless land. Particularly troublesome were waterlogging and drainage problems.

Some homesteaders became disillusioned and left. For example, returning to Iowa even before the 1913 crop was harvested, Mrs. A.B. Walling "found the contrast too great between a new Millard County farm and her old home town." Responding to the disillusioned state of some, newspaper editor Dresser reminded his readers that over 90 percent of the settlers in many midwestern states originally were dissatisfied with the country there, it being treeless and raw country that was a great contrast with their previous homes. "Unless people have something of the pioneer spirit, they [had] no business" staying in the county, he warned all. Despite the difficulties and high attrition rate, homesteaders kept coming for most of the decade.<sup>52</sup>

The family of Mrs. Gertrude Baker from Illinois represented the pioneering spirit of those who remained on the South Tract. Baker arrived in what she described as a "squat little town set in a vast, colorless desert, entirely surrounded by distant mountains." However, there was "much bustle and activity at the railroad station, where prospective buyers arrived daily along with those who had already bought and were bringing in their families." The railroad siding was full of freight cars being unloaded of horses, farm implements, and household goods. "Everyone," Mrs. Baker observed, "was anxious to get settled and start farming operations in this new 'land of promise.'"<sup>53</sup>

Following a brief stay at the Bishop Hotel, the Baker family moved out to their eighty acres of land. Annoying to the family were the frequent serenades from the coyotes, "undoubtedly the most weird, unearthly sound that comes from living creatures," Gertrude asserted. The endless winds were equally bothersome. Frequent duststorms

covered everything in the tent. She recalled one such storm. After putting her baby to sleep, she went out to the garden to work. A “terrific” storm blew in and when she returned she found the little girl still asleep but with her closed eyes nearly filled with dust and sand.

Equally challenging for the Baker family and others was securing culinary water. This most important chore was accomplished by traveling by wagon to a neighbor’s well and filling several barrels of water to last a week or so. This naturally made the eventual drilling of a well on the family’s land a great convenience.

Preparing the land for farming was hard work. The Bakers were fortunate to hire some of this work done. The common method was to drag a railroad rail between a team of horses to uproot the brush. Stubborn stumps were cleared by hand. All were piled and burned. The land was disked and leveled using a makeshift wooden float. Often small dikes were built around the fields to hold the water and the planted seed on the land. Gertrude recalled that the family’s newly planted and irrigated field dried out quickly from winds that blew “almost continuously for about 18 days.” The newly plowed fields cracked. Baker and others concluded that the only way to bring grain up in such conditions was to “keep pouring water on it.” Another problem was the considerable alkali that was drawn to the surface by over-irrigating. The result was that the land became sterile; those crops that did grow were stunted.

The early years were greatly discouraging. Many homesteaders had invested all they had in the land, and when crops failed to mature there wasn’t much money left to tide them through to another season. Mrs. Baker recorded that “with their backs to the wind men stood in little groups and talked long and earnestly of ways and means to a solution of their problems. Some only voiced their exasperation and others cursed the ill luck that had brought them to such a place vowing to leave before another season rolled around in which case they knew that whatever they had put into it would be lost, but they did leave, nevertheless, some that same fall.” Of some eighty single men and family heads who arrived in the first years, only eight remained longer than two decades on the South Tract, recalled local chronicler Clyde Brush.<sup>54</sup>

Protestant churches responded to the needs of the scattered west

Millard flock. Reverend W.H. Worrall, representing the American Sunday School Union, arrived in 1910 and established community Sunday Schools at Burtner, Sutherland, and Abraham. Annie Hilton Bishop later recalled that the latter community served about one hundred children by 1913. In the fall of 1911 several church officials including superintendent Josiah McClain of the Utah Synod of the Presbyterian church also organized a Sunday School. In 1912 the Presbyterian church purchased Dr. Archibald Murphy's furniture store on Clark Street. During the store's remodeling, church services were held in a tent. The sermons of Raymond J. Rutt of the Presbyterian Home Missionary Board were "ethical rather than denominational in character so that people of all and every creed [felt] at home," it was reported. A Reverend Leimhault, a German Lutheran from Nebraska, also conducted services in the summer of 1912, often in his native tongue. The remodeled furniture store was dedicated as a church on 18 August 1912. In the summer of 1913 Christian Science services were held at the South Tract school; and two years later a Sunday School of that faith was held Sunday afternoons at the newly built Delta Community Church.

The Delta Community Church flourished mainly through the work of dedicated lay persons, such as Sunday School Superintendent Jennie Andrews and a series of interim and short-term clergy. In 1913 and for the next fourteen years Rev. Charles H. Hamilton and his wife, Mary, served members of the church. As the congregation grew, the Clark Street building proved inadequate. Rev. Hamilton was forced to hold church services in various outlying communities on specified Sundays each month. In 1919 the governing board purchased land for a new church a block east of the original building. The construction on the new church progressed slowly. During construction various meetings and services were held in rooms in the uncompleted church and the adjacent manse. Much of the carpentry work was done Rev. Hamilton, who had gained carpentry experience as a boy and as a missionary in Korea. Mable Parker recalled that Hamilton was "a fine craftsman and perfection was his motto." Because of economic difficulties, including a bank failure, the church was not completed until 1928, at which time Rev. Hamilton announced his retirement from the Delta church.<sup>55</sup>

A Catholic mass was held in Delta in 1913 by Father E.V. Reynolds, who visited from Las Vegas. He expressed interest in establishing a parish in Delta, but his interest was over-optimistic.<sup>56</sup> Thereafter, the area was considered a mission of St. Patrick's Parish in Eureka. Msgr. Joseph I. Gosselin began holding mass regularly in 1936 at the Friendship Thimble Club building in Sugarville. John Nutsch had built the building in 1926 and converted it into a church when the club disbanded in 1938. A year later, Bishop Duane G. Hunt arranged for the building to be purchased and remodeled to accommodate an altar, sanctuary, and meeting room and moved it to Delta. On 5 November 1939 Bishop Hunt celebrated mass and named the church St. John Bosco.<sup>57</sup>

By the outbreak of World War I, Delta and its neighboring communities were firmly rooted. The population of Delta and the other western communities was more than 3,180, with the total population of the county surpassing 9,650. Water rights and the distribution of irrigation water were also firmly established, ensuring farmers a reasonably dependable supply of water each growing season.

#### ENDNOTES

1. *Engineering News* 100 (17 September 1903): 247; Edward Leo Lyman, "From the City of Angels," *California History* 70 (Spring 1991): 87–93.
2. See John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, for one folk account on the naming of the railroad junction based on a name on a shoebox.
3. *Millard County Chronicle*, 5, 12 January, 9 February 1911, 10 April 1947; Stella H. Day and Sebrina C. Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 550–60; Mary Gardner Greathouse, comp., *Distant Whistles: The History of Lynndyl, Utah* (Privately published, 1998), 1–20.
4. Roger Walker, "Sevier River Water Rights," in "Evolution in Sevier River Primary Water Rights: Background Information," unpublished report in possession of authors; Dudley D. Crafts, *History of Sevier Bridge Reservoir* (Delta, Utah: DuWil Publishing Company, 1976), 8–15, 19–20.
5. Crafts, *Sevier Bridge Reservoir*, 29–50.
6. *Millard County Chronicle*, 4 July 1935.
7. *Delta Chronicle*, 4 January 1912; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 622. See John Brown, Jr., and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties* (n.p.: Western Historical Association, 1922), 3:1068.



8. The "Delta Booster," a handwritten newspaper (copy in LDS Church Archives) contains some of the best information on early Delta; Nelly M. Watson, "History of H.J. McCullough," copy at Great Basin Museum, Delta, Utah; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 603; Dorothy B. Killpack, interview, 1977, transcript at Great Basin Museum; A.E. Stephenson, "Sketch of Hiett E. Maxfield," LDS Church Archives. Some other early families were those of Alonzo Billings, J. Hector Peterson, C. Del Searle, the Knight brothers, Sampson brothers, and Turner brothers, and Hiett E. Maxfield, who served as bishop of the Fremont Ward and in February 1909 was sustained as the presiding elder of the Burtner branch.

9. The Carey Act was enacted by Congress to encourage the settlement of land in the arid West. Under the act, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to donate up to one million acres to each state provided the state was willing to oversee the private development of said lands. The Millard County Carey Act land project was the only successful Carey Act project in Utah.

10. *Millard County Chronicle*, 25 September 1947, 21 December 1950.

11. Lenore McCall, interview with John L. Peterson, (1970s), Great Basin Museum; "The Delta Booster," 19 October 1912.

12. *Deseret News*, 15 June 1909; Burtner Dam Listing of Piles, microfiche copy, Utah State Archives.

13. *Millard (Academy) Arouser*, undated, Great Basin Museum, cites a speech by board member Hiett E. Maxfield that credits Frederick R. Lyman with locating the new diversion dam site.

14. Anxiety over a dam failure was widespread; however, there was always hope that the new dam would be successful. A tongue-in-cheek verse expresses relief of the new dam's completion:

On June 14, 1909 our troubles began. Our water  
failing us causing us to loose our crops we began  
to dam and dam was our constant byword for the  
remainder of the summer. All we could think of was dam.  
When the water reached town in the fall we stopped  
swearing, repented and hoped to do better the next year.  
But we all know when a habit is once formed it is  
hard to free ourselves from it.  
So when our troubles began the next spring, we  
commenced to dam again and we damed the damed dam  
so damed tight that the damed thing has stayed damed  
ever since . . .

"Delta Booster," 19 October 1912, 3-4.

15. Edward Lawrence Abbott, "History of Sutherland Ward and District," (n.d.), copy in Great Basin Museum.
16. *Delta Chronicle*, 13 June 1912.
17. See *The Arrowhead: A Monthly Magazine of Western Travel and Development*, (1911–12): 10–12, 89–107, 601–3, 732–34, 753–58, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; *Millard County Chronicle*, 6 April, 12 October 1911.
18. See Stanford J. Layton, *To No Privileged Class: The Rationalization of Homesteading and Rural Life in the Early Twentieth-Century American West* (Provo: Brigham Young University/Charles Redd Center, 1988), 1–90.
19. *Millard County Chronicle*, 25 May 1911.
20. *Millard County Chronicle*, 7 December 1911; 4, 11, 18, 24 January, 8 February 1912.
21. *Millard County Chronicle*, 2, 9, 16, 23 March 1912.
22. *Millard County Chronicle*, 16 January 1947.
23. *Millard County Chronicle*, 18 September 1947.
24. *Burtner Chronicle (Millard County Chronicle)*, 9 March, 1, 19, June 1911. Later *Chronicle* editor Frank A. Beckwith believed John Steele's claims that he originated the name of the canal company and thus the town. There is no contemporary evidence yet found of this; there is evidence to the contrary that Snow, Moody, and others used that name from the very beginning and expressed the desire that the central town reflect that name.
25. *Millard County Chronicle*, 7 December 1911.
26. *Millard County Chronicle*, 5 January 1911, 28 August 1913, 4 July 1935.
27. *Millard County Chronicle*, undated clipping, Great Basin Museum.
28. Josie Walker, recollections in *Millard County Chronicle*, 4 July 1935.
29. Mary L. Henrie, handwritten note, April 1994, in possession of author.
30. *Millard County Chronicle*, 16 September 1917, 14 July 1958; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 645–46.
31. Mary L. Henrie remembered her father's report that the Fillmore area ward leaders were furious because Holden had voted with west Millard. The disgusted east-sider asked to offer the benediction prayed, "O Lord dismiss us, Amen." Note in author's possession.
32. Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 59–60, 513.
33. *Millard (Academy) Arouser*, 22 October, 19 November, 3 December 1920, collected and preserved by Edna Hales Christensen, in possession of her family at Deseret.
34. *Delta Chronicle*, 12 August 1912, 8 May 1913. Louise Hansen

(Lyman), working under supervision of teacher Elizabeth U. Stephensen, interviewed several old-timers during the 1930s and wrote her account of the founding of the high school. Notes in her possession at Delta.

35. *Millard County Chronicle*, undated clipping. See Rom and Cosie Shields, "Autobiographical Sketch," Utah State Historical Society.

36. *Millard County Chronicle*, 4 July 1935.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Millard County Chronicle*, 23 February 1911, 15 February 1912.

39. *Millard County Progress*, 23 July 1915, 25 February, 6 October 1916, Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 45, 131.

40. *Millard County Progress*, 2 August 1929. Kelley's meat packing operation greatly benefited the county in the 1930s when it secured several large contracts to provide meat to the Civilian Conservation Corps camps in the region. See *Millard County Progress*, 3 June 1938, 8 November 1940.

41. Don D. Walker, "Roy: Some Personal Notes on a Special Kind of Man," undated typescript, copy Great Basin Museum; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 March 1951; Bryan J. Petty, "Autobiographical Sketch," undated, copy LDS Church Archives.

42. *Millard County Progress*, 28 May 1915; *Millard County Chronicle*, 17 June 1954.

43. *Millard County Chronicle*, 22 June, 9 November 1911; Venetta Kelsey, *History of Clear Lake*, 35, 51.

44. Report of the State Board of Equalization of Utah, 1909 and 1910, 17, 34, Utah State Historical Society.

45. *Millard County Chronicle*, 12 January 1911; *Millard County Progress*, 29 January 1914, 5, 12, 19 February 1914, 2, 16, 23 April 1914, 7 May 1914, 6 April 1917, 11 April 1919.

46. *Millard County Chronicle*, 16 September 1912, 2 October 1913; *Millard County Progress*, 20 August 1915, 18 August 1916, 15 August 1919, 27 July 1923, 7 August 1925, 10 June 1927, 25 October 1929.

47. George Sutherland was a successful attorney, a U.S. Senator from 1905 to 1916, and Utah's only native son to have served on the U.S. Supreme Court (1922–1938). He died in 1942.

48. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 403, indicates that Woodrow, settled in 1909 by Gerome Tracy and Judge Rock, was first identified as Rock District. *Millard County Progress*, 16 April, 22 October 1915.

49. Winifred W. Williams, comp., *The W.R. Walker Family Book* (n.p., 1987), 104, copy at Great Basin Museum. See Edward Leo Lyman, "Dr Elizabeth Tracy: Angel of Mercy in the Pahvant Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Spring 1998): 118–38.

50. *Millard County Chronicle*, 18 May 1911.
51. Clyde Brush, "History of the South Tract Farming Community Near Delta, Utah," 1–8, Great Basin Museum.
52. *Millard County Chronicle*, 8 August 1912, 26 June 1913.
53. Gertrude Baker, Diary, photocopy, Great Basin Museum; Brush, "History of the South Tract," 1–11.
54. Baker, Diary; Brush, "History of the South Tract," 1–11.
55. Charlotte Morrison, "History of the Delta Community Presbyterian Church," undated (probably 1993), copy in possession of the author.
56. *Millard County Chronicle*, 30 May, 8, 22 August 1912, 15 May, 11 September 1913, 17 March 1915.
57. Bernice Maher Mooney, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Church in Utah, 1776–1987* (Salt Lake City: Archdiocese of Salt Lake City, 1992), 82, 409.

## CHAPTER 7

# EXPANSION IN THE 1910S AND 1920S

Millard County experienced significant population growth and economic development between the years 1914 and 1929. Dry land wheat growing and seed raising greatly contributed to the county's economy. Improvements were made in the county's highways that allowed for the development of tourism, and Delta and Fillmore continued as the two commercial centers in the county. Development of new sources of water through wells also added to the county's robust economic picture.

Yet along with expansion and production, county farmers experienced difficulties. Marginal lands proved to be unsuitable for cultivation. Crops like sugar beets required extensive irrigation, and, as a result, there was an increase of alkali in the soil that restricted crop yields. The solution to the problem was the construction of an expensive drainage system. And even as beet growing promised to be a financial success, the end of World War I led to lower sugar prices, which discouraged many. The impact of the national farming depression in the mid-1920s was a precursor to the more serious general depression of the 1930s.

As alfalfa-seed production began to be established in Millard County, a number of farmers also experimented with then new farming techniques of raising wheat without irrigation. Kanosh farmer A.A. Kimball had successfully grown dry land wheat as early as the 1880s, but few took up dry land farming. The new impetus for dry farming came after 1910 when several former county residents along with other land claimants grew excellent wheat and rye crops near Holden. *Progress* editor Joseph Smith, in a series of articles on dry farming, urged other local farmers to try the method. Always a promoter of county agriculture, Smith boasted that the "grain output of east Millard would more than rival the grain crop of any other section of Utah." Nowhere else in the state was the land "more susceptible to dry farming methods than in eastern Millard." He pointed to the success of Frank Day's dry land farm northeast of Fillmore as well as Charles Christopherson's farm south of Holden as examples of success.<sup>1</sup>

High wheat prices, seventeen cents a bushel in 1916, and yields above the national average, seventeen bushels per acre, enticed many local farmers and a number of prominent Salt Lake City businessmen to take up land along the foothills of east Millard County. Many of them profited from high wheat prices during World War I and for a few years thereafter. The national average price of wheat per bushel reached \$2.14 in 1919, but by 1921 prices had plummeted to less than \$0.95 a bushel.<sup>2</sup>

Almost from its beginning Fillmore had at least one and often more gristmills. During the world war, the mill operated by Ed Nelson added help to grind more flour for the war effort. This was the first time in fifteen years that local flour was shipped from the county. Nelson was also a farm implements dealer and later served as Fillmore mayor.<sup>3</sup>

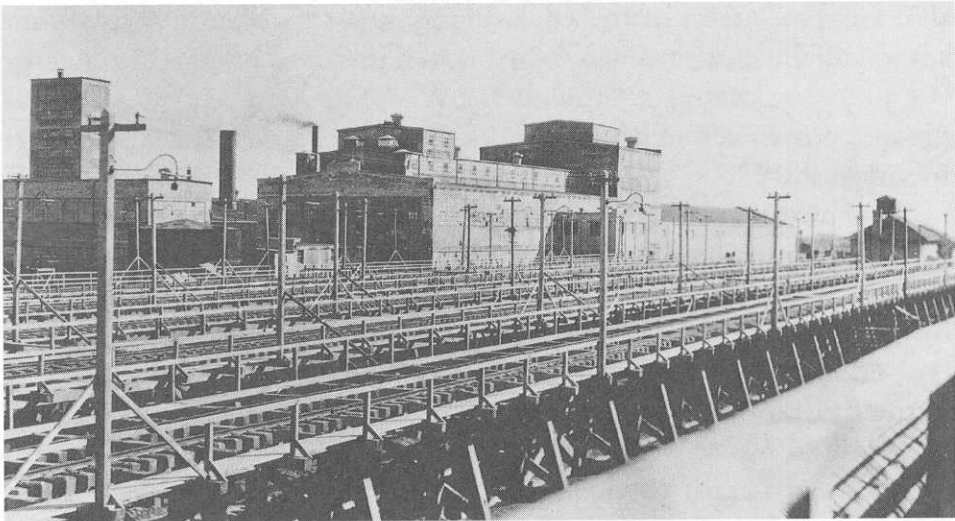
In July 1915 Brigham Tomkinson, a former freighter and proprietor of the Alcazar Hall, ushered in a new era of agriculture west of Fillmore by successfully drilling the first artesian well in the area. He had purchased drilling machinery for \$600 and with Tom Kinson commenced drilling on the quarter-section of land many, including state agricultural agents, considered worthless. After spending a considerable amount of money, Tomkinson hit water. The hole was

encased with an eight-inch pipe and Delta irrigation engineer Fred Cottrell measured the flow to be 1.12 feet per second.<sup>4</sup>

The success of Tompkinson brought on “artesian well fever” throughout the east county area. Wells were drilled at Holden, Meadow, and Kanosh, with three drilling rigs operating by October. By the end of 1915 there were six flowing wells, including several on the nearby Almon Robison ranch. By February 1916 six more drilling rigs were in use, and by the fall of 1916 an additional two dozen flowing wells were drilled, several with spectacular flows. A well on Robison’s property shot twenty-one inches above its casing and a well on Alvin Callister’s property produced 1,190 gallons per minute. The aggregate flow from artesian wells located between Holden and Kanosh was 31,000 gallons per minute in the spring of 1917. Eight hundred acres of new land were filed on in the center of well-drilling activity first known as Crystal and later named Flowell. The free-flowing unused water became a concern for state water officials, who insisted that all wells be capped during the winter months. The natural flows eventually subsided and pumps were required to sustain water flow to irrigate.

Honey became an important contributor to the county’s economy, corresponding to increased production of alfalfa seed and alfalfa. In 1911 Nephi E. Miller of Cache Valley recognized the great honey-making potential of west Millard. Miller was already something of an innovator as a beekeeper, moving his hives to southern California, where the bees remained active during the winter months. Each spring Miller and others trucked their hives back to west Millard to continue the gathering of honey. Miller and others established a reputation for extracting “the finest kind” of honey in Millard County. During the twenty-year period from 1900 to 1920, county beehives produced more than 13,000 pounds of honey annually.<sup>5</sup> Miller eventually relocated permanently to Colton, California. Others recruited by Walter Wright and trained by Miller carried on the honey business in the county.<sup>6</sup>

West Millard farmers were also growing small grains in significant quantities with irrigation during the 1910s and 1920s. Delta land dealer and local grain buyer Frank Copening, for example, shipped at least twenty-four railroad cars of grain in 1913. That same year,



Sugar factory at Delta. Looking southeast. (Utah State Historical Society)

merchant John Steele shipped seven rail cars and Levan grain dealer J.W. Shepherd shipped seven more railroad cars of grain grown by county farmers. More than 200,000 bushels of grain were threshed that season. Steady annual grain yields caused some grain growers of the Delta and Oasis areas to consider construction of a grain elevator. Such a facility was built in 1915, probably in connection with the Globe Grain and Milling Company.<sup>7</sup>

The success of the small grain producers in the county prompted the establishment of two gristmills in west Millard. Marion Grundy built a gristmill in 1917 at the diversion dam several miles up the Sevier River from Delta, and a second mill was built a year or two later on the Melville Company canal near the future highway viaduct southwest of Delta.

The growing of sugar beets was introduced in west Millard before World War I. Primary promoters of the new crop were the Delta Commercial Club and the *Millard County Chronicle*. In a series of articles, the newspaper encouraged the planting of sugar beets and instructed farmers on the particulars of growing them. Among the first to grow the crop was an unnamed Japanese farmer who leased land from Oasis farmer John Styler.<sup>8</sup>

Part of the reason others did not grow sugar beets sooner was



that George Austin of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company argued that several alfalfa crops needed to be plowed under to prepare the soil for the planting of beets. However, J.W. Smith, already a successful grower, convinced county farmers that they could raise sugar beets in virgin soil.<sup>9</sup>

The number of acres planted in beets increased, and with that kind of commitment the newly incorporated Southern Utah Sugar Company constructed a beet processing plant in Delta in 1915, built by Stearns-Roger Manufacturing Company of Pueblo, Colorado, at a cost of \$1.25 million.<sup>10</sup> The factory was one of the largest in the West at the time and included a cluster of employee residences and warehouse buildings as well as an independent electric power generating plant. It had a capacity to process 1,000 tons of beets per day. The factory's peak year was 1918 when it processed 58,000 tons of beets. County farmers were richly rewarded, receiving \$546,000 that year. A year later, county growers received nearly \$700,000 for their beets. Just as quickly, however, local beet production began to decline in 1919 as a result of lower prices for beets, plant disease, and the growing attraction to farmers of alfalfa seed. In 1920, county farmers grew only 53,000 tons of sugar beets.

The establishment of the Delta sugar factory provided some new employment opportunities, although the work was mainly seasonal. It was also one of the locations of the county's first industrial facilities. In January 1918 seventeen-year-old Millard Stake Academy student Azael Wright from Hinckley was killed while helping the foreman clear sticks from the beet bath and the beet slicer. Wright was caught in the giant maws of the beet slicer. Dr. C.A. Broadus was hurriedly summoned, but Wright died three hours later.<sup>11</sup>

Even with a declining trend in beet prices, county farmers continued to grow beets. Tenant farmers Tom Watson and Les Porter raised an average of eighteen tons of beets per acre in 1922. A Mr. Ogden was said to have raised 320 tons on thirty acres. Sugar beet farmer Y. Ikuma, one of at least nine Japanese farmers in the county, raised 1,100 tons of beets on 145 acres in 1920 and in 1921 increased his production on the same acreage to 1,570 tons. In 1922 Ikuma received \$5.75 per ton plus a bonus for his beets.<sup>12</sup>

To facilitate the shipment of raw beets, the Union Pacific

Railroad Company, which had acquired the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City rail line, constructed a spur west from Delta that then divided at Erwin, with one spur to Hinckley, the other north to the Sugarville area. The completion of the new feeder line was celebrated with representatives from the railroad and Utah Governor William Spry driving the ceremonial last spike.

A major area for raising beets was the new farming area north of Woodrow. It was almost named Ucalla because it was homesteaded by such a large number of Californians. With the success in raising beets, farmers in the area changed their community's name to Sugarville in 1915. For a few years Sugarville boasted several stores, a lumberyard, and a school. The community hosted several different church groups including the Omaha LDS Ward, organized in 1917 and later renamed the Sugarville Ward. Presbyterian services were conducted monthly at the school and elsewhere. The considerable number of area Catholics held church services in various homes in the area as well as in Delta, where parishioners from neighboring towns met for special services.<sup>13</sup>

Several social clubs were organized in the Sugarville area. Among the more successful was the Friendship Thimble Club organized in 1913. Bimonthly meetings were held in members' homes until club members built a library hall in 1917 for meetings. A major project of the club was the establishment of a free circulating library. In 1923 the club sold its building to the LDS church and two years later built another building. The club was still active with twenty members in 1951.

The economic excitement of beet growing and the construction of a processing plant encouraged construction in west Millard in 1917. At least sixteen new houses as well the new elementary school, Pace auto agency, and the amusement hall at Oak Creek were constructed in the immediate Delta area. Noble Peterson of Fillmore built the Lincoln Theater at Delta just after completing and selling the east-side theater. Robert Whicker, Frank Copening, and Richard R. Lyman each built from three to more than a dozen bungalows in Delta at the time. Frank Beckwith reported a virtual housing construction and remodeling boom in Delta.<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, building and remodeling also flourished. In Hinckley at least two houses were

completed along with three by James Blake and additions on the Pratt Mercantile and a drug store. Schools were built at Garrison, Sunflower, and Sugarville.

East-side farmers also joined the sugar beet growing frenzy. Their success was enhanced by the simultaneous development of Sevier Land and Water Company lands southeast of Delta and northwest of Holden. This prompted the Union Pacific Railroad to construct a spur line from Delta to the east side of the county in the fall of 1922. The spur's completion was marked with a community celebration. Governor Charles R. Mabey was honored by driving the "golden" spike. For a time, trains ran daily, but the demand for service was not sustained and service was reduced to twice a week. Still, the railroad made a major impact on the shipment of goods in and out of the east side of the county.<sup>15</sup>

The growing of beets required extensive back-breaking labor weeding, thinning, and harvesting the plants. Labor demands outstripped local supply, and Mexican farm laborers were hired for the seasonal work. To house the small army of Mexican laborers simple housing was built on the sugar factory property. When the beet season came to a close, the migrant laborers left the county, returning to work the fields the next growing season. However, following the 1921 beet season farmworker Cereilo M. Rico and his family and several other migrant worker families decided to stay for the winter. With no work and no savings, however, Rico and his family were soon without food. In an attempt to provide food for his family, Rico broke into R.J. Law's store, where he was arrested. He was sent to the county jail at Fillmore.

Rico managed to break out of jail twice. His second attempt for freedom proved fatal for him and deputy sheriff E.L. Rose. During the escape, Rico fled to the migrant housing in Delta, where he was discovered hiding in a cellar by Rose, Sheriff Frank H. Black, and deputy sheriff George Waters. Rico was armed, and during the attempt to flush him from his hiding place, he mortally wounded Rose and made his escape. Word quickly spread of the escape and the death of Rose, and some 200 armed and aroused men joined the manhunt. Rico was soon trapped by the armed posse at a canal headgate. He was shot numerous times and died on the spot.

Still angry over the death of Rose, the posse/mob talked of taking vengeance on the few other Mexican families residing at the sugar factory. Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed. Still fearing retaliation, most migrant families moved out of the county soon after the incident.<sup>16</sup>

Poor prices for beets, which dropped from \$12.03 per ton in 1920 to less than \$5.50 per ton in 1921, insect problems, heavy water needs, and continued water drainage problems convinced many beet growers to abandon beet raising for alfalfa seed.<sup>17</sup> In 1924 the Delta sugar factory closed permanently. It was dismantled and moved to Belle Fourche, South Dakota, in 1927. One newspaperman quipped that the factory, erected in 1917, would be "taking a trip" on its tenth anniversary. Most local businessmen were sorry to see the company leave; however, some farmers believed that the company had impeded beet production and that another cooperative sugar beet enterprise would meet with better success in the area. Farmers on both sides of the county continued to raise some beets but never in quantities to justify another processing plant.<sup>18</sup>

One of the most revealing commentaries on the demise of the sugar factory in west Millard County occurred at a meeting of Utah-Idaho Sugar Company officials in Fillmore in the spring of 1925. Seeking to stimulate cooperation and beet planting among east Millard area growers, company spokesmen admitted they largely were dependent upon them for a beet crop and that "the western part of the county [had] gone wild over alfalfa seed." Sugar company officials warned east Millard beet growers that if they did not grow more beets the railroad spur between Delta and Fillmore would probably close, implying that it was up to east Millard beet growers to keep the spur open.<sup>19</sup>

The waterlogging of farmland and accompanying mineral salt problem first appeared on farms at Oasis, Deseret, and Hinckley shortly after the turn of the century. Officials of the Deseret Irrigation Company requested assistance from the U.S. Department of Agriculture to solve the problem. After a year of study and research, government scientists and engineers recommended that a series of open ditches be constructed to drain the subsurface water from the impacted agricultural fields. The stockholders of the Deseret

Irrigation Company agreed to follow the government's suggestion, and in October 1911 the company purchased a steam shovel and engaged a crew to dig the ditches and install the thirty-inch drain pipes.<sup>20</sup>

Within a few years, the South Tract water problem was equally pressing. President W.I. Moody of the Delta Irrigation Company convinced stockholders to spend \$100,000 on a tile-drainage project. Drainage machines and crews labored around the clock to complete the work, which was said to have "readily redeemed" a large part of the project and helped attract even more landseekers to the area.<sup>21</sup>

The tile drainage scheme was expanded, and in the early 1920s farmers organized themselves into four large drainage districts. Funds were raised from the sale of bonds. The indebtedness they incurred eventually came to haunt them when produce prices dropped dramatically later in the decade. The drainage system was extensive, including well over half of the total drainage ditches in the state. The four drainage districts constructed over 650 miles of underground tile drains at a cost in excess of \$2 million.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the tile drains proved inadequate. It wasn't until open drains were once again widely used that the problem was solved. The drainage debt problem was also eased when litigation discounted the claims of drainage district bondholders.<sup>23</sup>

Alfalfa seed continued as a steady cash crop for many county farmers before and for a few years after World War I. James M. Stewart of Meadow began raising alfalfa seed as early as 1900 and for fifteen years grew alfalfa seed without irrigation on his forty-acre farm. In 1915, banker and farmer Almon Robison netted \$35,000 profit from his seed crop, with others also doing well. The *Millard County Progress* reported that nearly every farmer had alfalfa seed on his farm, since nothing equalled it as a revenue producer for the farmers in the country. In 1916 the *Progress* editor stated alfalfa seed "was making a fortune for Millard County farmers." The next year, he added, "nowhere else in the United States is there so much of this seed raised, [proportionately] to the area planted, as is this section of Millard County." That year 400–700 pounds of seed per acre were being raised by more than a few farmers, some of whom received up to seventeen cents per pound.<sup>24</sup>

“Millard gold” remained a steady cash crop and the county continued to be the leading producer of alfalfa seed in the state through the 1920s.<sup>25</sup> One of the early successful Delta area alfalfa seed growers was William Bassett. His carefully kept financial records for 1922 reveal why he grew seed exclusively. He netted \$49.73 per acre from his alfalfa land and only \$19.17 per acre for his beets.<sup>26</sup>

During the thirteen-year period from 1919 to 1932, alfalfa seed increased from 40 percent to over 90 percent of the total crop planted on the west side of the county and small grain acreage dropped from 28 percent to just under 8 percent. Similarly, beet production declined from almost 32 percent of crop production to less than 3 percent. Farmers were accustomed to averaging five bushels to the acre on their seed crops, with prices at about fourteen cents per pound during World War I.<sup>27</sup>

Some area farmers achieved almost celebrity status with their seed yields. For several years former Hinckley mayor Joseph E. Blake raised seed crops of nearly twenty bushels per acre and often cleared more than \$329 per acre. Deseret farmer W.R. Black produced a similar yield in 1919, and Delta farmer R.A. Nelson raised a record yield of twenty-four bushels per acre in 1921. The astounding peak of overall production was attained in 1925 when 14 million pounds of clean seed were grown in the Delta area. The county's seed production accounted for two-thirds of Utah's output and slightly more than 26 percent of the total produced in the United States that year.<sup>28</sup>

West Millard alfalfa seed production did not go unnoticed by some of the largest seed marketers in the United States. The Peppard Seed Company of Kansas City, Missouri, sent representatives to the county in 1919 to buy seed and to investigate the possibility of locating a seed-processing plant there. Two years later, the company announced its intention to build a large warehouse, cleaning, and grading mill in Delta as well as a warehouse in Oasis. Joe Peppard, a relative of company president J.L. Peppard, managed the facility for most of the decade.

At the same time, the Northrup King company built a seed plant at Hinckley and the Rudy-Patrick Company of Kansas City opened a Delta storage and cleaning plant that was managed by Stanley B. Folsom for a number of years.<sup>29</sup> The Peppard Seed Company espe-

cially assisted county seed growers with expert advice on growing and marketing, and, during the difficult year of 1922 when county seed growers faced a shortage of irrigation water, the seed company provided loans to many seed growers.<sup>30</sup>

The relationship between local seed growers and the seed companies was not always cordial. Believing that the seed companies were holding down prices, local seed producers in 1926 won a "substantial victory" by unitedly withholding their harvest from the market for several months until they received what they believed was a fair payment. The next year, as the agricultural depression continued, the emotional distance grew between the large seed companies and county producers when the seed companies declined to make loans. Some Millard County observers thought it was a good thing that the seed companies no longer loaned money, believing that the growing dependency on the seed companies undercut the independence and marketing power of the growers. Growing economic difficulties intensified in the spring of 1928, and the growing financial problems of many farmers were only a prelude to a more serious financial crisis.<sup>31</sup>

Late in 1910, several potential investors visited the Leamington Canyon area to participate in the beginnings of a land and water development being planned. This project was a revival in an irrigation and land project first proposed in 1895. Two years later, the Sevier Land and Water Company had sixty scraper teams working in the Lynndyl area, aiming to divert irrigation water by tunnel, high line canal, and siphon to 6,000 acres.<sup>32</sup> Original investors in the land and water scheme were Salt Lake banker W.S. McCornick and local Fillmore businessmen Lafayette Holbrook, Frank Kimball, and LDS stake president Alonzo A. Hinckley.

The company soon erected a large building in Lynndyl to serve as a land office and residence for local sales representatives and visiting company officials. With the full participation of LDS stake president Alonzo A. Hinckley, Bishop Hiatt E. Maxfield, James A. Melville, and T. Clark Callister, the expanding company stimulated something of a land boom that lasted intermittently for a decade. Indefatigable Delta developer and former Lynndyl telegrapher Frank Copening built Princess Hall in 1914.

The first farmers arrived in 1913 and drew lots for land, then made proper government entries. They purchased water from the company and expected it to be delivered to them as soon as the company's canal was finished in 1914. In addition to crops planted by individual homesteaders, the company planted over 300 acres of grain and sixty acres in experimental sugar beets in 1917.<sup>33</sup>

As a result of the land promotion by the Sevier Land and Water Company along with continued railroad roundhouse activity, the population of Lynndyl increased from 113 to 488 in 1920.<sup>34</sup> The arrival of farm families, including members of the LDS church, brought a degree of stability to the railroad town. A branch of the church led by Tom Fenton was organized in 1912; two years later a ward was organized, with Jacob Langston, recently of Hinckley, as bishop. The LDS church purchased Copening's Princess Hall soon after its construction and held Sunday church services there. It also served as a community center. A two-room school was built next to it, which served until 1919 when a much larger schoolhouse was completed at a cost of \$22,000. George Sudbury constructed a large stone store in 1915, which added to the town's business district. Not long thereafter, the railroad built thirteen company houses and added a clubhouse that was furnished with a player piano and a radio.

Railroad workers and townsmen organized various athletic teams including basketball and baseball teams. They played numerous games with teams from other railroad towns as far away as Pocatello, Idaho, and Las Vegas, Nevada. The railroad offered free or discounted transportation rates for the Lynndyl athletic teams as well as teams from the other communities. John Anderson's large recreation hall in Leamington was the site for Lynndyl's basketball games. Often games were well attended. Earl Greathouse recalled one game played in 1923. The Lynndyl basketball team played a team from Provo, and a special train had to be scheduled to carry the team and its many supporters to Leamington. The Lynndyl fans were equally supportive and a special train was scheduled to transport them the short distance to Leamington where the two trains met cow catcher to cow catcher. The historical record does not indicate who won the game.

Labor Day celebrations in Lynndyl were special. The Lynndyl



Athletic Association organized horse races, baseball games, and professional wrestling matches. A free barbecue and open-air dance in the evening were customary.

A major part of the Sevier company plans was to reclaim land south and east of Lynndyl, particularly the Fool Creek Sinks area and the sandy bench closer to Delta. William Bender purchased 240 acres on which he planned to raise alfalfa and hogs. Bender met the challenge of rabbits eating his hay by constructing a wire-mesh fence around most of his alfalfa fields. Early Delta residents recalled the huge haystacks at the Bender Ranch (now occupied by the Delta airport), attesting to the fact that the sandy soil was very productive.

Bender's neighbors Einer Bjornson and H.E. Soule were also successful farmers in the area. Soule, a former sea captain, built a particularly elaborate house for his wife. The Soule homestead was landscaped with numerous locust trees, many still growing just north of the present Delta Cheese Company. Another resident on the bench land was Lewis Koch, who raised excellent vegetables.

A second area the Sevier Land and Water Company developed was Whiskey Creek Flat northwest of Holden. The new farming area was named McCornick for the company's principal financial backer, Salt Lake City banker William S. McCornick. Families and single men began working land there in the spring of 1919. There was plenty of water that year and all had excellent harvests except several unfortunate families whose farmland was severely damaged when the new high line canal broke and washed away soil for three days before the water could be shut off at Leamington Canyon.

Within two years a school was built and a LDS ward organized with eighty-three member families. At its peak in the 1920s, ninety-five babies were born in McCornick. The apparent success of the McCornick farming area prompted the *Progress* to report that "new towns are springing up and during the past two years on the Sevier Canal project the following towns are fast becoming important factors: McCornick, Haw Bush, Greenwood, Pahvant and Crystal."<sup>35</sup> Further enhancing prospects for success was the discovery of abundant artesian water at Flowell. Sugar beets held out good prospects for the homesteaders of McCornick.

Individuals and organizations in both Utah and southern

California continued to promote parts of Millard County. The Pauvant Valley Development Syndicate was organized in California to work with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and the Union Pacific Railroad to develop west-central Utah and to promote trade ties to southern California. The railroad company spent at least \$20,000 to advertise and develop Millard County in the early 1920s. In 1922 a full-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* extolled the “wonderful Pauvant Valley.” The promotional efforts were markedly enhanced by the alfalfa-seed boom already underway. The *Progress* explained at the time that even without irrigation, “quite a number of the most successful seed growers in the community do not irrigate the alfalfa at all and they claim that the yield is better than the irrigated alfalfa.”<sup>36</sup>

There was no section of Millard County that was so over-promoted and so poorly provided with adequate irrigation water as the McCornick area. The Sevier River water right was far inferior to others in the county, and when there were dry years the Sevier company simply had no water to deliver. Homesteader Carrie Clark bitterly recalled that the developers claimed that they had sufficient water to irrigate 200,000 acres of land, but in the fourth year of the McCornick project they were unable to provide enough water to irrigate 1,000 acres. In July 1926 the Sevier Land and Water Company and contracts with farmers were sold under bankruptcy proceedings to a California company for \$150,000. When the *Progress* expressed hopes of some benefit to the farmers involved, it probably understood that little happening at that point could be worse than the prior misfortune and mismanagement.

In September the company was reorganized under the name of the Central Utah Water Company, with LDS stake president A.A. Hinckley and T. Clark Callister heading the new company. The reorganization did little to reassure the homesteaders of the area; most left, with only a handful, including members of the Callister family, continuing to farm there.<sup>37</sup>

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917 young men of Millard County enlisted. Nine east-side boys entered training camp in mid-May 1917. National guardsman Afton Owens, who had recently spent ten months with General John J. Pershing in northern Mexico chasing Pancho Villa, was recalled to duty. Before his depar-

ture, the community organized a send-off dance at the Alcazar Hall, a week before it was destroyed by fire. Thereafter, many county servicemen were similarly honored at Delta's Marsoni Hall, sometimes with an accompanying dinner.

By the end of May ninety-three men from the county had been called to serve. Some, like a dozen North Tract boys, enlisted and went to training camp together. Some 200 young men from the county were eventually in uniform, with about a quarter of them seeing action in the Great War on the western front, mostly at Argonne Forest and Belleau Wood. Others saw fighting at Chateau Thierry.

Thad Johnson was a marksman on dangerous advance duty in the Verdun sector and in Belgium. Wiley Callister later recounted to newspaper readers some of his experiences at Chateau Thierry. Not far away, Clinton E. Day demonstrated extraordinary valor on the battlefield at St. Thibault. Similarly, Carl Theobald, with a companion on patrol near Gesne, France, captured an entire enemy machine-gun crew. Both Day and Theobald received the Distinguished Service Cross from General John J. Pershing.<sup>38</sup>

Cousins Russell Hatton and Grant Lyman suffered from a poisonous gas attack. Hatton recovered, but the ordeal was ultimately fatal to Lyman. Corbett Mitchell of Fillmore, Edward C. Peterson of Scipio, and Parley C. Turner and James W. Crosland of Holden paid the supreme sacrifice for their country.<sup>39</sup> Arthur L. Cahoon and George H. Western from Deseret were also killed in action. George Elwood Bunker and Elmer S. Bishop died in France of pneumonia and Joseph Ladd Damron and Wesley Lackyard died from that disease at military bases in the United States. Vernon W. Tozier died less than a month after Armistice Day, also a wartime casualty.

Before the end of the war, the county commission appropriated one thousand dollars to be split equally between the two sides of the county to honor its returning soldiers. However, before committees could arrange to honor the returning soldiers, the county and the nation was struck with the Spanish influenza, the worst epidemic the world had experienced since the bubonic plague. By the time the epidemic had spent its course, there were ten times more American deaths than had died in the war.

The Spanish flu spread quickly in the county. It was rather

unique in that it mainly singled out the more robust of the county's population. The *Chronicle* sadly noted that in the Delta area "most of those who have fallen victim have been big, hearty men, with the best part of life still ahead of them."<sup>40</sup> Often death from the flu occurred quickly. For example, Abraham Workman died within a week after contracting the flu, as did his sister and wife.

Victims added up quickly and there were no adequate facilities in the county to care for the large number of sick or the dead. The almost new Delta Elementary School served as a makeshift hospital and temporary morgue. Leo Lyman of Delta recalled at one time forty dead at the school awaiting caskets and burial.<sup>41</sup>

Many county residents provided heroic service during the epidemic. Nine-year-old Ruth Stephenson experienced the most horrible time of her life. Her mother and father were prostrated on the verge of death, as were her older brother, sister, and infant brother. Her Uncle Bert was in town and still healthy, but his entire family was sick and needed his attention. The best he could do was to visit daily to take care of the livestock and give Ruth encouragement. Besides her prayers, the greatest assistance she received was from Dr. Elizabeth Tracy, who visited when she could and instructed young Ruth in the proper care of her family. Ruth was even more frightened witnessing the increase in the number of newly wrapped corpses placed on the outside stairs of the school less than a block from her house. She recalled that there was usually at least one new victim each day. Fortunately, none of her family succumbed to the flu.<sup>42</sup>

There were several methods used in the county to reduce the spread of the flu. Those who were exposed were often quarantined for ten or more days and prohibited from attending public gatherings, school, or church. Many residents when in town wore gauze face masks. The various town boards restricted public and private gatherings; any who broke these orders were subject to fines.

Through the noble medical service provided the county by Doctors Elizabeth Tracy, R.B. Stevens, C.A. Broadus, nurses Mrs. Grover Giles, Beatrice Owens, and others many lives were saved and many others were given comfort. Still, a walk through the cemeteries of the county or a study of various family records reveals the terrible nature of the times.

There were no county medical facilities when the influenza epidemic swept through the county, although two years earlier in October 1916 east Millard residents had urged the county commission to build a county hospital. The *Millard County Progress* estimated that an adequate medical facility could be built for as little as \$5,000. However, a new courthouse was considered a more pressing need.

A suitable health facility was established in Fillmore in the summer of 1922 when two enterprising young physicians, Earl Maxson, who that year purchased Dr. Stevens's practice, and William Baker established a seven-room hospital, complete with kitchen, operating room, and x-ray facilities. Three years later, Dr. Maxson sold his practice and interest in the hospital to Dr. Dean C. Evans, who in 1929 moved the hospital to the upstairs of the T.M. Ivory home. With modern plumbing and steam heat, this improved facility served the community until it was replaced in 1949.<sup>43</sup>

In the west end of the county at the turn of the century medical services were offered by several homeopathic practitioners including Fannie Lee Cropper, Aminda Barron Kelly, Mrs. Hellibrant Bishop, Mrs. Hosea Stout, and a Mrs. Harris, later wife of Al Damron. A Dr. Bagley practiced in Deseret for a short time in the mid-1890s and was followed for a short time by a Dr. Lyons. Dr. C.A. Broadus came and stayed for more than a dozen years, providing much-needed medical services. Dr. Broadus lived in Deseret before moving on to Hinckley. He was called into military service in 1917, following which he moved to Stockton, California.

With limited medical facilities, makeshift operating rooms were frequently arranged. For example, during a church dance participants learned Merrill Blake's appendix had ruptured and Dr. Broadus was called to remove it. The dancers were asked to prepare and sanitize the nearby Relief Society hall, where the operation took place successfully.<sup>44</sup>

After a series of physicians practiced in Delta but a short time, Dr. H.L. Charles sold his practice and "hospital" to Dr. M.E. Bird, who then served the community of Delta for more than four decades. Dr. W.H. Wright practiced medicine for several years in the mid-

1920s before leaving for additional schooling. Dr. Leo C. Warenski took over Wright's practice.

The people of east Millard depended on amateur tooth extractors and traveling dentists until 1913 when Dr. F.S. Robison came from Kansas to establish a practice. He stayed until 1931, when he sold his practice to Dr. Clyde Brunson, who had recently graduated from Northwestern University Dental School. Brunson practiced in the area until 1944. Soon thereafter, Evan Beckstrand, a native son of Meadow, commenced dental practice; he was followed by his son J. Bruce, who is still in practice. Dentist J.E. Stains practiced for five decades in the Delta area before retiring.

Important to the health care of expectant mothers and their newborns were the midwives. Matilda Hales, a lifelong resident of Deseret, received her medical training with the aid of the local ward Relief Society, which sponsored her training under Dr. Ellis R. Shipp in Salt Lake City, who stressed the spiritual aspects of healing as well as sound medical care. Hales's long practice included the delivery of several hundred babies, losing only three. In addition to her midwife practice, she cared for the ill and the injured, traveling to their aid in a one-horse buggy. She charged fifteen dollars for her birthing services. Since many fathers were unable to pay the bill, they hauled hay and did other chores for her in payment.

Matilda Hales prepared her own natural remedies, including salves, liniments, and syrups from various herbs and other ingredients. Abiah Kelly Sjostrom and others also developed their own home remedies. A tablespoon of castor oil was often used for most childhood ailments. Persistent fevers were treated with quinine powder dissolved in coffee. Sufferers of chicken pox, measles, scarlet fever, and other itchy ailments might be smeared from head to toe with sulphur and lard.

Following the death of Kanosh, Hunkup was proclaimed "bishop," or leader, of the Indians in the county. Local church leaders treated Hunkup with the same respect Kanosh was shown. Only a handful of Indian children attended public school regularly. The United States census of 1900 counted eighty-two Native Americans living in the county. Ten years later, the number of Indians in the county had dropped to fifty-seven, most of them living near Deseret,

Garrison, and Kanosh.<sup>45</sup> The Indian families at Kanosh received twelve land allotments of more than 1,800 acres in 1919 and 1920. An additional 600 acres was transferred to the Kanosh Indians in 1956.

The flu epidemic of 1918 took a heavy toll on the county's Indian population as well, and their traditions kept them from seeking medical assistance during the scourge. Will Reay was a health officer at Meadow and visited Indian families at Kanosh regularly. His son Lee later recalled that his father was horrified at what he witnessed among the stricken Indians. Few whites visited the Indians, and for a time during the epidemic there were not enough healthy Indians to bury their own dead.<sup>47</sup>

One of the major political issues voters of the state and county faced during the first third of the twentieth century was that of prohibition. Earlier, the state constitutional convention rejected an article to prohibit the sale of alcohol. However, national and state temperance organizers kept the issue alive, and in 1911 the state legislature passed a local option bill. The four incorporated communities of Fillmore, Kanosh, Scipio, and Hinckley voted overwhelmingly to prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. The vote in Fillmore was 49 for and 274 against; Hinckley, 5 for, 127 against; Kanosh, 7 for, 86 against; and Scipio, 14 for and 150 against.<sup>48</sup>

With that kind of support for prohibition, the Deseret correspondent to the *Chronicle* encouraged newly elected sheriff Frank Black to ferret out and close down all local "blind pigs"—the contemporary term for sources of illicit liquor—in and around Deseret. John Dewsnap's store in Deseret became a target of surveillance for Sheriff Black. After several months of carefully watching the store, Black apprehended a purchaser of a bottle of whiskey. A search warrant was issued by Justice of the Peace George W. Cropper. Black discovered two barrels containing more than one hundred gallons of whiskey and wine. John Dewsnap was found guilty and Justice Cropper ordered Sheriff Black to destroy the evidence. Dewsnap was permitted to save a little wine for family medicinal purposes.<sup>49</sup>

Sheriff Black wasn't nearly as successful stopping the illegal sale of liquor in other parts of the county, however. In Lynndyl alcohol was easily obtained. Each time he took the train to Oasis to catch the

suspected dealers, they received warnings of his coming and disposed of the evidence. Armed with a search warrant, Sheriff Black discovered account books listing regular customers. Dell Steele and Orin McDermott were eventually arrested and pled guilty to illegal possession. Both were fined and agreed to quit the business; however, a month later, Sheriff Black caught them again. This time they were fined \$250 each.<sup>49</sup>

Some county residents took the matter into their own hands. The residents of Garrison dynamited a known blind pig, destroying the building and convincing the operators it was time to move to the more friendly wet state of Nevada.

The local prohibition battle continued when Deseret LDS Stake President Alonzo A. Hinckley urged LDS church members "to do all in their power to elect men at the November elections who would stand for statewide prohibition in Utah." The word was heard, and in 1919 the county joined the state and the nation in passing the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibited the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol.<sup>50</sup> Some 89 percent of the voters in the county cast their vote for prohibition. By comparison, the state as a whole voted 73 percent in favor, with Kane County voters topping the state, with 99 percent of its voters favoring prohibition.<sup>51</sup> In 1933 the nation, state, and county voted to end the great social experiment. The county voted 40 percent for repeal and the state as a whole voted 60 percent for repeal.

Lynndyl, with its railroad activities, remained a "damp" community during prohibition. Before prohibition, Lynndyl's recreational pursuits centered on gambling dens and saloons, including a "joint" run by Scottie Johnson near the Sevier River. A local story tells of a man who was an apparent victim of Lynndyl's dampness. He visited Johnson's establishment one payday and the next morning was found dead with a large lump on his head. An inquest was held and it was concluded he had gotten drunk and fallen down and was then bitten by a scorpion. There seemed to be no connection in the ruling between the death and the missing cash of the victim.<sup>52</sup>

The county's desire for prohibition was reinforced following a shooting spree and resulting death of John Keeling, a known bootlegger. Keeling had been drinking heavily with J.C. Davis and Mike



Dancer when a violent altercation involving guns erupted among the three. Davis was soon caught, arrested, and convicted of second-degree murder.<sup>53</sup>

Delta was not free from illegal alcohol and bootlegging, and it may have had one of the largest bootlegging operations in central Utah. Suspicious activities and odors coming from one of the important commercial buildings on Clark Street drew the attention of federal treasury agents working in the county, but an elaborate still remained undiscovered by the agents inside an interior wall of the building. A tip from a friendly neighbor solved the problem. Many people later recalled seeing trucks loaded with grain locked in a shed at the rear of the building in the evenings and leave the premises empty the next morning. Although it was apparently easy enough to obtain whatever amount of whiskey was desired for local consumption, most of the product was transported by automobile to the Salt Lake City area.<sup>54</sup>

Far better known in the local folklore of the era was the so-called hermit of Marjum Pass, Bob Stinson. Stinson lived in a rock-walled cave in a side canyon just off the unpaved road to Nevada. Far from being anti-social, the legendary recluse freely dispensed his equally well-known brew to thirsty guests who happened by. Stinson was limited in his production of booze by an inadequate water supply, and he also lacked reliable means of transporting it. Still, many people enjoyed his hospitality.

Except for a few wells drilled near Deseret, east Millard took the lead developing a safe culinary water supply. At the turn of the century most households relied on irrigation ditches for drinking water. New to many in Fillmore and elsewhere was the use of underground cisterns to store water from creeks and ditches. As early as 1889 the townspeople of Holden established a culinary water system that has been improved many times since.

Meadow citizens in 1912 probably incorporated for the purpose of securing \$4,600 in bonds to pipe water from a spring in Walker Canyon. Additional funds were raised by charging each residence \$200 to be hooked into the system. Fillmore had already installed a municipal water system two years earlier at a cost of about \$25,000. Water was brought to town in concrete pipes from Watercress and

other nearby springs. Kanosh residents brought water from their own Watercress Spring in a wooden pipe. Twenty-five years later the pipe was replaced with metal pipe. The residents of Leamington also used wooden pipe to transport water from Fool Creek Canyon. Scipio was the last east-side community to develop a water system. It was completed on 11 December 1925 and the people of Scipio celebrated with a barbeque and dance.

Road improvements were made in the various towns in the county beginning in the early 1910s. In 1907 the state legislature had created a state highway system and some funding means. The law authorized each county commission to select several roads to be included in the state network. The Millard County Commission designated the old pioneer road linking Salt Lake City to southern Utah.

Nationally, road improvements were promoted by a growing number of groups and individuals who also promoted a national road system and encouraged travel and tourism by automobile. The Arrowhead Trails Association, for instance, was formed to generate interest for construction of a highway to follow the old southern California trail blazed earlier by the Mormons and used by gold seekers and others. One of the leading promoters of the Arrowhead Trail Association highway was Douglas White of the Union Pacific Railroad. Both he and the railroad company understood the value such a highway would bring to the company's freight business as well as passenger and new tourist business. Locally, county businessmen hosted the southern California promoters at a banquet and organized their own chapter of the Arrowhead Trails Association. T. Clark Callister was selected as president and N.S. Bishop was chosen one of the directors. All were aware of the economic boost a good highway would be for the area.<sup>55</sup>

The national Lincoln Highway Association was organized at about the same time. It promoted an all-weather transcontinental highway to link New York City with the Pacific Coast, generally following the transcontinental railroad route. For a time, the larger national Lincoln Highway Association challenged the Arrowhead Association's desire for the national road to southern California by way of southern Utah. In the end, both brought public attention to the need for better roads.

Following World War I, the federal government provided funds from various agencies to states to construct highways. The county commission took full advantage of these federal programs and soon had the newly designated state highway (later designated U.S. Highway 91) between Holden and Kanosh graded and graveled, as well as the road from Holden to Delta. These improvements greatly aided the development of commerce and the shipping of the county's agricultural products. Additional road improvements followed in the 1920s. The road from Scipio to the Juab County line was graveled, as was the road from Kanosh to the Beaver County line. By the end of 1922, forty miles of designated state roads in the county had been graveled at a cost of \$33.25 a mile.<sup>56</sup>

As the nation awaited dedication of Zion National Park, the highway access to that area was still poor. A major part of the problem was lack of support by the northern Utah-dominated state legislature. When a highway official suggested that perhaps Utah businessmen might co-sign on loans to provide such funds, the proposition was accepted with enthusiasm. It was reported that Fillmore businessmen had signed for Millard County's share of the obligation within twenty minutes of the time the papers were made available. The increased highway traffic generated one of the area's chief industries, tourism, for a half-century thereafter.

The city fathers of Fillmore awarded the Petersen brothers a contract in 1917 to pave sixteen blocks of sidewalk. A dozen years later, citizens organized a paving district to complete twenty more blocks, paying for it through a bond. Working with the state highway department, Fillmore businessmen had Main Street leveled and curb and gutters constructed in the business district. The street was then oiled for three miles by the state highway department.<sup>57</sup>

Locally, the use of automobiles grew increasingly popular in the 1920s. For example, in 1922 there were 739 automobile owners in the county, nearly 2 percent of all automobiles owned in the state. The most popular make of automobiles was Ford (403), followed by Dodge (94), and Chevrolet (45).<sup>58</sup>

In March 1923 the Texas Oil Company purchased a lot in Delta and built a service station. The Hal Oil Company soon followed. Delta soon enjoyed its first "gas war," with stations selling gasoline at

twenty-two cents per gallon. Other filling stations already operating essentially discontinued sales and refused to participate in the gas war.<sup>59</sup>

William Pace and Ed Whicker were early Ford dealers in west Millard, and by the summer of 1926 Hilton Brothers formerly of Hinckley sold Fords in Delta as well. Pace also sold Chevrolets. In 1926 the Delta Motor Car Company, dealer for Studebaker, Packard, and four other makes, advertised fifty used cars on its lot. Unfortunately, as the farming depression deepened in early 1927, the company went bankrupt and manager Edwin Brickert skipped to parts unknown, leaving many buyers and others very angry. Meltire H. Workman purchased the old theater lot in the middle of the business section for \$3,000 in the summer of 1926. He built a brick and plate-glass structure at a cost of \$15,000 for his Buick dealership. The building was later remodeled as Sterling Market.<sup>60</sup>

As the number of automobiles grew in the county, so did accidents. Perhaps the worst automobile tragedy occurred on a Sunday morning in October 1928 when all eight members of the Orson Erickson family were killed by a speeding train. They were attempting to cross the railroad tracks just before turning south onto the then main road from Delta to Lynndyl when their new car stalled.

The prospect of additional tourist traffic stimulated the expansion of commercial enterprises in east Millard. The Robinson Hotel, built in 1880 and operated by Albert Robinson, still offered the traveler rooms in 1922. Miah Day's hotel was completed in the 1910s as was the adjacent Fillmore Drug Store of R. Erven Day. The Day Hotel included a dining room; a pool hall was later added. Day later managed the first state liquor store in Fillmore in the hotel.

The Arrowhead Garage was built by Proctor Robinson and John Smith in 1913. Noble Peterson also built what was claimed to be the second garage between Nephi and Beaver; it soon became the Park Highway Garage and was later the Warner Garage. In 1925 Bert Cluff and LaMoyne Melville became partners in the Garage De La Mission. A year later, they were doing business as Cluff Chevrolet. In the early 1920s Lute's Cafe was operating on Fillmore's Main Street. William A. Huntsman also operated a bakery there. In late 1922, William

Swallow moved his established confectionery into a new building, where it operated for more than a half-century.

A new form of economic development took place in Garrison in 1923 when film scenes of the silent movie *Covered Wagon* were filmed there. The musical score called for the theater piano accompanist to play "Oh, Susanna" as the wagons made their way over the trail. Richard S. Morrison, who may have played the piano accompanying the picture when it played in Delta, recalled that the musical score cover had a photo which was clearly taken in Millard County.<sup>61</sup>

A short flash of mining excitement spread through the county in 1916 when Reuben Melville and A. Littldyke discovered a rich ledge of gold-bearing quartz five miles east of Fillmore. At about the same time, a silver strike was made; Bert Johnson and George Day developed a mine at Whiskey Creek four miles east of Holden in Wild Goose Canyon. This led to the organization of the King Silver-Copper Company, with investors from Chicago and Pittsburgh. Several shafts were driven and some ore was shipped. However, excitement quickly faded when the vein played out. N.B. Pryor and several others located a rich deposit of tungsten, alumite, and potash ore in the Antelope Mountain area west of Hinckley. The peak production year for mining in the county before the Great Depression was 1927. That year there were three active mines, which produced over 87,000 pounds of lead and 614 ounces of silver for a total value of over \$7,000.<sup>62</sup>

World War I stimulated oil and gas exploration in the county. The Old Capital Petroleum Company drilled several wells in the Holden and Fillmore area, but only traces of "black gold" were found. In May 1918 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints divested itself of long-held mineral claims south of Cove Fort to a Chicago company. At the time the *Progress* labeled the area "the greatest sulphur deposit in the United States." The company planned to ship 300 tons per day to the railroad at Black Rock, expecting to utilize the mineral in war production. However, the war ended before operations got underway.<sup>63</sup>

Just prior to the turn of the twentieth century, Meadow and Holden farmers organized cooperative creameries. The Holden creamery was particularly successful, paying as much as 15 to 20 per-

cent dividends to its members during its early years of operation. Scipio farmers established a cheese and butter operation in 1904 serving the county; by the outbreak of World War I, Scipio cheese and butter were being marketed elsewhere in Utah as well as in Nevada and California. A similar operation was started at Kanosh and operated by Hyrum Iverson.<sup>64</sup>

A creamery was established in Oasis in 1913, and milk was received from Oak City, Deseret, and Hinckley dairy farmers. Fillmore also had the Pahvant Valley Creamery, which was the largest dairy in the county, processing over 776,000 pounds of milk and 84,100 pounds of cheese in 1914. Soon thereafter the plant was destroyed by fire; it later was rebuilt and then expanded in 1919. The growth of milk, cheese, and butter production in the county prompted Milton Whitaker of Kanosh to organize a county marketing association to store and sell dairy products in Salt Lake City and elsewhere.<sup>65</sup>

The county's school population nearly doubled between 1910 and 1920—going from 1,945 to 3,018 students.<sup>66</sup> The Delta Elementary School was expanded to its limits, adding a ninth grade. In 1919 west Millard was finally authorized to build its own high school. The building was constructed in two phases: the east-wing classrooms were completed in 1921, and the rest of the building was completed during the 1925–26 school year. The completed high school, costing \$110,000, was dedicated in March 1926. Delta High School's enrollment was 295 students, making it the largest of the high schools in the county. Total county high school enrollment in 1925 was 554 students.

Clark Allred was appointed the high school's principal, Herman W. Stucki was the agriculture and science teacher, and A.E. Jacobson taught iron and woodworking. H.E. Smith taught math and history, Reva Beck (later a representative to Congress from 1948 to 1952) taught English, Effie Barnes domestic science and art, and L.S. Dorius was the music teacher. Dorius later recalled his salary being \$1,460 for the school year.

Two years later tragedy struck Delta when on 31 December 1928 the newly completed high school was destroyed by fire. Nearly a full schedule of classes resumed in January with classes meeting at the



Clark (Main) Street in Delta after a devastating fire in 1922, looking north. (Great Basin Historical Society)

Pauvant Hotel, the LDS First Ward chapel, Marsoni Hall, and the elementary school. The elementary students were placed on a shorter schedule to accommodate the high school students.<sup>67</sup>

The worst fire in the history of Delta occurred in February 1922 when the five-year-old Lincoln Theater caught fire and flames quickly spread to five neighboring buildings. Lack of water and fire-fighting equipment led to total losses. In addition to the theater, the fire destroyed the Delta Mercantile, Jenkins Meat and Grocery, the Bluebird Confectionery, Winebrenner's Pool Hall, and Miller's Drug Store.<sup>68</sup>

During the late 1920s, the Clark Street business district in Delta was not only rebuilt but expanded. Late in 1922 William Thornton from American Fork repaired and moved the older drugstore building he had recently purchased to the corner of Clark Street and Third West. When this burned, Thornton erected a brick structure featuring plate-glass windows. The new building included space for a post office. Fillmore merchant and sometime state legislator Dan Stevens, who earlier had operated a store in the McCornick building, built a larger store on Clark Street. The Delta Theater, operated by the Pace family in space adjacent to their automobile dealership, was rebuilt in 1927 using some of the equipment and furnishings saved from the

Lincoln Theater fire. The Little Gem Cafe relocated several times following the fire.

R.J. Law, owner of two buildings on east Clark Street in 1923, built a new building where the pool hall had been before the fire. Farther east, the Coopers constructed the first wing of a new two-story hotel. The second portion was completed three years later, making a total of thirty-three rooms. The Kelly, or Bank (Banque), Hotel was remodeled with fourteen new rooms, several featuring private baths with hot- and cold-running water. The original brick Pauvant Hotel had a frame addition. The older hotels near the railroad tracks were by then destroyed by fires or abandoned, but the new business district featured three hotels.

William Van DeVanter continued to improve and expand his building complex, including a dance hall. In April 1926 he inaugurated his building with a free dance. The building was one of the largest in town. Other commercial businesses were added to Delta in the 1920s; they included the Golden Rule Store, forerunner of J.C. Penney's, and Joe Mercer's Delta Drug store. During the building boom, there were three lumberyards in the Delta area.

Fire also plagued the east side of the county. Early in the morning of 14 August 1926 Fillmore citizens were awakened by the cry of "fire!" The town's night watchman discovered the flames when they were still confined to the Bartholomew Dance Hall basement. A large number of volunteers responded to his alarm to fight the fire. Before the fire was finished, however, the Bartholomew Hall and adjacent Mormon warehouse were completely destroyed. Lack of water prevented the volunteer firefighters from effectively fighting the fire. The firefighters did manage to salvage some material from the church before it was fully engulfed. Fillmore had been proud of Bartholomew Hall, one of the largest and finest in central Utah, but it was the destruction of the church meetinghouse which cast gloom over the community.

When a second fire destroyed a barn within weeks of the Bartholomew Hall fire, new editor E. Vance Wilson of the *Progress* appealed to Fillmore citizens to act on the matter. "We are not willing to admit that a city the size of Fillmore is justified in trusting to luck in the matter of proper property protection," he wrote.<sup>69</sup> Wilson,



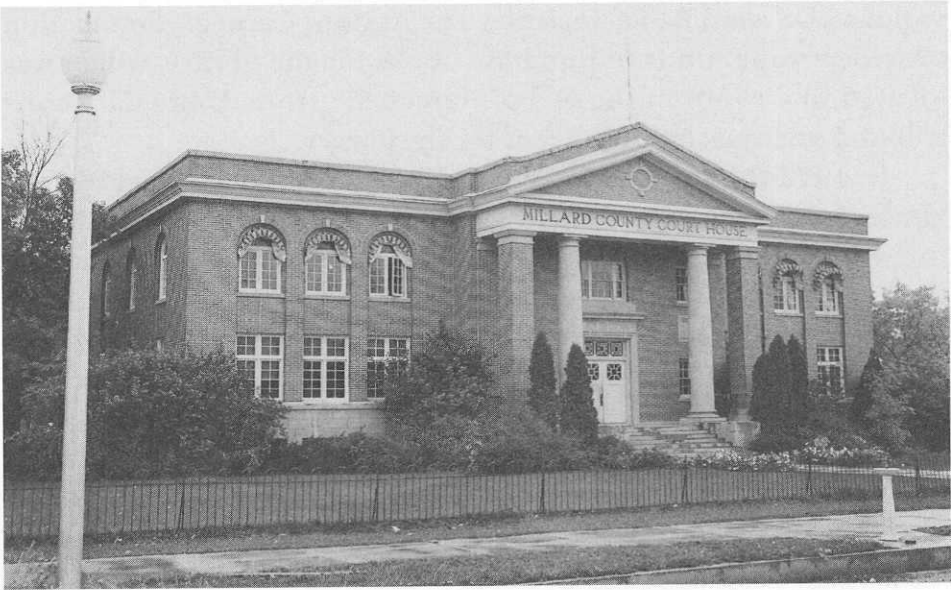
who was also an attorney, discussed fire insurance figures and property losses as a further prod to making improvements in the city's fire-fighting capabilities.<sup>70</sup>

The Fillmore culinary water system was built in 1910 at a cost of \$25,000. Twelve years later, a concrete water line was added to replace parts of the older system. However, serious water loss in the culinary water system continued and may have been the reason for the lack of water for fighting the Bartholomew Hall fire. With extensive loss of property from the fire and the prodding from Wilson, Fillmore citizens approved a \$20,000 bond to replace parts of the city's water system.

In the aftermath of the loss of the Fillmore LDS chapel, church officials decided to build two separate wardhouses. Work began in September 1926 on the First Ward building. President Heber J. Grant dedicated the two-story, eighty-foot-long building in May 1927. The Second Ward building was also two stories and was completed at about the same time.<sup>71</sup>

The Delta LDS Ward was divided in March 1924, with Clark Street, later named Main Street, as the dividing line. The Delta First Ward retained the old amusement hall for its wardhouse. A South Tract ward, with Willis J. Lyman as bishop, met in the building first used at Delta as a school and church and later moved to the rural area south of town, where it still stands. Members of the Delta Second Ward, led by bishop Edward Leo Lyman, Jr., met in the elementary school, Marsoni Hall, Mercer's Hall, and the high school building (until it was destroyed by fire in December 1928). Ward members not only lost a place to meet but also money they had contributed to the building fund. Church funds were also lost when the Delta State Bank closed its doors. These losses delayed construction of a new building on a lot donated by the Melville Irrigation Company of which Lyman was a board member. However, by early 1929 Sunday church services were held in the partially completed building.

Millard County's first courthouse was built in 1872 at a cost of \$9,000. The two-story building with a bell tower was patterned after the first Salt Lake City hall. The first floor held offices and the upper story contained one large assembly room. It served adequately until 1918 when it was deemed inadequate. The county commission con-



Millard County Courthouse, Fillmore, 1938. (Utah State Historical Society)

sidered trading the county courthouse to Fillmore City for the old State House, which was then being used as a city hall. However, the trade never materialized, and the commission opted for a new county courthouse. In March 1920 the construction contract was let to Hans Rasmussen and sons for about \$52,000.<sup>72</sup>

In 1911 the Utah State Board of Education was given the responsibility to promote the establishment of libraries in the state. In Millard County, a Dr. Murphy attempted to start a free library utilizing books on loan from Salt Lake City. Seventy volumes were ordered and a library club formed with a membership fee of twenty-five cents to cover freight expenses for the book shipments. This endeavor was so poorly patronized that Murphy promptly abandoned it, however. Two years later, William N. Gardner, Delta Elementary School principal, tried to interest the citizens in a reading room at the school, but there was not sufficient adult interest to warrant greater effort than the establishment of a small pupil-oriented book collection.<sup>73</sup>

The first successful effort to establish a free public library in Delta came from a group of women of the newly established Delta Community Church, led by Mary H. Hamilton, wife of the church's pastor. This effort was joined by other women's groups, including

various LDS ward Relief Societies. The Andrew Carnegie Foundation provided some funds to purchase books for the library, which was located in a room in the Delta Mercantile store. Delta City contributed one-quarter of the rent for the library.

In 1922 the store and its little library were destroyed by fire. However, significant interest and commitment had been generated that early the next year the Delta public library was again open, this time in a room in the Mercer Building. Mary Hamilton continued to head the support committee and was assisted by Mrs. Almeda Lewis and Mrs. Geneva Pace, members of the executive committee of the Associated Women's Clubs of west Millard County.

During the next several years an additional \$500 was donated to the library. In the mid-1920s Delta City acquired a small house on west Clark Street for the expanding library; it was used as the town's library for the next decade. One remembered librarian was Mrs. E.V. Carey, who showed particular attention to providing reading material for children. In the 1930s Delta City acquired offices on Third West Street and the library was moved there. The library remained at that location for several decades.<sup>74</sup>

With the support of Governor George Dern, the American Legion, comprised of veterans of World War I, was organized throughout the state in 1925; in Fillmore, Post 61 was established. It and the other posts in the state set a goal to help establish municipal public libraries. In east Millard the legionnaires visited every home, soliciting book donations of more than 800 volumes. In addition, local businesses subscribed to more than two dozen periodicals and newspapers, which were placed in the Fillmore library located in the old courthouse. The city appointed a supervisory board including American Legion commander Arnell Jackson. Kate Day was hired as librarian.<sup>75</sup>

Electrification of many parts of Utah was well underway by 1915. That summer in Fillmore, entrepreneurs Cooper and Giles attempted to establish a local electric power generation company. While this effort was not successful, Fillmore residents met in mass meeting a year later to seek support from the city council to build a municipal-owned electric power plant. Before plans for the project could be fully developed, the Beaver River Power Company proposed to sup-

ply electricity to the county by high-tension line from Richfield. Beaver River Power Company, soon to be Telluride Power Company, asked for no assistance other than for the city of Fillmore to construct its own local distribution system, for which it would share half the profits. This concession proved to be a major boon to Fillmore and several neighboring municipalities. Fillmore residents approved the plan in March 1917 and then voted to issue \$12,000 in bonds to implement the plan. A year later, the first electric lights were turned on in 120 homes, and others were soon wired for electricity.<sup>76</sup>

Electric power service was poor with frequent interruptions. In 1922, Fillmore customers held a mass meeting to protest a rate increase granted by the relatively new Utah Public Utilities Commission. The *Progress* editor complained that the Telluride Power Company enjoyed undue influence with the new state utilities commission. Delta correspondent C.N. McNeely charged that the problem arose from the commission guaranteeing the power company a profit without requiring it to render adequate service.

Feeling the pressure from its customers, Telluride agreed to improve its delivery of electricity by connecting to Utah Power and Light sources at Santaquin and installing emergency steam generators for use whenever regular operations were interrupted. Before conditions improved, the Fillmore City Council dispatched State Senator Dan Stevens and Maurice Lambert to lodge complaints with the public utilities commission. This time there were results; the commission ordered Telluride to ascertain if the present transmission line could be made dependable or if a new one was needed. Telluride Power strung power lines to Scipio, Kanosh, Meadow, and Holden before the end of the 1920s. Similar beneficial agreements were arranged to share profits if the municipality provided its own delivery system.

Elsewhere in the county a small coal- or distillate-burning steam-powered generating plant was built by the Deseret Irrigation Company at Oasis. The Oasis plant provided electric power to Deseret, Hinckley, and Delta during the 1920s; however, it was very costly and inefficient. The Telluride Power Company agreed to purchase the small power system in 1930 and to build a high-voltage line linking Delta to Fillmore and by then to the more dependable hydro-

electric plant in Beaver Canyon. While Oak City received electricity from this system, Leamington and Lynndyl received their electric power in 1931 from Santaquin by way of Nephi. The smaller communities of Sutherland, Abraham, North Tract, and Flowell did not receive electric power until the 1930s when they were assisted by the Rural Electrification Administration.<sup>77</sup>

In the early 1880s the first telephones were in operation in Utah, and in June 1914 transcontinental telephone service was connected at the Nevada-Utah border. At the urging of T. Clark Callister, engineering student Thomas C. Callister and others transformed the old branch of the Deseret Telegraph Company into the Millard County Telegraph and Telephone Company in 1904, with Thomas Callister as president and director. Equipment was leased from Bell Telephone Company, and a telephone exchange was established in Fillmore. Toll stations were established in most east Millard towns. Millard Telegraph and Telephone Company was linked to the outside world and the Bell system near Cove Fort and to the Mountain Bell Telephone Company at Nephi.

While expanding service throughout east Millard, the company established a station in the Burtner-Delta area in December 1907. Elsewhere, outlying towns in west Millard including Leamington and Oak City organized their own telephone service, forming the West Side Telephone Company. Later, North Tract formed the People's Telephone Company, with connections to the Bell system at Silver City in Juab County. By 1917 the several west Millard companies were consolidated, and in 1930 they were fully integrated into the Millard County Telegraph and Telephone Company. Telephone service remained scattered, however, with only one in four homes having telephones in west Millard in the early 1930s.<sup>78</sup>

One of the first impressive community efforts to develop a summer recreational facility was that of the Meadow LDS Ward parents Sunday School class. Concerned that the community lacked a proper "bathing pool," a committee was organized to build a pool. Using volunteer labor, residents constructed a concrete swimming pool. Not to be outdone, Fillmore volunteers built a "plunge" fifty feet by thirty-four feet and up to seven feet deep; the facility also featured dressing rooms.<sup>79</sup>



The Lake Shore Resort at Gunnison Bend Reservoir—one of four such resorts in Millard County in the 1920s. (Great Basin Historical Society)

The people of Kanosh and Hatton conceived of a more ambitious facility at the natural hot springs northwest of those towns. Capitalizing on the mineral water, their plunge appealed to therapeutic as well as recreational needs, and a concrete pool seventy by eighty feet was planned. Several Salt Lake City investors were invited to support the “spa” financially, and property owner Alvin Penny was offered a one-quarter interest in the project. However, World War I and various problems prevented the project from being built. In 1925 W.B. Fennemore revived the idea, leased the property, and built the Winopa Hot Spring resort with electric lights and a large dance floor. For some years it was advertised as the Saltair of Millard County.

Lee Reay later recalled the “wonderful dances” held at Winopa, which was an Indian word meaning “good water.” Friday night dances were very popular, often with out-of-town bands providing the music. Many couples danced to the fox trot, two-step, and waltzes until daylight. Reay remembered “it was the day of the saxophone” and confessed he never felt so romantic as when “dancing under the big golden desert moon at Winopa.”<sup>80</sup>

That same summer the largest open-air dance hall in central Utah was built in Chalk Creek Canyon two miles from the Fillmore business district. The Aerial Pavilion opened with 170 automobiles reportedly parked on the nearby field.<sup>81</sup>

In the summer of 1926 R.C. Cass and C.A. Clawson announced construction of the Lakeshore Resort on the northwest bank of the Gunnison Bend Reservoir. It featured a large dance hall and skating rink, surrounded by about 300 trees, a swimming pool, bathhouse, a pier, and various kinds of boats for use on the lake. Large crowds danced to bands from Spanish Fork, Nephi, and Richfield. The resort opened in time to profit from the recent alfalfa seed-generated prosperity; however, the Lakeshore Resort was short lived when the economy of the county began to sour. The property faced foreclosure early in 1929.<sup>82</sup>

A canyon resort was built in Oak Creek Canyon in 1924. The town of Oak City furnished the building materials and Callis Lyman contracted to construct and operate the large wooden dance floor and nearby confectionery, which also sold camping supplies. Living quarters for the summer concessionaire were built and consisted of a main room and screened porch. Water was piped from a nearby spring. Lyman and his wife kept busy from June to September making and dispensing ice cream, root beer, and other items for the large number of patrons who frequented the facilities during the summer seasons. The resort continued to operate into the mid-1930s, when it was torn down.<sup>83</sup>

Farmers and agriculture-related businesses in the county borrowed heavily during World War I to expand production and increase crop yields. But the agricultural economic bubble began to deflate during the national farmers' depression of the 1920s. Some farmers and businesses fell upon economic hard times. The Globe Grain Company, for example, failed to pay its county property taxes in 1926 and later years. Its financial problems in the 1920s were only the beginning of a more serious economic problem of the 1930s, the company forfeiting ownership in a tax-court decision later in the decade.<sup>84</sup>

Illustrative of the financial challenges many farmers faced during the economic difficulties of the 1920s were those of Isaac Reno

Vance. For a time his was one of the “little success stories” cited in a 1921 promotional broadside published by the Delta Commercial Club. He grossed nearly \$6,000 from 825 bushels of seed grown on seventy-five acres of land.<sup>85</sup> For several years thereafter he continued to have decent harvests and felt sufficiently confident about the future to purchase a new Model-T Ford from Hilton Brothers, initially paying about half the total cost of \$645. Just two months later he was forced to secure a \$500 crop loan, with the principal and interest due at the end of the growing season. Unfortunately, the crop blossoms were damaged and Vance was forced to cut his alfalfa for hay. With less income than expected and payments due for the balance of his auto purchase and crop loan, Vance tried to secure another loan from the Delta State Bank. It faced financial difficulties of its own, however, and refused him a loan. Just two months later, the bank closed its doors.

The year 1927 began with Vance observing that “the whole community is greatly depressed financially.” He was eventually successful in securing a small loan from the Oasis Bank to operate his farm, but a killing frost in late May signaled ominous prospects for the season’s crops. The “whole valley [was] extremely dry at [that] time,” he recalled. He was forced to rent fifty more water shares for \$225, yet even with the additional water he was limited to irrigating only once during the early summer season.

Vance and the other alfalfa-seed growers faced yet another problem—insects. His fields of hay and alfalfa seed and those of some neighbors were sprayed with calcium arsenic; however, the alfalfa-seed crop harvested just ahead of the frost garnered him only fifty-one sacks of seed, worth only \$600—far from sufficient to pay his pressing debts. Vance, faced with continued financial difficulties, went to Salt Lake City to find work but met with little success there.

The growing season of 1928 commenced in a manner similar to the previous year, dry. The Oasis State Bank, the only source of loans for Vance and others, closed its doors, leaving the farmers without any local financial institution to serve them. Vance recorded, “there is a terrible gloom over all in the county.” A week later, his family received even worse news. The mortgage holder on the farm had filed suit for foreclosure. Vance and his attorney tried to no avail to meet



the terms. Like many others who had worked hard for most of a decade, Vance and his family left the area for Salt Lake City with shattered dreams. The number of fully owned farms dropped by 180—from 768 farms in 1920 to 588 in 1935.<sup>86</sup> Many county farmers faced a similar fate of the grain company and I.R. Vance following the financial crash of Wall Street in October 1929.

#### ENDNOTES

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5. Rita Skousen Miller, *Sweet Journey: Biography of Nephi E. Miller: Father of Migratory Beekeeping* (Colton, CA: privately printed, 1994), 35–37; *Millard County Chronicle*, 20 July 1911; *Sun* (San Bernardino), 21 April 1912; Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States with Supplement for Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 616, and *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Bulletin, Agriculture: Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 16.
6. Miller, *Sweet Journey*, 35–37; *Millard County Chronicle*, 20 July 1911.
7. *Millard County Chronicle*, 11 September, 2, 9 October 1913, 8 January 1914; *Millard County Progress*, 14 March 1913.
8. *Millard County Chronicle*, 9 January, 9 February, 30 March 1911.
9. *Millard County Chronicle*, 3 April, 14 August, 6 November 1913. There were three J.W. Smiths in the area, including “Denver,” whose farm was northwest of Sutherland, “Poker,” located north of Bunkerville and near the reservoir, and “Whiskey,” also near the reservoir. The pioneer sugar beet grower was probably Whiskey Smith.
10. Scott Taggart, *West Millard County, Utah* (Delta Commercial Club), c. 1923), unpaginated; *Millard County Progress*, 18 June, 25 November 1915. At the time of construction of the Delta sugar factory, Utah was the second-largest producer of sugar beets in the nation and ranked first in tonnage yield per acre. Among the Southern Utah Sugar Beet Company officials were Delta promoter Frank L. Copening and regional mining tycoon Joseph R. DeLaMare. DeLaMare remained active in the company until his death in 1918.

11. *Millard County Progress*, 11 January 1918.
12. Taggart, *West Millard*.
13. *Millard County Chronicle*, 1 January 1914; *Millard County Progress*, 8, 22 October 1915.
14. *Millard County Chronicle*, 13 June 1957; Mary L. Henrie, communication to author, 1994.
15. *Millard County Progress*, 25 November 1915, 25 May, 14 September 1923.
16. *Millard County Progress*, 22 October 1922; John L. Peterson, interview with Lenore McCall 7 June 1987, Great Basin Museum; Ada T. Chambers to Lenore McCall, 6 September 1987, Great Basin Museum.
17. Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, *A Dependent Commonwealth: Utah's Economy from Statehood to the Great Depression* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 67.
18. *Millard County Progress*, 7 January 1917; Louise Bogh, interview, transcript at Great Basin Museum.
19. *Millard County Progress*, 10 April 1925.
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21. Stella H. Day and Sebrina C. Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 604.
22. *Fourteenth Census*, 86.
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29. *Millard County Progress*, 5 August, 1 September, 21 October 1921.
30. *Millard County Progress*, 1 September 1922, 30 November 1923.
31. *Millard County Progress*, 19 December 1926, 10 June 1927.
32. *Millard County Chronicle*, 11 April, 25 July 1912, 27 March 1913.

33. *Millard County Progress*, 23, 30 March, 4, 25, April 1917. The families of John Greathouse and John Nelson still reside on the land homesteaded.
34. Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 436.
35. *Millard County Progress*, 5, 12 August 1921.
36. *Millard County Progress*, 5, 12 August 1921; 27 January; 17, 24 February; 14 April; 5 May; 13 October 1922; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 May 1923.
37. *Millard County Progress*, 2 July, 1 October 1926.
38. *Millard County Chronicle*, 5 February 1959.
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40. *Millard County Chronicle*, 24 October 1918.
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42. Ruth Stephenson Bishop, scrapbook, copy in possession of author, and personal interviews with author in 1993.
43. *Millard County Progress*, 28 February 1913, 6 October 1916, 21 March 1919, 7 July 1922, 9 August 1929.
44. *Millard County Progress*, 11 November 1954.
45. *Thirteenth Census*, 584.
46. Roper, *Echoes of the Sage and Cedars*, 34–36; Day and Ekins, *Milestones of Millard*, 143; Reay, *Lambs in the Meadow*, 65–67.
47. State of Utah, *First Report of the State Bureau of Immigration, Labor, and Statistics, 1911–1912*, 310–11, Utah State Historical Society. For further discussion on the topic see Larry E. Nelson, “Utah Goes Dry,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (1973): 340–57, and Brent G. Thompson, “Standing Between Two Fires: Mormons and Prohibition, 1908–1917,” *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 35–52.
48. *Millard County Chronicle*, 12 January, 22 June, 6 July 1911.
49. *Millard County Chronicle*, 4 January 1912.
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55. Leo Lyman, "The Arrowhead Trails Highway: The Beginnings of Utah's Other Route to the Pacific Coast," *Utah Historical Quarterly* vol. 67, no. 3 (Summer 1999).

56. *Seventh Biennial Report of the State Road Commission, 1921–1922* (Salt Lake City: State of Utah, 1922), Table M, copy at the Utah State Historical Society. For the same biennium, the county bonded \$132,200 for road improvements; see Table Q.

57. *Millard County Progress*, 17 September 1917, 2 March 1928, 12 July, 11 October 1929.

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59. *Millard County Progress*, 12 March, 16 April, 21 May 1926.

60. I.R. Vance, Journal, 1926–28, LDS Church Archives; *Millard County Progress*, 7 May 1926, 4 February 1927.

61. *Millard County Chronicle*, 16 July 1964.

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66. State of Utah, *Eighth Report of the Bureau of Statistics, 1909–1910*, 112 and State of Utah, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah, 1920, Supplement*, 1, Utah State Historical Society.

67. *Millard County Progress*, 4 January 1929.

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69. *Millard County Progress*, 1 October 1926.

70. Wilson, born and raised in the Midwest, came to Fillmore in 1920 to teach shop. In 1924 he married Jane McBride before leaving to study law at the University of Utah and the University of Chicago. He returned to practice law and to become the publisher of the *Millard County Progress*. Jabe Wilson did most of the writing for the newspaper.

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72. *Millard County Progress*, 5 April 1918, 2 April 1920.

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74. *Millard County Progress*, 16 March 1923; Ruth Hansen, "History of Delta City Library," Great Basin Museum.

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82. *Millard County Progress*, 7, 21 May 1926. See also Lakeshore file, Great Basin Museum.
83. Florence Nielson Lyman, oral history, LDS Church Archives.
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## CHAPTER 8

# THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND NEW DEAL

The transitory prosperity in Millard County of the late 1920s proved to be a prelude to the Great Depression of the 1930s. Following the crash on Wall Street in October 1929, neither local, state, nor national governments or organizations were prepared for the economic and social challenges that followed. Millard County and the state out of necessity turned to the federal government for direction and assistance. Several local organizations such as the county's Lions Clubs also played important roles initiating and promoting local improvements.

Significant changes took place in agriculture. Farmers raised more livestock and less crops in the 1930s, and there were fewer farms in the county during the decade. The exodus of disappointed families from farms is one of the tragedies of the Great Depression. In Millard County, there was a population shift. Many smaller communities declined in population, while Fillmore, Delta, and Scipio increased. Overall, the population of the county during the 1930s declined by 332. However, this relatively small decline began a trend of continued population decline in the county that didn't change

until the 1970s. Despite the economic hardships, county residents continued to make improvements, adopting up-to-date conveniences when practical and possible.

Millard County was affected early and was hard hit by the financial crisis. It led all of the larger and more developed counties of the state in percentage of delinquent taxes in 1927, with 16.6 percent. The impact of the Depression can be traced through the collection of taxes as well. The percentage of taxes collected in 1925 was 85 percent; by 1933 the percentage had dropped to 61 percent. Slow recovery began in 1934 when the percentage of taxes collected reached 69 percent; it continued to climb, reaching 86 percent in 1937 and 1938. Some of the decline in taxes collected during the late 1920s and early 1930s reflected the removal of marginal agricultural land from production and eventually from the county's tax records. Foreclosures of farms occurred more frequently later in the Depression, with an especially a high number in 1936.<sup>1</sup>

To try to understand the financial crisis in rural Utah, the Utah State Agricultural Experiment Station at Logan undertook an extensive study of the economic conditions of the Delta area. The study commenced with the assumption that during the expansion of the area during World War I and extending into the 1920s, much unproductive land was brought under the plow, often beyond the limits of a consistent water supply. Beginning in 1925 and for the next dozen years, the county and the Sevier River watershed experienced a serious drought. The water supply for the years between 1925 and 1931 was sufficient for less than half the acreage being farmed in the Delta area.

The agricultural experiment station investigators concluded that the fabulously successful seed crops helped to drive land prices and corresponding property-tax assessments to a dangerously high level. The type of crops raised in the Delta area required extensive irrigation, and the lack of natural drainage caused a considerable portion of the area to become waterlogged and impregnated with alkali. To solve the drainage problem, farmers constructed a massive and costly drainage system, funded at a time of particularly high interest rates of bonds, the only means of financing it. Added to this financial burden was the high indebtedness many Delta area farmers carried as a

result of acquiring more and often marginal land, improving irrigation systems, normal operating costs, and the ever-changing seed market.<sup>2</sup>

West Millard County farmers were burdened with heavy taxes, more than double those of the average Utah farmer of irrigated land, primarily because of drainage district assessments. In 1929 the average tax assessment per family in west Millard was \$682, or \$9.27 per acre. The typical farmer's annual income was \$1,935. As a result of these high taxes, some landowners were forced to vacate their property.<sup>3</sup> The study further indicated that more than 103,600 acres had been developed since 1920. However, because of forfeiture and tax sales, only 42,000 acres (41 percent) were privately owned by the mid-1930s, while the remaining 59 percent was held by government agencies, particularly Millard County.<sup>4</sup> The loss of farmland occurred in spite of special state legislation that extended the time before ownership of tax-delinquent property was actually transferred. One county official reported 44 percent of Millard County residents were on relief at one point in early 1934, and resident Orville Jeffery later recalled seventy-five families moving in one month, probably in 1936.<sup>5</sup>

As the drainage bond problem mounted, general authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints urged farmers of west Millard to meet their burdensome financial commitments. Apostle Melvin J. Ballard at a stake quarterly conference encouraged all to honor their debts. At a mid-October special stake priesthood meeting local leaders invited suggestions "on good, workable, honest" solutions to the financial difficulties but urged the men to "stand by [their] pledge and save [their] honor among business men." The group resolved to show confidence in the promises made earlier by President Heber J. Grant and Ballard that there would be "storms in season" but that they would eventually have "the ability to pay creditors and redeem the land." Worsening conditions over the next half-dozen years, however, did little to bolster their faith in modern prophesy; yet many certainly remained obedient to their religious leaders.<sup>6</sup>

Predictably, the district drainage-indebtedness issue was taken to the courts. Judicial authorities, including both state and national



supreme courts, ruled in favor of the farmers: there was no “blanket lien liability” forcing remaining property owners to pay the entire cost levied against the district. A previous owner’s failure to meet the assessments, forcing the loss of property, essentially extinguished the liability for drainage assessments on the land when it was subsequently purchased by someone else. The courts also ruled that general county and school taxes took precedence over drainage taxes. These decisions, however controversial, virtually saved most of the farmers who survived the Depression to that point. But farmers’ future well-being would depend on considerable adjustments in the typical operation of their farms during the remaining Depression years.

As always, the availability of irrigation water remained critical to the success of west Millard County farmers. The amount available dropped significantly as the drought continued into the 1930s. The estimated total quantity of irrigation water delivered to Delta area farmers in 1924 was 165,000 acre-feet. However, the amount delivered in 1935 had dropped to 67,233 acre-feet, with predictable consequences. The number of acres cultivated in the Delta area dropped from a peak of 50,000 acres in 1924 to 43,614 in 1932 and continued downward to an estimated 35,000 three years later. Considerable land was abandoned in the South Tract area and around Oasis. Farms were also abandoned around Abraham and in an extensive area north of Sugarville.

By 1931 over 90 percent of west Millard land was planted to alfalfa. But where almost two-thirds of the alfalfa had been left for seed in 1929, only one-fourth of the acreage was so designated two years later. The seed yield was only about one-half as great as the average of the Uinta Basin and other seed-producing areas of the state. The Delta area yields for all crops during those years were markedly lower than the state averages.

The shift in the population of west Millard is reflected in LDS church membership records. These annual records enumerate 4,179 members in the area in 1926 along with an estimated 800 non-Mormons, for a total population of nearly 5,000 people. This was the highest population to reside in the area until the Intermountain Power Project boom more than fifty years later. In 1931 LDS church

records indicated a LDS population of 3,186. The decline of the non-Mormon population was even more dramatic, fewer than 300 remaining in 1932, down from an estimated 1,130 in 1919.<sup>7</sup>

With crop prices dropping, there was a shift towards expanding livestock operations, particularly cattle raising in the Delta area. The number of chickens, sheep, and hogs raised also increased considerably.<sup>8</sup> Among those who bolstered Millard County livestock production in a major way were Delta High School principal Willis Savage, agriculture teacher Dewane Jensen, and area Lions Club president Winn Walker. They developed the idea of organizing a junior livestock show. The first Millard County Junior Livestock Show was held on 19 April 1930; it is still an annual event, making it among the oldest of its kind in the West. The first promotional booklet stated the show's purpose of bringing together the best the community had to offer in stock as well as in future farmers.

After several successful stock shows, the 1933 prospectus candidly stated that area farmers had succeeded so often with alfalfa seed that they became almost exclusively dependent on it and associated hay crops. But, the announcement continued, "the realization now dawns upon farmers that they made the greatest mistake when they failed to sponsor the growth of the livestock industry, which is so well adapted to this country." Four years later, a similar article observed that "the livestock industry for Millard County will not be as spectacular as spasmodic good seed crops, but much more certain and in the long run the livestock man will be the richer and have the most around him." The livestock show and high school agriculture programs did much to generate interest and expertise in that aspect of the area's economy.<sup>9</sup>

The agricultural experiment station's study focused on general living conditions, based on a sample of "cooperative families" in west Millard County. The study determined that 70 percent of the citizens of Delta, Oasis, Deseret, and Hinckley had electricity. The residents of Sutherland, Abraham, and North Tract were still using kerosene for lighting and stove-top irons for ironing. Of the total area studied, only some 7 percent of the households enjoyed the use of electric refrigerators; slightly less than that relied on iceboxes. The remainder

of the households used evaporative coolers and cellars to keep food from spoiling.

In west Millard, 28 percent of the homes had running water, and, of those, 70 percent enjoyed hot water. About 20 percent of the homes had flush toilets and stationary bathtubs. Since most households had a water supply close by, 47 percent of the homes had sinks. Slightly more than 21 percent of homes possessed radios in 1930, a number that increased to 48 percent five years later. The corresponding figures for the state of 41 percent and 72.5 percent were higher because a greater proportion had electricity. The primary source of information in the county was the newspaper. At least 50 percent of the families of west Millard subscribed to daily newspapers—mostly the Salt Lake City newspapers—and 70 percent of the residents subscribed to magazines, with more than half taking three or more.<sup>10</sup>

The worsening of the national economic crisis after 1929 brought a change of political direction for the state and the nation. Despite Millard County voters preferring the Republican party, state and national election victories went to the Democratic party. Millard County voters in the 1932 general election cast their votes for Republican president Herbert Hoover, U.S. Senator and Republican Reed Smoot, and Republican candidate for governor W.W. Seegmiller. All three lost: to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Elbert D. Thomas, and Henry H. Blood, respectively. Less than a month after the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, avid Democrat R.L. Whicker boasted in the *Chronicle* of the initial success of the administration's New Deal, saying: "All America is proud of its new president, Franklin D. Roosevelt. We handed him one of the toughest jobs in history and how fearlessly, courageously and determinedly he tackled it!"<sup>11</sup> As Roosevelt's economic plan unfolded, it greatly aided to the economic recovery and development of Millard County.

In the initial year of the New Deal, a stop-gap program of employment was instituted to place up to a thousand area family heads then on relief in public-works jobs. Following federal and state guidelines, an organization of each municipality in Millard County would submit possible projects. County officials appointed a committee of men who held no other public office and were willing to serve without pay to approve and inspect all projects. The group

included Alonzo Beauregard of Fillmore, chairman, A.A. Kimball of Kanosh, Ray Bishop of Delta, Joseph L. Anderson of Oak City, and Marcus Skeem of Oasis. Working with the National Reemployment Service, these local citizens and others worked to implement the New Deal mandates to get Americans back to work.

The earliest work projects included the removal of dead trees from the Delta Elementary School grounds and the construction of a new culinary water pipeline from Dry Canyon to Oak City. Improvements in the county's roads were made during much of the early New Deal. In a two-year span, more than 125 miles of roads were graded and graveled. Money for road projects came from the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which put 375 county residents to work, paying out \$6,500 per week in wages.<sup>12</sup>

Some county residents had their own ideas about the nation's economic problems; among them was Frank A. Beckwith, editor of the *Chronicle*. Some of his offered solutions were tongue-in-cheek. He suggested that a brewery be built in Delta to utilize the good grain and water of the area; more importantly, a local brewery would satisfy a "large territory with a gaping thirst." He argued that even if most in the Delta area were inclined to continue prohibition of alcoholic beverages they were sufficiently close to "wet" Nevada to have plenty of potential customers.<sup>13</sup>

In some regions of the nation, the impetus for change came primarily from government leaders or newspapers, but in Millard County in the 1930s prime movers for significant change were members of the newly organized Lions Clubs on both sides of the county. The newly organized Delta area Lions Club included Dr. M.E. Bird, Will Killpack, Winn Walker, Dewey Sanford, June Black, Ward Moody, Homer Peterson, Golden Black, and John Day, and the Fillmore Lions Club was headed by Dr. Dean C. Evans, LaVoy Kimball, Golden P. Wright, and Vance Wilson. They provided a strong voice for change, new ideas, and civic development, as did other civic organizations later on. They did this mainly through promoting projects for which outside funding was available.

One of the first projects promoted by the Delta Lions Club was a Delta city park complex on the remainder of the block where the LDS Second Ward chapel had just been built. The Federal Emergency

Relief Administration (FERA) supported the plan, and, with local donations of money, work was promptly completed on a baseball field and an open-air dance floor enclosed with a picket fence. It was inaugurated with a well-attended community dance on 1 July 1933. Other items contemplated for the park were a swimming pool, tennis courts, a bandstand, and a recreational center. The last was the only one completed.<sup>14</sup>

The indoor center for a time was called the "big hall" and later the Palomar. The Delta recreational facility replaced the Marsoni Hall, which was destroyed by fire in March 1933. Insurance money from the destroyed Marsoni Hall, then owned by the local LDS stake, along with funds raised by the Lions Club, and other groups, made it possible to win support from the federal government to build the new center. The cost of the new building was \$22,000.<sup>15</sup> Three years after the center was completed, the LDS church purchased the city's interest in the building. The facility remained a community activity center, with dances and high school basketball games staged there regularly. There also was a full schedule of summer activities, including folk dancing, tumbling, table tennis, volleyball, and roller skating. The activities center was manned mainly by physical education teachers from the high school, with their wages paid by the federal government.

As the Works Progress Administration (WPA) became fully functional nationwide, west Millard communities submitted applications for community projects. One proposal was for \$40,000 worth of improvements to the county fair complex at Deseret. The proposed fair complex entrance was to be a concrete replica of the old mud fort's entrance. Neither this nor the swimming pool and exhibition hall were approved, but the complex did get horse stables, tennis courts, grandstands, a dance floor, and a race track at a cost approximating the original proposal.

In Hinckley the WPA installed new flagstone sidewalks, removed dangerous trees, and graded roads. The town also received assistance to replace the wooden floor of its open-air dance hall with a concrete floor. The local Boy Scouts of America and county commissioners jointly sponsored a project to erect a bathhouse facility at the hot springs northwest of Delta, just inside Juab County. A pool and

lounging facility complete with fireplaces was erected at a cost of \$4,000. Oak City received a grant for a recreational center including an open-air dance floor and a swimming pool.<sup>16</sup>

Education was a recipient of federal assistance. In 1936 each of the three county high schools received aid from the WPA to upgrade plumbing and heating systems. The Hinckley High School gymnasium was fully constructed under a Public Works Administration (PWA) program. When the Leamington school was destroyed by fire in 1936, \$20,000 from the WPA was used to rebuild it.

One of the most worthwhile New Deal programs was the school hot-lunch program. Interested women including Mrs. Hazel Gronning of Delta submitted a proposal to the WPA to put women to work preparing hot school lunches. When school commenced in the fall of 1934 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration supplied the county with two tons of meat. Voluntary efforts from the community at large added quantities of fruit, vegetables, and other commodities, much of it canned by the WPA. Mrs. Ethel Waters, one of the first employed in the school-lunch program, remained a faithful employee for several decades. Mrs. Elizabeth U. Stephensen, a longtime Delta teacher, also helped nurture the infant program. Inez Kelly of Oasis and other parents and staff at A.C. Nelson School between Deseret and Oasis also started a school-lunch program at the time.<sup>17</sup>

Delta probably benefited as much as any like-sized town from New Deal programs. A \$30,000 city sewer system was constructed along with curbs and gutters along the main business section of Clark Street. Street lights were installed and a considerable number of sidewalks constructed. The streets of Delta were graveled and, with the aid of the state road department and funds from the federal government, Clark Street was paved with asphalt. Three dozen metal culverts also were installed across irrigation ditches in Delta. The main headgate of the diversion dam and canal was rebuilt in 1936 as a PWA project. Three years later, the WPA provided the means to build a pumping station to pump water to the town's cemetery, eventually enabling grass and trees to be planted there.<sup>18</sup>

Late in the decade Delta was singled out in Ripley's "Believe It Or Not" as the only municipality in the nation to possess a sewer system

but no waterworks. At about the same time, Utah Board of Health inspectors reported that while there was nothing wrong with the water pumped from the individual wells the adjacent cisterns and storage tanks were inadequate. Delta was eventually successful in securing funds from the sale of revenue bonds backed by the federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation to construct a new culinary-water delivery system. The first of the high tower water tanks was erected in 1940. Eventually a new well was drilled to ensure a greater supply water for the growing community. Today, the water tank is still a major landmark of the area.<sup>19</sup>

The new town water system improved the culinary supply and was also a real benefit for the community in improved fire protection. Financially, losses from fire in the previous two decades were large, more than \$288,000. As a result, Delta businesses were forced to pay high insurance rates. Now, with a water storage and delivery system, Delta purchased a new fire wagon capable of pumping water at fifty pounds of pressure. Further, a volunteer fire department was organized and first led by Max Hanifin, Clayton Stapley, Golden and June Black—all employed near the city offices where the truck was housed. A fire siren was installed at the city offices.<sup>20</sup> As a result, fire insurance rates for the area were lowered.

In 1939, citizens from the west side of the county worked for a combined city and county office building to be located in Delta. The proposed building was to be constructed with bricks from a demolished sugar factory building and was to house a fire station, jail, and library. The community applied to the National Youth Administration for funds to hire the labor needed. East-side residents were opposed to the proposal, fearing that some county government meetings might then be centered at Delta in the new building. The *Progress* editor argued weakly that with bonded indebtedness still hanging over the existing county courthouse, it should be fully utilized, as it was perfectly adequate for all such purposes. Further, the improvement of county roads was making travel to Fillmore quicker and easier. The project became a casualty of the cutbacks in public works projects as prosperity returned to the nation. Early in 1942, the Delta town board decided to forego a new building and purchased the Killpack Garage on Third West. Remodeling began at once.<sup>21</sup>

In the early 1930s Delta had the beginnings of an airport. In 1936 it was moved east of the new highway to Lynndyl. Under federal government programs, additional land was secured and improvements made. Fences were installed, electrical and cement work done, and the beacon light moved from the old site farther west.<sup>22</sup>

One of the most popular and successful New Deal programs was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Its purpose was to take young men from economically depressed areas and put them to work primarily in the West on various conservation and reclamation projects. Organized along the lines of the military, the young men were offered the opportunity to complete their high school education and were also taught useful trades. Most of their monthly salary was sent home to their families.

In September 1934, one of six CCC camps eventually located in the county was established at Kanosh, manned by Companies 1979 and 3749. Other CCC camps in the county were at Antelope Springs, Garrison, Black Rock, Fillmore, and Deseret Range.<sup>23</sup> The first CCC boys at the Kanosh camp were mainly from Utah, which helped establish positive precedents of good community relations. This continued when a new group of corpsmen, mainly from Missouri, arrived in January 1936. The young men appreciated residing in such close proximity to town and the friendliness exhibited by the people of Kanosh.

Kanosh Canyon had long been a popular recreational area, particularly a wide tree-shaded spot six miles up Corn Creen where James M. Paxton and one of his wives, Adelaide, had once operated a dairy. In the fall of 1929, the United States Forest Service initiated what would be a longstanding tradition in the county of excellent cooperation with local citizens. Ranger James Jensen encouraged the Kanosh LDS Ward bishopric to help plan a recreational center there. Plans included a contest for a name. Mrs. Paxton's first name, Adelaide, was selected. In 1934 corpsmen took on the project, which included access bridges, a water fountain, amphitheater, and several buildings. Among their other projects were the construction of a Forest Service ranger station located at the town square and a road southeast across the mountains to Clear Creek.<sup>24</sup>

In the summer of 1934, a temporary CCC camp was established



at Oak Creek Canyon. There, in conjunction with Utah Fish and Game Commission officials, a fisherman's paradise was attempted with new pools and larger holes created and stocked with trout. Other CCC workers were engaged removing dead trees, building out-houses, improving trails, and clearing an open space and constructing a concrete amphitheater nearby. Later that summer, local citizens held a program to recognize the accomplishments of the CCC. Few places in the county were more appreciated for their coolness and scenic contrast to the prevailing desert, and the man-made improvements permanently enhanced these values.<sup>25</sup> At about the same time, similar though less-extensive work was done at Maple Grove, probably by Salina-based CCC men.

Other agencies proposed improving Chalk Creek Canyon, particularly Coples Cave, but this project was not completed at that time. Fillmore did receive a CCC project sponsored by the U.S. Forest Service to attempt to solve the periodic flash-flood problem on Chalk Creek, first experienced in 1896. A large concrete dam with a sixty-foot spillway created a thirty-five-foot-deep, ten-acre check reservoir and was constructed by the CCC on the creek just above Fillmore. In early 1936 there were a hundred CCC men at work pouring concrete and trying to finish the dam before the flood season. In June the project was completed along with a related irrigation ditch built by the Works Progress Administration. The project was dedicated with a celebration. Governor Henry Blood and other dignitaries who attended recognized the excellent cooperation of the federal agencies involved with local citizens and municipal government officials in such beneficial projects.<sup>26</sup>

The new dam received a severe test a month later during a week-long flood. Observers concluded that the project did a remarkable job of preventing serious damage in Fillmore, since the dam leveled off the peak thrust of the water. However, the first days of flooding essentially filled the reservoir with silt, and a second storm runoff poured water over the spillway that rushed into parts of Fillmore. A newly constructed diversion headgate built by the WPA and the city at a cost of \$30,000 was severely damaged and had to be moved downstream. Mayor J.A. Kelly later requested the Forest Service to raise the dam even higher. The next spring, a company of twenty CCC men

from the Salina camp moved into the vacant Kanosh barracks long enough to build an additional two feet on the top of the dam. This, however, did not prove to be a permanent solution to the persistent problem. Spring runoffs and cloudbursts simply raised the debris and silt level, virtually eliminating the reservoir's storage capacity.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to flooding problems, Fillmore also experienced contamination of its culinary water. In 1936 the state board of health issued a warning to the city. City fathers went to work and, with assistance from the Public Works Administration amounting to 45 percent of the project's total cost, laid metal pipe to replace the worn-out concrete water line. In addition, the WPA and the city repaired the old rock storage reservoir and added a new storage reservoir. A water line was laid to the city cemetery that enabled the planting of trees and shrubbery there.

The town of Meadow was settled on a vulnerable floodplain, with the first recorded flood of the community occurring in the 1880s. A major cause for the flooding of Meadow and Fillmore was the result of overgrazing of the steep watershed areas east of town. The flood of 1896 was the most destructive ever to hit the town, and there were other serious floods in 1934, 1938, and 1940. By the mid-1930s the U.S. Forest Service and other federal agencies began to implement stricter grazing regulations and closer supervision. Rejuvenated vegetation and improved grazing management of the watersheds eventually lessened soil erosion and severe flooding. Recent floods have seldom carried the debris characteristic of earlier floods.<sup>28</sup>

After a decade of serious economic depression, the accompanying and equally long drought began to subside in 1936. A year later, Deseret LDS Stake Clerk Herman Stucki concluded, "due to a marked increase in irrigation water for the season, all farming was more successful in the district than for a number of years . . . [and was] also evidenced in a very material increase in tithes."<sup>29</sup> With continued reliance on livestock, dairying, and poultry production, economic conditions continued to improve.

On the west side of the county, one of the most significant developments essential to economic resurgence was finding a solution to drainage problems. Favorable court decisions rendered in the 1930s

lifted the heavy financial burden from the drainage districts and farmers, forgiving the districts of much of the bonded indebtedness. In their struggle to solve the waterlogging problem, west-side farmers discovered that fields adjacent the open drainage ditches, which had been dug earlier to carry away the accumulated discharge from the closed tile drains, were generally more productive and better drained. Confidence thus grew in the open, deep drains as a means of alleviating the dual problems of excessive soil salinity and waterlogging.<sup>30</sup>

To fund the digging of open drainage ditches while avoiding the financial mistakes made earlier, farmers agreed collectively to assess themselves to raise the needed funds for the new drain-digging scheme. The drainage districts also agreed to sign for some bank loans. For the next twenty-five years, beginning in the late 1930s, open drainage ditches were dug in west Millard. This new system proved to be very effective in lowering the water table in many areas as well as significantly reducing the salt content of most fields. Ironically, the region thus returned to the first method of drainage used in 1911 before it developed the most elaborate and expensive drainage system ever undertaken in the state of Utah. By 1949 the area had spent \$6,512,075 on drains, which was two-thirds the total state expenditure for drainage to that time.<sup>31</sup>

Another challenge for west Millard farmers was the continuing conflict with other claimants to Sevier River irrigation water, which was particularly acute during periods of drought. In an attempt to resolve the problem, state engineer George A. Bacon conducted a careful study of irrigated lands and water flow of the Sevier River Basin between 1922 and 1925. A decade later, Utah District Court Judge LeRoy H. Cox, using what became known as "Bacon's Bible," issued a Sevier River water decree that adjudicated water rights for the entire Sevier River Basin. Cox's decree provided for a larger share of Sevier River water to west Millard County irrigators. Rather than putting the issue to rest, however, the decree invoked continued bitterness and criticism.<sup>32</sup>

East-side irrigators also had problems of not enough water. While the major streams running westward from the Pahvant Mountains averaged just over 50,000 acre-feet of water per year, along with up to 10,000 acre-feet draining toward Holden and a like

amount into the Round Valley, a significant portion of the runoff did not occur during the later months of the summer when crops most needed water. Each irrigation district was challenged with equitable water distribution to its shareholders, which was best provided by fair-minded watermasters backed by similarly motivated boards of directors. The irrigation companies remained frustrated with unsuccessful efforts to store water for the crucial late summer.

Some fish and game management improvements in the county were made during the 1930s as well. With the support of state senator Dan Stevens of Fillmore and the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah, the Utah Fish and Game Department became involved in waterfowl conservation at Clear Lake. Clear Lake ranch owner Dan Livingston was overextended financially when the stock market crashed. His ranch went into receivership, managed briefly by Sutherland resident Lafayette Morrison. In 1936 the Utah State Fish and Game Department acquired title to the spring-fed lake as well as 8,000 acres surrounding the lake for the purpose of creating a bird refuge. Several of the families living on the ranch property were compelled to relocate elsewhere; as a result, the small community of Clear Lake ceased to exist.<sup>33</sup>

With the aid of the CCC and the WPA extensive efforts were made to improve the wetlands at Clear Lake. In 1937 the Clear Lake wildlife sanctuary was dedicated. Chief legislative supporter Senator Stevens spoke at the dedication. *Progress* editor Vance Wilson, an avid duck hunter, predicted Clear Lake would be “the state’s finest future duck shooting grounds.” Two months later, reports were that hunting at Clear Lake was excellent.<sup>34</sup>

As was the case on the west side of the county, the civic clubs in the Fillmore area took an active role in developing plans to improve the county during the Depression. The Fillmore Lions Club, organized in August 1929, claimed some credit for getting the Chalk Creek erosion and flood-control project and supporting the Clear Lake wildlife refuge. The Lions Club and the American Legion pressed for improvement of the county fairgrounds at Fillmore. The Lions Club helped to raise needed money by holding a bathing-beauty review, a dance, and other events. With WPA assistance, improvements at the fairgrounds in Fillmore included fencing,

twenty-five new horse stalls, pens for sheep and hogs, and grandstands.<sup>35</sup>

For years many Millard County residents had an avid interest in horse racing. As early as 1913 horse races were part of the county fair, with annual open invitations to anyone to participate. Entries came from all parts of the state as well as from Wyoming and California. In 1940 horseman and newspaper editor Vance Wilson again urged that improvements be made on the race track. With assistance from the WPA, the track was widened, leveled and graded, and inside and outside rails constructed. With the fairgrounds at Deseret receiving similar improvements, the county had an unusual luxury of two refurbished fair facilities.<sup>36</sup>

Plans for a new Fillmore City Hall were formulated by members of the city council and Mayor John Kelly in late 1937. With the support of the town's Lions Club, a proposal was submitted to the WPA in March 1938. The agency agreed to provide \$13,000 worth of labor, while the city provided much of the building materials, including some that came from the old county courthouse when it was razed to make room for the new building. The citizens of Fillmore thus received the new city hall at a local cost of \$5,000. The structure included room for a library, and for a time the county board of education utilized space in the building.<sup>37</sup>

Another important addition to Fillmore City was a new Utah National Guard armory. Completed in May 1938, \$41,000 of the cost was met by WPA assistance, with \$7,000 from the state. The community raised \$9,000 in cash and materials to install a hardwood floor in the building. The armory served thereafter as a community dance hall and recreational center.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to CCC and WPA assistance, the National Youth Administration (NYA) helped to improve the public grounds, athletic fields, and library. The same agency helped build the Fillmore municipal airport, and the school district received over \$12,000 in NYA labor for landscaping at the high school in Fillmore. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided home canning assistance to the needy and employment for some of the women in the county. Flowell built a community hall at a cost of under \$13,400, and Kanosh improved its culinary-water system with funds

from the community of \$800 and \$1,200 from the federal government.<sup>39</sup>

Several east-side communities availed themselves of opportunities to build their own recreational facilities and other improvements. Scipio residents built a swimming pool and open-air pavilion in 1934 at a cost to them of nearly \$4,000, half donated in labor and materials and the PWA and other New Deal agencies providing the remainder. Holden citizens worked with several federal programs to purchase springs to improve their culinary water system. Using WPA funds, the community also built a municipal swimming pool. As was the case on the west side of the county, school physical education instructors including Taft Watts supervised federally funded recreational programs on the east side of the county.

A most significant contribution of the West Millard Lions Club was its promotion and advocacy of major highway links to the outside world. While members generally had favored Delta being on the transcontinental highway system eventually embodied locally as U.S. Highway 6/50, it was the road from Leamington to Nephi that began their success in such endeavors. There had been a road of sorts through that area since the 1860s, considerably improved in 1911 but not adequate for convenient automobile travel. In March 1933, club spokesmen approached the Nephi Kiwanis Club and Juab County commissioners with proposals to embark on the two-county project and secure state support and perhaps even federal funds. Volunteer labor built the concrete abutments for the bridge across the Sevier River and other initial improvements. By early summer the Millard and Juab county commissions had budgeted \$2,200 to purchase the rights of way and start preliminary surveys of the road. The road would cut sixteen miles off the distance between Delta and Salt Lake City and avoid steep grades through Eureka. By fall the counties doubled the amount they had initially appropriated and agreements were made to divide the labor between the two counties. However, without state funds, the highway project was delayed until after World War II.<sup>40</sup>

The establishment of the Eureka to Delta road as part of the national highway system probably undercut support for the Leamington to Nephi route, a favorite of the Associated Civic Clubs.

At an American Association of Highway Officials conference in Chicago in 1935, participants concluded that the newly designated Roosevelt Highway should follow U.S. Highway 50 from Greeley, Colorado, to Ely, Nevada, by way of Delta. The designation was opposed by the Utah State Automobile Club and the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, but Delta advocates allied with officials of Eureka and Nevada citizens secured the support of the Provo Chamber of Commerce and others. The opposition failed to deter the executive committee of the national highway association from supporting the designated route.<sup>41</sup>

Initially Delta businessmen held some apprehensions about the transcontinental highway route. They feared the new highway would follow the existing highway that entered town from the north, midway through the business district. Working with the state road commission, however, the highway's alignment was changed so that the highway followed Clark Street through Delta, entering town from the east. This plan entailed constructing a new highway from Cline, midway between Delta and Lynndyl. Work on the graveled road began in the summer of 1937. Work progressed on the highway from Eureka to Delta, which was placed on the federal highway system funding lists for early 1938. Four years later, after much lobbying by the Lions Club of Delta, most of the road was oiled, as was the road between Holden and Delta.<sup>42</sup>

With the altered highway route through Delta and the prospect of becoming an important point on a transcontinental highway, a new railroad crossing west of town was required. Again, the Lions Club was an early advocate for a viaduct overpass. Funded primarily by the WPA, the contract was let to a Springville road construction company that promised to use local workers. Work on the road project began in 1936. New access roads were simultaneously built on the west approaches. One road ran diagonally to the southwest to connect with the existing roads to Hinckley, Deseret, and Ely before reaching the Sevier River. The other road headed directly west from the overpass, turned north, and then intersected the old North Tract road. With assistance from federal funds, the old river bridge located two miles north and west of Delta was also improved.

While U.S. Highway 6 prospects for construction to Delta were

good, matters were different for the route from Delta to Nevada. Utah Road Commission Chairman W.D. Hammond assured anxious Nevadans that efforts would be made to improve the connection between the two states, and that the Utah extension would be placed on the federal aid system as soon as additional mileage was available. When pressed for a specific time, Hammond could not commit, but he did affirm that no other road in Utah held precedence over Highway 6. World War II soon interfered with further consideration of the highway, however.<sup>43</sup>

In 1938 a Tooele delegation came to Delta to seek support for a highway branching from the Eureka road to Tooele by way of Tintic Junction and Vernon. That road was already surfaced to St. John, with another section surveyed but not graded. This route would cut twenty-seven miles off the distance to Salt Lake City. Most Delta people were interested, and the state road commission was also enthusiastic about the proposal and proposed a possible extension of the road all the way to Panaca, Nevada. A road from Delta to Clear Lake utilizing a recently rebuilt river bridge at Deseret was already in progress, and Beaver County was constructing a road north toward Black Rock.

These projects may have raised hopes in Milford and beyond in having that town be an alternative to Delta in linking Utah with Nevada. There soon was considerable talk of a road from Black Rock or Milford west to Baker, Nevada, with less firm support for Delta by the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah. But as World War II loomed in Europe and United States officials expressed concern that the transcontinental highway system be completed as quickly as possible, the state road commission made its strongest assurances of favoring Delta as the point from which U.S. Highway 6 would head west. Pushing hard for this route was Dr. M.E. Bird. He served on several national road committees and traveled to Chicago at least once in the interest of this cause.<sup>44</sup>

A serious problem of the Great Depression was the continuing debt problem of the nation's farmers. Soon into Franklin D. Roosevelt's first administration, the Farm Credit Administration (FCA) and the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) were established with the financial backing of the federal government to



refinance farm and home mortgages at low interest rates. From its inception through October 1936 the HOLC made available to county homeowners \$121,350, primarily to those in danger of foreclosure; another \$11,800 was allocated for rent subsidies. The Federal Land Bank, which employed local men Roy Billings and former agriculture teacher Dewane Jensen, made loans to area farmers totaling \$126,700. Resettlement loans provided nearly \$9 million to assist landless farmers to obtain their own land. This was administered partly by former Delta school principal, postmaster, and mayor Clark Allred. These low interest loans substantially alleviated distress in west Millard County, although probably few families would now admit that their farms were procured through a Democratic-administration program.<sup>45</sup>

Not all residents of the county were happy with actions taken by the federal government during the 1930s. On occasion, a county newspaper labeled the WPA and other New Deal programs a “boondoggle.” After nine years of emergency programs, there were undoubtedly some faults and abuses; however, local criticism could have been more balanced with praise for the notable accomplishments made in the county.<sup>46</sup>

One of the New Deal programs was the brainchild of Utah Representative Don B. Colton. Thought of and drafted before Colton was defeated for Congress in 1932, Colton’s plan, known as the Taylor Grazing Act, was passed in 1934 to improve livestock range management and to bring order and protection to a part of the public domain much abused for many years. This was a great need in Millard County, particularly on the west desert, long overgrazed by sheep herds from outside the county.<sup>47</sup>

An important part of the grazing act was to establish local advisory boards to manage grazing allotments and set rules for grazing on public lands. In 1936 regional grazing director G.M. Kerr organized the advisory board for the west-central section of Utah, which included Millard County. An important figure in the early implementation of the Taylor Grazing Act in the county was local grazing director Dewey Sanford.

One of the important grazing regulations was for stockmen to possess sufficient private land to feed their herds for approximately

half the year when animals were not permitted on the public lands. Most ranchers with substantial numbers of cattle received range permits reasonably convenient to their bases of operation. Ranchers in the Deseret area dominated in the Cricket Mountains range, Abraham cattlemen ran cattle in the Swasey Mountain area, Sutherland and North Delta farmers often took permits on the desert north of those farmlands, with some Leamington and Lynndyl men utilizing areas nearby. Oak City livestock owners received continued access to the Canyon Range vicinity nearest them, with Scipio stockmen utilizing the opposite side of the same mountains, plus some in other directions from their town. The South Tract cattlemen received some grazing rights in the Clay Springs area; Holden men used nearby areas as well as sharing the Pahvant Mountain ranges with their counterparts from Fillmore, Meadow, and Kanosh.<sup>48</sup> At first there was some resentment towards outside interference in what had heretofore been a local matter; but, over the long term, the Taylor grazing scheme has turned out to be beneficial for local ranchers.

Shortly after passage of the Taylor Grazing Act in the summer of 1935, Camp DG 29 of the CCC was established at Antelope Springs. This camp of about 250 young men, most from the recruitment center at Fort Knox, Kentucky, was assigned to work primarily with officials of the newly established grazing service to improve the vast livestock range of the west desert of the county. Specific assignments were to build access roads and drift fences, improve livestock water supplies, and construct small retention reservoirs and catch basins to capture and store spring run-off for later use.

Many of the young men were poorly educated, and, as the regular work routine got underway, an educational endeavor was established to improve their reading and writing capabilities along with vocational skills and proper personal health habits. Camp officials appealed to neighboring communities to help relieve the routine, and both Hinckley and Delta High Schools responded with visiting programs. The next spring, the camp reciprocated with a minstrel show at the Delta First Ward Amusement Hall.

As elsewhere in the state, there developed some close and positive social relationships between young men from the Antelope Springs and other CCC camps and county girls. A number of local

young women married some of these men. County Sheriff Ed Phillips, for example, was a son of one of the marriages. Often the CCC camps organized baseball and basketball teams and sometimes participated in the various county sports leagues. Occasionally, however, there were unfortunate incidents between county residents and the CCC boys. One such incident occurred in December 1936 when a CCC man hit a local girl at a Delta dance, which resulted in a fight. One local youth received several stab wounds from a small pocket knife and three of the CCC boys were arrested. Camp officials pledged full cooperation in eliminating troublemakers from the camp and promoting better feelings locally. Temporarily shunned by the community, a six-piece band, the Cactus Cavaliers, was organized at the Antelope Springs camp which was greatly appreciated in the interim.<sup>49</sup>

As new camps were formed and new companies moved to the county, it took west Millard residents some time to again warm to the CCC strangers. Harry Rodabough recalled, "the townspeople were completely turned off" when his new contingent of CCC boys arrived from Tupelo, Mississippi, in 1937. Several of the more mature men took the responsibility to remedy some of the problems. First, they instituted cleanliness and table manners at the mess hall. They applied similar rules of behavior for those who rode in their trucks into town on Saturdays. Corpsmen had to present a good appearance when in town, and, if there was trouble, they had to answer to the self-appointed behavior committee, sometimes with boxing gloves. By the time the next basketball and softball schedules were made, the Antelope Springs camp was fully involved in the sports program and other aspects of the area's social life. The work done by the Civilian Conservation Corps in improving the livestock range and the access to it was much appreciated by cattlemen and sheepmen alike. Even more area residents have benefited from the work done to enhance outdoor recreational facilities in the area.<sup>50</sup>

Not all of the area projects proposed were approved. Fillmore City and the Lions Club probably made three different requests for a municipal swimming pool. The lack of a swimming pool was particularly galling to some, since Holden and Scipio each had one. The Lions Club organized a committee to work on plans for a commu-

nity hospital. This, too, had to wait for another time. Fillmore citizens, still far from being loyal to Telluride Power Company, voted for a \$30,000 bond by a margin of two to one to build their own municipal power plant with assistance from the PWA; but this plan also was rejected by the federal agency.<sup>51</sup>

Another project on which the area's citizens were in unanimous agreement with the Lions Club but which had no immediate solution was the improvement of fire protection. There had been an attempt to procure fire engines for each side of the county through a New Deal agency, but it did not materialize. In March 1940 the Fillmore Elementary School was destroyed in a spectacular fire started by a ten-year-old student. The fire was discovered when it was still in one room but, as the local newspaper reported, "without a single piece of good fire equipment [containing the fire] was hopeless." The culinary water supply had been improved and, perhaps learning from the loss of the church earlier, most volunteer efforts were concentrated on preventing the nearby junior high school from being engulfed. Volunteers continued to be the town's fire protection. Citizens who had lived so long without adequate fire-fighting equipment would certainly appreciate it when it became available, wrote the *Chronicle*.<sup>52</sup>

There were several private efforts in addition to local, state, and federal government programs to boost employment. The Lions Club contacted the heads of several liquor distilling firms about the possibility of establishing a manufacturing plant in the Fillmore area. The idea was that farmers would receive a good price for the easily grown rye and the distillery would provide jobs for dozens of the unemployed. The proposal did not go far. More successful was the effort of the county Farm Bureau to promote local dairying. Brooklawn Creamery acquired dairy plants in Beaver and Delta at that time. A third dairy plant was completed in Fillmore shortly after the end of World War II.<sup>53</sup>

One of the most important privately sponsored projects was that of the local Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP) to save the territorial capitol building and transform the building into a museum. Work had begun in 1921 when Maude Crane Melville, a local native but more recently of Salt Lake City, aided in the organization of a local

camp of the DUP. The national DUP and the local camp then enlisted the assistance of Fillmore church leaders and Mayor Edward Nelson to solicit support from the state legislature to appropriate \$10,000 for restoration work under the direction of the Board of State Parks Commissioners.

WPA assistance was provided for the project and work began in earnest. A new copper roof replaced the worn-out wooden shingle roof, and repair of plaster walls and ceilings, painting, and electrical work were accomplished. Collecting and arranging the historical artifacts took longer. Governor George Dern was invited to dedicate the renovated building on 24 July 1939. More than 10,000 people attended the dedication. The facility was officially placed under the custodial care of the DUP at the time of dedication. Over the years, the old State House has become a popular attraction.

An impressive number of county men and former residents made their mark in various endeavors in the 1930s and 1940s. Culbert L. Olson, whose parents were prominent Millard County musicians, was elected governor of California in 1938 and served until 1942. Arnold Williams, who moved from Fillmore as a young man to Rexburg, Idaho, was elected Lieutenant Governor of that state in 1945 and shortly thereafter became governor. Grover Giles, a local attorney, popular singer, and actor, was appointed assistant Utah Attorney General and was elected Utah Attorney General in 1944. Four years later, Giles ran for governor but failed to receive the Democratic party nomination.

Native son William H. King was elected to four terms (1916–1940) as a United States Senator from Utah.<sup>54</sup> George M. Hanson, a former Fillmore school teacher, had an extensive career in the United States diplomatic corps. Robert H. Hinckley was Assistant Secretary of Commerce during Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration and served as an advisor to the Marshall Plan following World War II. Dr. Benjamin W. Black was appointed medical director of the U.S. Veteran's Bureau in the late 1920s and served in other high administrative capacities in the federal government for the next three decades.

Native son Nathaniel Baldwin, born in 1878, made several significant contributions to the infant electronics field. Educated at

Brigham Young University, where he later taught, Baldwin developed a wireless radio headphone and loudspeaker system that was used by the military. Baldwin later established a manufacturing plant in the Salt Lake Valley where he employed a group of friends, many of whom were fellow believers of his brand of Mormon fundamentalism.<sup>55</sup>

Donald Beauregard was born in Fillmore in 1884 and began painting as a small child. After studying at the University of Utah, Beauregard went to Paris, France, in 1906 to study at the Julian Academy, where he won a first prize. His award-winning painting reportedly still hangs in the academy salon. Beauregard returned to Utah, where, after a short teaching career in Ogden, he was commissioned to paint a series of murals in Santa Fe depicting the life of St. Francis of Assisi. He did extensive research in Europe in preparation for his task. There he became ill but, determined to finish the assignment, he returned and worked diligently. The murals had to be completed by other artists after Beauregard's untimely death in 1914 at the age of twenty-nine. His work has occasionally been displayed in Millard County, where art connoisseurs are justly proud of their native son.

Unemployment helped renew interest in prospecting and mining in the county and just across the Juab County line in the old Detroit (now Drum Mountain) Mining District. Reports were circulated of renewed success at the old Ibex Mine. As the Depression worsened, precious metal prices increased and mining operations were resumed at the old Charmed Mine and Ibex Mine, with the former netting over fifty dollars per ton on some shipments and the latter shipping fifty-three carloads of gold ore in 1935. There were also other good gold prospects near the Joy Mine Antelope Springs. The Utah Mine at Fish Springs still made regular shipments of ore, keeping ten teams of horse and wagons busy transporting ore to the railroad at Oasis. There were also reports of and good placer gold mining at Miller Canyon and at Amasa Valley in the Notch Peak area.<sup>56</sup>

To process low-grade ore from the Drum Mountain Mining District, a cyanide mill was built at the King Tut Mine utilizing water piped a mile from the old Busby Spring. The mill proved unsuccess-

ful and the ore from the district was trucked mainly to dumps at the old Sugarville railroad spur.

A respite from the economic troubles of the county came from educational and athletic accomplishments. With the combination of good athletic talent and an excellent coach, the Hinckley High School basketball team took the state championship in its division. The Vernon Love-coached team breezed into the finals, and the score in the championship game against American Fork was 28 to 21 for the Mustangs. So many Hinckley residents were crowded into the old Deseret Gymnasium that a Salt Lake City sportswriter quipped that there were hardly enough folks left at home to milk all the cows. Parnell Peterson was named to the all-state team, with all of the remaining starters—Wayne Slaughter, Fred Reeve, Warren Stratton and Glade Wright—making the all-tournament teams.

Millard High School's athletic program began in 1926 when Eddie Kimball, former BYU team captain, was hired to coach football. The program matured under coach Dunn Taylor and others. In 1937, the Eagles defeated Delta 38 to 6 to win the regional championship. The *Progress* considered it the "major sports event ever held in Fillmore."<sup>57</sup> The basketball rivalry among the county teams was always fierce but fair.

Paul Snow won the Brigham Young University all-around track competition in 1936. Frank S. Beckwith had won a similar series of events in 1923, then representing East High School, with Delta's Henry Forester as runner-up. Snow later starred in several sports at the University of Utah and went on to play professional football for the Philadelphia Eagles. Floyd Spendlove was equally prominent in football at Utah, although the coming of the Second World War probably thwarted any possibility he had for a professional career. Iloff Jeffery, who happened to be blind, was a state intercollegiate wrestling champion at Brigham Young University prior to commencing a successful career as a chiropractor.

Ren Taylor, Frank Lyman, and Jay "Cotton" Tolman were among many who had good collegiate sports careers. Tolman coached football at Delta High in 1938 when the football team was the first from central Utah to win the state championship. Halfback Tex Mosley and

tackle Wendell Moulton were Consensus all-staters that year. Ironically, the Millard High Eagles were the state high school champs in wrestling in 1939. Millard and Delta high school teams eventually built dynasties in the opposite sports in later years.

Numerous athletes from all area schools were honored over the years for their skills and accomplishments. Millard County produced several good boxers in the late 1920s and 1930s, including Mack Payne, among others.

Millard County students excelled in other areas as well. Millard High senior Carol Partridge was acclaimed world high school typing champion in 1936 after entering a contest conducted by Blue Ridge College of New Windsor, Maryland. She typed seventy-four words per minute with no errors. The school agriculture programs were doing particularly well under the guidance of Sam Gordon.

From its inception, the Delta High School music program was outstanding. Teacher L.S. Dorius devoted a great deal of time over a period of twenty-two years with outstanding success. In 1929 Dorius, with assistance from the American Legion Ladies Auxiliary, organized the Delta Drum and Bugle Corps, a group of high school girls, the first of its kind in the state. During the Depression, Dorius proposed to Principal Willis Savage an evening of events including a free band concert and dance. Out of this sprang the long-popular Parents' Day. In 1936 a special train carrying President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his staff stopped at Lynndyl, and by special arrangement the band and drum and bugle corps performed and received compliments from the president.

The Great Depression forever changed life in the county. It nudged the trend begun in the late 1920s of fewer but larger farms. Delta, Fillmore, and several other towns grew in size. Many people of the county received assistance in various forms from the federal government, and many educational, cultural, transportation, and conservation improvements were made in the county that enhanced the lives of all county residents.

#### ENDNOTES

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5. *Millard County Chronicle*, 11 April 1935, 2 January 1936; Orville Jeffery, interview with Marie Gemperline, undated, transcript in Great Basin Museum.

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47. Albert C.T. Anterei, ed., *The Other Forty-niners: A Topical History of Sanpete County, Utah, 1849–1983* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1982), 193–232, documents the devastation of the Sanpete County summer ranges by sheepmen seemingly oblivious to long-term environmental impact. Their depredations on the even more fragile, less-resilient western ranges in Millard and neighboring counties has never been properly documented, but the result can be seen by anyone traveling through that region.

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49. *Millard County Chronicle*, 10, 17, December 1936, 25 February, 1, 15 July 1937.

50. Harry Rodabough, file; Robert Barber, file; Wallis A. Weaver, file; all at Great Basin Museum.

51. *Millard County Progress*, 3 July 1936, 30 April 1937, 26 August, 9, 23 September 1938, 22 December 1939.

52. *Millard County Chronicle*, 15 October 1937, 22 March 1940, 10 June 1942.

53. *Millard County Chronicle*, 30 April 1937.

54. *Millard County Progress*, 25 August 1939. See Laurence M. Hauptman, “Utah Anti-Imperialist: Senator William H. King and Haiti, 1921–34,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1973): 116–27. William H. King’s son, David S., also served in Congress with distinction, from 1958 to 1962 and from 1964 to 1966. David S. King served as U.S. ambassador to the Malagasy Republic and to Mauritius, served on the World Bank for two years, and from 1986 to 1989 was an LDS mission president.

55. Merrill Singer, “Nathaniel Baldwin, Utah Inventor and Patron of the Fundamentalist Movement,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 42–53.

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## CHAPTER 9

# WORLD WAR II AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE 1950S

Millard County is more than 5,500 miles from Japan and more than 6,500 miles from Germany; yet, before victory was won in World War II, the blood of the county's young men stained the earth in both theaters of war, and Millard County became the temporary home of several thousand Japanese-Americans. Further, as the clouds of war thickened, the United States became an arsenal against tyranny, and Millard County played a part, providing food, fiber, and human resources.

A substantial number of Millard County men had completed basic military training during the tense pre-war period. Rondo Law, for instance, entered the Navy flying corps in 1938. A year later he was on the aircraft carrier *Yorktown*. Just months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, however, Law was killed in an airplane accident. As his Delta friend and fellow Navy flyer Ladd Gardner stated at his funeral, Law was proud of his part "in a pioneering field."<sup>1</sup> More than a dozen county men followed Gardner's and Law's examples, becoming Navy pilots.

As early as March 1939, state and local military leaders of the

Utah National Guard were issuing a call to arms. By the fall of 1940 over a thousand young men from fourteen towns had complied with this call and registered with local draft boards. Some who were in the military reserve, including Dr. Ralph W. Freeman and Millard High School principal Golden P. Wright, were called to active duty. Early in 1941, fifty-six members of the county's national guard unit, Antitank Battery, 2nd Battalion, 222nd Field Artillery, were inducted into the army, receiving a lavish local sendoff as they embarked for Camp Roberts, California. Many served for more than four years. At the time the battery was made part of the regular army, it was commanded by Captain George P. Huntsman.<sup>2</sup> Amazingly, the only loss of life among this group, Reed Warner, was not in combat but from surgery in Hawaii. As many as three dozen of the men remained essentially together through campaigns in New Guinea and the Philippine theater of the war, with more than a dozen returning home together in 1945.

One of the group, Freeman Rowley, demonstrated heroism by running an enemy mortar gauntlet for nearly a month driving a tractor loaded with supplies and ammunition for a unit endeavoring to take a hill in the Philippines. For this he was awarded a Bronze Star. Grant Seeley transferred into the Army Air Corps and flew British-based bombers in raids over Europe. On one occasion, his plane was damaged and was forced to drop out of formation. It was promptly attacked by enemy aircraft, and the pilot and crew shot down two of these planes. Seeley won the Distinguished Flying Cross for his efforts.<sup>3</sup>

Two Sutherland sailors, Theodore Que Jensen and Lowell Edwards, were stationed at Pearl Harbor at the time of the Japanese attack on 7 December 1941. Jensen was among those killed, while Edwards survived to see more than three years of duty in the Pacific. Several Millard County men became prisoners of the Japanese early in the war. Marine Ray Church was captured on Guam in March 1941. He was incarcerated and demonstrated recognized heroism helping maintain the morale of his fellow prisoners for most of the war.<sup>4</sup>

James L. and Harry B. Greenleaf, adopted sons of Clyde and Mabel Overson of Leamington, were both captured in the Philippine

Islands in December 1942. They both survived the horrible Bataan death march, but James died soon after being released from prison. Captain John R. Terry, formerly of Hinckley, died on the same march. Terry served on General Jonathan Wainwright's staff and played an important role in defending the American position on the Bataan Peninsula before it was overrun. Ward Starley was also stationed in the Philippines but managed to escape to Australia.

Nathan Roundy and Vincent Blackburn of Oasis were seasoned marines prior to United States entrance into the war. Roundy had just recovered from a broken leg prior to his medical examination and to prove he was fit to enlist, he jumped up and down on his recently healed leg for an hour. The recruiters were convinced. Roundy later was awarded a Bronze Star for heroism before being killed at Iwo Jima in February 1945. Blackburn was also killed, along with other Millard marines Lt. Bryant L. Larson and Myron Lane Abbott, who also saw action at Guadalcanal, Tarowa, and Saipan prior to being killed.

One of the most unusual aspects of the war was the number of county men who qualified as pilots. There were at least eighty who possessed the requisite interest, education, and skills to complete the demanding and dangerous flight-training programs. There were also a great many county men serving as bombardiers, navigators, and gunners. Almost half of the Delta High School state championship football team members became pilots.

Hugh Rawlin Roper provided an example of the heroism some county men demonstrated. Roper participated in high school sports and went on to graduate from Brigham Young University. He taught school at Callao and Carbon County, Utah, before enlisting in the Army Air Corps in April 1941. After pilot training in California, Roper was selected for special advanced training at Reno, Nevada. There he met Abbie West, whom he married in February 1942. Roper was sent to England with the first American B-24 bomber group assigned there. On one bombing mission, his crew was credited with shooting down one and possibly two German fighter-bombers. At the end of the year, Roper, affectionately called "old Hug," was chosen to fly Hollywood comedienne Martha Raye on some of her visits to troops. Roper made numerous bombing raids over French, Belgian,

Dutch, and German targets. He was promoted to captain and a photograph of him and some comrades was published on the cover of *Life* magazine. He later flew missions in North Africa and led bombing runs over Italy.

Roper's most dangerous assignment was a 2,500-mile bombing mission over Ploesti, Romania, the largest petroleum center in Europe. Allied casualties were high. Near his assigned target, Roper's aircraft was hit by German anti-aircraft fire, disabling part of the plane's steering. Roper and his crew managed to fly over their target and drop their bombs and with other aircraft then struggled to return to their home base. Because of his experience, he aided the less-experienced pilots homeward. One of the bombers clipped Roper's plane, causing it to crash into the mountains of Bulgaria. For his heroic efforts, Roper was awarded the Silver Star posthumously. His citation read in part,

despite the hazards and length of the [Ploesti] mission, his unflinching courage and determination enabled him to keep on the target area, and to forge on through a tremendous anti-aircraft barrage to the target designated. The valor of Capt. Roper was an inspiration to all combat personnel . . . and reflects great honor on both himself and on the military service.<sup>5</sup>

Several other county men who were members of flight crews also lost their lives: co-pilots Guy Schurtz and Joe Tippets were killed by anti-aircraft fire during bombing raids over Germany, as was Max Theobald. Several bomber crewmen survived crashes, others parachuted behind enemy lines and were captured; among them were Ward Petersen and Arlo Skeem. DeMur S. Edwards was shot after a month of imprisonment.

Of special note were two carrier-based Navy pilots, Roger Walker and Grant Harris, both of whom damaged Japanese warships and were credited with other hits. James L. Knight, a marine fighter pilot, had similar accomplishments. Richard Peterson and Boyd Hilton each received the Distinguished Flying Cross. Hilton was later killed in postwar duty as a Thunderjet pilot. For west Millard pilots, the most dangerous obstacle was flight training. An appalling nine student pilots from the area were killed during their flight training.



While the east-side flyers mainly avoided fatalities in flight school, there was one such tragedy. Clayton Huntsman, who was not yet twenty years old, died at Camp Lee, Virginia, when his trainer plane lost power. Instead of bailing out, he maneuvered his crippled aircraft away from the crowded barracks and parade grounds, saving others but losing his own life. The War Department later recognized this heroism by naming a base road after him.<sup>6</sup>

Grant T. Callister received his private pilot's license while still in high school and then joined the Army Air Corps. After additional training he received a commission and was assigned to the British Royal Air Force in Southeast Asia. There, as a member of air transport command, he flew missions "over the hump" of the Himalayas in an effort to maintain an Allied lifeline to China. Many of the missions were flown at night, often in treacherous weather under enemy attacks. For this hazardous duty Callister earned the Distinguished Flying Cross. Theo Brunson and John S. Fennimore also flew in the China theater.

A number of east-side flyers were assigned to the west Pacific theater. Wayne A. Walton was killed over his island target. Fighter pilot Lt. James Whitaker completed seventy-five combat missions in the south Pacific. As a patrol plane commander in the Aleutian Islands, William T. Sorensen once received over one hundred bullet hits on his aircraft and still returned safely to his base. Sorensen was awarded the Navy Cross, the second-highest of all such honors from that branch of the service. As a member of the Army Air Corps, Mac S. Groesbeck carried out night bombing raids in the Solomon Islands.

A considerable number also saw action over Europe. Dwain D. Gull flew some sixty bombing missions, receiving the Distinguished Flying Cross; Grant Seeley, Robert R. Whitaker, and Arlo H. Stewart earned the same award. Stewart's brother Wayne was also decorated for his flying skill before being killed when his aircraft was hit on his twenty-fifth and final mission over Germany in November 1944. Dean Hinckley was also killed flying over Germany. Monte V. Beckstrand earned combat decorations as a pilot of a bomber based in North Africa.

Millard men participated in the invasions of Sicily and Italy in July 1943. These were costly for the soldiers from the county, for

those who earlier had worked in the county as members of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and for young Japanese-American men from the Topaz Relocation Camp. Civilian Conservation Corps veteran Harry Rodabough later lamented that at least four of his former close friends from the Antelope Springs camp—Nevell Beach, Hollis Berryhill, Russell MaLoy, and Fat Holland—were killed at the Anzio beachhead. Garn Paxton, Harold Rogerson, and John Robison suffered combat wounds in the Italian sector.

Fifteen Nisei soldiers from Topaz were killed serving their country in the Italian and southern French theater of war. Many, like Sgt. Frank Harano, were part of the famous 442nd Infantry Division, the most-decorated unit in the war. Topaz soldier Kiyoshi Yoshii lost both hands, and Thomas Takao was awarded the Silver Star for his valor.

When the Allied forces landed on the Normandy beaches on 6 June 1944, Millard County men were there. Elzo Higgins, Glen R. Stephenson, Bill Simpson, and John A. Adams who was seriously wounded during the first days of combat. As the Allied forces moved eastward across western Europe, many of the county's finest distinguished themselves in the fighting. Among them were Bill Simpson, Anthony Callister, Glen Losee, and Alvin Warnick. Stephenson, an ammunition carrier, earned a Bronze Star for his heroic efforts to resupply a rifle company during a particularly dangerous assault. Wallace Robinson and Ferrell Johnson were killed in action in France towards the end of 1944. Forrest Davies met death by sniper fire while heroically covering the withdrawal of others. He was recognized posthumously with a Bronze Star. Robert V. Champion was killed in action in Belgium.

During the German counter-offensive known as the Battle of the Bulge, Frank W. Bishop was caught behind the advancing German front. He hid by day and dug frozen turnips for sustenance at night until Americans regained the area. Joseph Beckstrand and Vaughan Allen were not as fortunate—they were captured by the Germans during the same battle and were not liberated until the end of the war. Dwight Rappleye was with Gen. George Patton's 3rd Army in Holland when he was taken prisoner by the Germans.

William Penny volunteered for dangerous duty sending intelligence on enemy positions. His own position became encircled by

German soldiers and he was captured. During his confinement he lost forty pounds. He eventually was liberated by Patton's forces. Prior to his liberation his parents had received his Silver Star for valor.

Those who performed acts of heroism included Floyd N. Robison. On one occasion he made himself and his armored vehicle a visible target for hostile gunfire so that enemy gun emplacements could be targeted and destroyed. This earned him a Bronze Star. During the waning days of the war, artillery officer Richard Monson was awarded a Silver Star for gallantry and Arthur T. Halsey won a Bronze Star for "exceptional conduct." Others involved in heavy fighting during the final weeks of the war included Robert Bennett, Bill Iverson, LeGrande Davies, Evan Dobson, and Ursel Hofhines. Jerry Milgate, Harold Whatcott, Dean C. Bushnell, Clifford Halsey, and Jack L. Peterson were wounded and Richard W. Hansen lost his life.

Some of the most heroic local men were in the Army Medical Corps or acted to rescue their comrades. Samuel Abbott was in combat in France in the fall of 1944. He offered aid to wounded comrades, many of whom he saved while exposing himself to constant enemy fire, but he lost his life while thus engaged. Frank H. Yano of Topaz did heroic work while with General Mark Clark's army in Italy. He drove a jeep to the front lines and while under heavy shelling evacuated the seriously wounded. Dr. Stanford W. Fennimore was decorated for his "meritorious service" with a hospital unit in France.

Halfway around the world, Grant Brunson also carried wounded buddies from the battle front in the south Pacific. Phil Eliason was a medic during the retaking of the Philippines, and he also faced enemy fire while rescuing the wounded. Larry Herrera, who had worked in Kanosh before the war, helped save many soldiers in connection with field hospitals in China. All of the above received Bronze Stars for their valor.

J. LaMar Bushnell risked his own life rescuing a fallen soldier. For this he received a Silver Star posthumously. He was captured and killed in a strafing attack while being marched to a prison camp. Cole R. Cutler was yet another soldier from the county who distinguished himself for bravery. He, too, received the Silver Star. Dr. Duane

Callister was killed in action in Belgium while serving in the medical detachment of a tank battalion.

Among the cream of Millard youth lost in the conflict were 1943–44 Delta High School student body president Dean Nielson of Lynndyl and vice-president Phil Finlinson of Oak City. Finlinson opted not to finish his senior year of high school and joined the Marine Corps. He was killed at Iwo Jima in February 1945. Nielson was part of an Army replacement division sent into the most costly battle for the United States in the entire war, Okinawa, where he lost his life on 20 May 1945. J. Grant Snow was lost in a submarine mishap.

Most of the original national guardsmen from east Millard served in the Pacific. Some, like Freeman Rowley, distinguished themselves with valor beyond the call of duty. Major John Denson was recognized for his leadership in the Philippines; Golden Brunson and Verl T. Stewart were wounded there. West Point graduate Major Garth Stevens, a commander of a tank unit, was later decorated with a Bronze Star. Others who demonstrated valor included Melvin Church, Keith Willden, and Sheldon Quarnberg.

Marines Nathan Roundy, John G. Folsom, and Phil Finlinson died in the bitter fighting on Iwo Jima, as did Wilford Whatcott. Donald Day, one of a dozen of his extended family who served in the navy, lost his life after abandoning a burning aircraft carrier near Iwo Jima. Other county marines saw extensive action in the Pacific. They included Oral Black, Melvin Ivie, Carl M. Johnson, Bob Wallace, Bill Bishop, and Lt. Maurice Briggs, who lost an arm.

Melvin Duncan and Grant Davis were recognized for heroism. Other county men who fought on Okinawa included Wells Hatton, Grant Kesler, Marion Rappleye, Clyde Brunson, and Guy Brunson. Scott George was wounded on a navy destroyer nearby. Navy officer Max Eliason, after citations for his role in the Normandy invasion, was involved in landings at both Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Fellow Deseret sailor Charles Crafts was also in the Okinawa fight.

One of the most demanding assignments of any of the Millard men in the war was that of F.J. Duncan, who had been sent to China and became involved in intelligence-gathering operations in the Japanese-held area. Assisted by their Chinese counterparts, Duncan

and other Americans became adept at disguising themselves as natives and were able to consistently slip through enemy lines without being detected.

In addition to the thousand Millard County men inducted and trained, there were at least a dozen women directly involved in the war, most of whom were engaged in nursing. A similar number of men were in the merchant marine, some of whom had physical problems which prevented military service but still wanted to assist in the war effort. At least fifty-two county men lost their lives fighting in World War II, and at least four others died of war-related causes: Vard Bennett, James L. Greenleaf, Eldula Wixom, and Grant Roberts. There were many others injured, some impaired for life, along with uncounted emotional scars.

Yet, on the positive side, a great many of these young people had their horizons raised, becoming aware of their outstanding capabilities in endeavors to which they never previously had been exposed. Following the war, many county war veterans took advantage of the GI Bill of Rights and received further education. Others expanded upon their military skills in the workplace. A few examples include Richard Monson, decorated for valor in Germany, who later received a Fullbright Fellowship to study in France and still later was head of the U.S. Information Agency in Paris. Brothers Boyd and Glen Allred parlayed their military flight training and experience into careers as pilots with Transworld Airlines. Max Eliason, a decorated veteran in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, became a superior court judge in California. The war and subsequent opportunities in civilian life led many county men to establish their lives elsewhere. Only about a quarter of the total number who were away for an extended time returned to Millard County to establish permanent homes. The largest decline in population occurred in the 1950s when the county experienced a 16 percent decline, from 9,387 to 7,866.

On the home front, Millard County farmers were hard-pressed to maintain production with fewer farm workers. However, with improved labor-saving devices, improved seed varieties and livestock breeds, and other agricultural advances, county farmers and ranchers produced more food during the war than ever before. Women and younger children also spent more time working on the farms and

ranches. During the war the number of acres farmed increased from 287,000 in 1940 to more than 458,000 in 1945. The average size of farms increased as well—from nearly 300 acres to about 450 acres during the same five-year period. This included considerable dry-farm land. Cattle and calves on county farms and ranches increased from 20,600 in 1940 to some 39,200 in 1945.<sup>7</sup> The county's production increase was greatly aided by increased precipitation after nearly a decade of serious drought.

County residents were involved in the war effort in other ways. Bond drives were instituted to help fund the war, and the county was generally successful in meeting its war-bond quotas. The local Red Cross was particularly active during the war. "Gold Star" families who had lost loved ones were honored, with nine such mothers still meeting three decades later on the east side. Wives of military men organized groups for common support and companionship. A chapter of the Minute Women organization was organized in the county headed by Lois Peel Smith and Francis Garmley on the east side of the county and Mrs. Sherman Little on the west side. The Minute Women organized drives to collect scrap iron, steel, rubber, tin, paper, rags, old clothing, silk and nylon hosiery, and household fats. Minute Women town leaders were Mrs. Leah Wood of Fillmore, Mrs. James Memmott of Scipio, Mrs. Lottie Kimball of Kanosh, Mrs. Amy Adams of Meadow, Mrs. Vilate Maxfield of Desert, Mrs. George D. Shipley of Oak City, Mrs. Wallace Allen of Lynndyl, Mrs. Charles Williams of Leamington, Mrs. Norman Erickson of Delta, Mrs. Cora Larson of Sutherland, Mrs. Chloe Hilton of Hinckley, and Mrs. Marcus Skeem of Oasis.<sup>8</sup>

One aspect of the war, the secret Manhattan Project which developed the atomic bomb, might have altered Millard County in a drastic way. Just as physicist Robert Oppenheimer's team of scientists was being assembled, officials were quietly seeking a relatively isolated location in the American West for a laboratory facility. The location required good transportation, a reasonably moderate climate for year-round construction, and an adequate pool of labor. Identification of such a place was the assignment of Major John H. Dudley, who scoured the region by rail, auto, jeep, and even horse. In the summer or early fall of 1942 he found what he considered "the

perfect place”; Oak City, Utah, “a delightful little oasis in south central Utah.” However, it was concluded that too many families would have to be moved and some farmland withdrawn from production, which could not be done without arousing undue attention and controversy. Thus Dudley moved to his second choice of locations in New Mexico. Los Alamos was eventually selected and the requisite facility constructed.<sup>9</sup>

With the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor and the outbreak of the Second World War, considerable bitterness focused on Japanese-Americans, particularly on the Pacific Coast of the United States. Fearing a threat from the Japanese-American community, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued the fateful Executive Order 9066 in February 1942 to relocate 100,000 people of Japanese descent to ten internment camps located in Idaho, Arkansas, Arizona, and elsewhere in the West. A congressional hearing was held on the evacuation plan and Mike Masaoka of the Nisei community of Salt Lake City, a member of the fledgling Japanese-American Citizens League and a member of the LDS church, spoke at the hearings. However, nothing changed, and the Japanese-Americans had to be relocated.<sup>10</sup>

War Relocation Authority (WRA) officials in the meantime scoured the West for suitable areas to establish the needed relocation camps. Western Millard County was considered but abandoned by WRA officials because of the supposed unavailability of water. When county residents Homer and Nels Petersen, representing the old drainage-bond holders, learned of the abandonment of west Millard as a possible relocation site, they went to San Francisco to convince the WRA that land and water were available. The officials were convinced and agreed to purchase about 20,000 shares of water and acquire the necessary land for a relocation camp west of Delta.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the adverse court decisions of the 1930s, some drainage bondholders on west Millard land paid back taxes on good farms to protect their liens and even sold land back to the farmers under contracts maintaining the drainage debt. When the Topaz project was approved, the Petersens and others saw an opportunity to recover a portion of the bondholders’ investment by selling land and water to the government for the relocation center.<sup>12</sup>

In June 1942, west Millard residents learned that a “Japanese cen-



Buildings at the Topaz Relocation Center for Japanese-Americans during World War II, northwest of Delta. (Utah State Historical Society)

ter of 10,000 people” was to be built on 19,000 acres in the area of Abraham. Landowners on property taken by eminent domain did not fare as well as did the water sellers. The relocation camp—named Topaz—was hastily constructed between June 1942 and January 1943. Eventually the camp included 408 frame buildings covered with tar paper. Nearly one mile square, Topaz was divided into forty-two blocks. Each block in the residential section contained twelve barracks, with a mess hall, a latrine/washroom, laundry room, and recreation hall. Each barrack was twenty feet wide and 120 feet long and was divided into six rooms of varying size. The complex was incomplete when the internees started to arrive, but most of the barbed-wire fences and high guard towers were in place, complete with armed U.S. Army guards. As this artificial community approached its peak of more than 9,000 inhabitants, it became the fifth-largest city in Utah.

The impressions of Yoshiko Uchida, a young internee and chronicler of her experiences at Topaz, are illustrative of the general experiences at Topaz.<sup>13</sup> From the train station at Delta the area appeared



reasonably friendly and not as barren as had been feared. But as Uchida and the others traveled a half hour west there was an abrupt change—"all vegetation stopped." The surroundings appeared as "bleak as bleached bone." Uchida recalled, "there in the midst of nowhere were rows and rows of squat, tar-papered barracks sitting sullenly in the white, chalky sand." In their quarters, the Uchida family found four army cots without mattresses as their only furniture along with an uninstalled stove outside. There was as yet no sheetrock on the walls and ceiling. Even though friends had swept the small apartment earlier, the dust was already seeping back in through the numerous cracks in the walls and ceiling.

For Yoshiko Uchida and the others, the dust was hard to cope with. The new residents of the county soon experienced a real west Millard County dust storm. The wind gusts swept around Yoshiko and her friends as they were playing outside, "flinging swirling masses of sand in the air and engulfing [them] in a thick cloud that eclipsed barracks only ten feet away." They stumbled into the nearest laundry room, where they waited in fright as the storm continued. Finally, fearing their shelter might break apart, they fled for their home quarters, hardly able to breathe. Finding her mother alone, they concluded there was nothing to do but lie down on their cots and wait for the storm to relent. This early experience made a lasting impression on Yoshiko, who later recalled that much time at Topaz was spent trying to keep the dust out of their living quarters.

The internees at Topaz came from a wide range of economic backgrounds. Although only 248 out of over 9,000 internees were classified as farmers, all decided to try and make Topaz an agricultural showplace. A full 800 residents held college degrees. Most impressive was the residents' attempts to encourage self-improvement through adult-education classes. By the end of 1942, two elementary schools with 675 pupils and a high school with 1,037 students had been established. The classrooms were crowded and poorly equipped. Many of the instructors, both Japanese and Caucasian, were not trained as teachers. But teachers and students, backed by parents who understood the need, worked hard. The adult-education program had about 150 classes, including lectures, hobbies, and art shows. The camp had a particularly large number of

well-established artists, including Chiura Obata, who had been head of the Art Department at the University of California at Berkeley. Earlier, at the temporary Tanforan camp near San Francisco, an art school had been organized, and such efforts continued at Topaz.<sup>14</sup>

The most tragic event at Topaz was the killing of James Hatsuaki Wakasa on 11 April 1943. Wakasa was a sixty-three-year-old internee who had graduated from college and had earned his American citizenship teaching cooking in the U.S. Army during World War I. There are varying accounts of his death, but all agree that Wakasa was shot while standing near the security fence. Wakasa was buried near where he was killed, a Japanese custom. Several investigations were conducted by a committee of internees, by civilian authorities, by the army, and by WRA authorities. The military guard was judged not guilty of violating military discipline but was reassigned elsewhere. The internees never received a full explanation about Wakasa's death, and some bitterness resulted.<sup>15</sup>

Another cause of serious unrest among the evacuees was the appearance at Topaz of army recruiters. Some of the young internees joined willingly, anxious to demonstrate their patriotism; others were eventually drafted. Some wanted to form an all-Nisei combat team instead of scattering Japanese-Americans throughout the military. A considerable number were assigned to what became the highly decorated 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Their service is a testament to the extraordinary bravery of Nisei men from Topaz and elsewhere. Some 451 Utah internees served in the army, including eighty volunteers. At least fifteen of them gave their lives for their country.<sup>16</sup>

Camp life at Topaz eroded the formerly close-knit structure of some Japanese-American families and the interment naturally brought out strong feelings about their situation. A small group of pro-Japan agitators fostered discontent at Topaz. The fragile relationship between internees, camp management, and the military guards was sometimes tested. The head of the art school and a minister who devoted much time to community service were attacked by some who opposed cooperation. Yoshiko Uchida's father, Dwight Takashi, a popular camp leader, was actually released to live in Salt Lake City because it was deemed no longer safe for him to reside at Topaz.<sup>17</sup>

Aeronautics Commission inspected a possible site for a municipal airport just west of Fillmore. The city already owned the property, considered sufficiently level and well drained. The city council agreed to sponsor construction of an airport hangar through a federal government work project. Part of the effort included installing fencing and electric power lines, undertaken with the assistance of young men employed through the National Youth Administration. The Fillmore Flying Club was organized in January 1942 and free pilot training was offered to eligible young men interested in learning to fly. High school senior Grant Callister availed himself of the opportunity along with a few avid older club members, including Dr. and Mrs. Dean C. Evans and Tony Deardon.<sup>20</sup>

As the airport project was being completed, interested citizens of Fillmore applied for a military flight school at the new airport. In April 1942 Mayor A.R. Beauregard received word that the Fillmore airport had been accepted as a site for a government-financed, civilian-operated flying school to be operated by Walter J. Brown. Six planes, one of which was owned by the Fillmore Flying Club, were soon at the airport. Eventually three other aircraft were added to the flying school's inventory. The news media and military recruiters emphasized that any young man who applied to the Army Air Corps selection board had the opportunity to be assigned to the Fillmore flight school.

In early fall 1942 the first half-dozen flight students, who had completed their preliminary training elsewhere, arrived in Fillmore to begin their intermediate training. By mid-October twenty-seven beginning flight students arrived along with six others for cross-country flight training. Most of the air school staff were housed in local hotels, with the students residing at least part of the time at the local armory. With so many local young men being inducted into military service, the *Progress* reported that the arrival of the student pilots "added to the social life of the community." At Christmas, twenty flight students, their instructors, and others were hosted at an armory dance by local ladies of the American Red Cross.<sup>21</sup>

The Walter J. Brown flight school continued to operate into the summer of 1943, when future contracts became tenuous. State representative Mark Paxton inquired of Congressman Walter K. Granger

about the possibility of getting another federal flying school contract. The navy needed housing for a hundred cadets, and the local hotels expressed willingness to adapt their accommodations for that purpose. For a time the possibilities looked promising. However, other flight schools, including one at Cedar City where Granger had been mayor, essentially exhausted southern Utah's claim. As a consequence, the Fillmore flight school failed to obtain further long-term contracts with the military. The flight school did train at least one more class through University of Utah extension instruction. Former Millard High School coach and principal Iman Hales served as assistant coordinator and ground-school instructor. The program closed in September 1943 and the planes owned by Walter Brown were transferred elsewhere. In the fall of 1944 the Spanish Fork Flying Service taught a small group of east Millard flight students. For the remainder of the war there was little activity at the Fillmore airport.<sup>22</sup>

Early in the war, the U.S. Army Air Corps prepared plans for a military airport at Delta. In late 1942, two runways—each about 6,000 feet long and adequate for the largest military aircraft then in use—were constructed and surfaced with “asphalted concrete.” Despite considerable discussion, there was no flying school established. The airport was utilized as an emergency landing area for military aircraft during the war. After the war, the airport was further upgraded and returned to Delta City for civilian use. It then was one of the best facilities in the state. Former military flyer Leo Burraston established an agricultural crop-dusting business at the facility, assisting area farmers in their fight against insects.

The need for various minerals for the war effort brought on renewed mining activity in the county. Of great interest was manganese, discovered in the Drum Mountains in 1916. Frank Pratt of Hinckley brought several claims into productivity, eventually developing an operation employing two dozen miners. By 1936 four carloads of manganese ore per week were being shipped from mines owned by Grant Moulton and Fred Staats to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Works at Pueblo, Colorado. Additional shipments were sent to the Ironton plant near Provo. For a decade, the manganese deposits were worked vigorously.<sup>23</sup>

During the same period, George P. Spor and his sons Chad and

Ray located the first fluorspar deposits in the Spor Mountain District in the Thomas Range just north of the Millard-Juab County line. The first commercial shipments were made in 1944 and the district quickly surpassed the only earlier fluorspar-producing areas in Tooele and Beaver Counties, making the Spor Mountain District a significant source of the mineral for the next half-century. Millard County men were hired to haul fluorspar and manganese ores, both important as fluxing materials for steel manufacturing, to the railroad ore dumps north of Delta. For the next decade Earl Willden, T.A. Claridge, Lafe Morley, Al Willden, Doc Black, Scott Chesley, and others from the county worked in mines in the Thomas Mountain Range.<sup>24</sup>

The use of the atomic bomb on Japan and the early years of the Cold War with the Soviet Union which followed World War II created an urgent demand for uranium. Prospecting was done in Millard County in the early 1950s using electronic instruments more sensitive than Geiger counters on low-flying aircraft. The high point of local uranium prospecting was in the spring of 1954 when claim-filing fees for April, May, and June totaled just over \$5,000. The excitement soon subsided.<sup>25</sup> One Topaz Mountain prospect, well concentrated with the valuable mineral and within a short distance of area fluorspar mines, was developed and operated largely by Delta resident Dick Moody. Ten local men were employed there, primarily removing ore from an open-pit operation. The ore was hauled by truck to the Delta ore dumps for shipping.

In early 1945 Lafayette Morrison along with brothers Floyd, Lorin, and Ervin Warner established the Volcrete Brick and Block Company to manufacture building materials from the cinder mines located near Flowell. Neither this nor similar operations in Delta succeeded, but the demand for cinders continued. By the mid-1950s approximately 150 tons were trucked daily to the railroad near Fillmore and shipped to Salt Lake City and Provo for the manufacture of building blocks.<sup>26</sup>

During a six-week period beginning 1 December 1948, thirty-nine inches of snow fell on parts of the county and the temperature fell below zero for many days. State and county road crews were hard-pressed to keep the highways open, particularly on the west

deserts where snow drifted back on cleared stretches of roads. The weather was particularly severe on sheep and cattle on the winter ranges in the western areas of Millard and adjacent counties. Cattle fared better during the extreme weather conditions than did sheep. Bulldozers were used to plow paths to the stranded livestock, but winds often filled in the plowed paths before feed could be delivered. In a desperate attempt to feed the stranded herds, county officials turned to the state and the Utah Air National Guard to assist them with airlifting feed to the stranded animals and their herders. The local national guard unit was also mobilized to clear the highways with its equipment.

Bitter cold temperatures and deep drifting snow limited school attendance as well. There were days when snowdrifts made it impossible for school buses to make their twice daily trips. This sometimes forced students to remain overnight near the schools. People who experienced the hard winter never forgot it.

In an effort to conserve what water was available to them, farmers and irrigation companies moved to line their ditches with concrete, particularly those sections that were prone to seepage. The Chalk Creek and Meadow companies moved promptly to the forefront in this effort in 1955. The Kanosh Irrigation Company also built a catch basin at the mouth of Corn Creek to store some of the spring runoff for later in the season.

Probably the greatest boon to east Millard agricultural endeavors was the expanded use of groundwater, first tapped in 1915. By the mid-1950s the amount of underground water for irrigation on the east side of the county surpassed surface irrigation water. In some instances, the mineral content of the sources of water made it necessary to mix the irrigation water to prevent area soils from developing impermeable hardpans.<sup>27</sup>

In the Fool Creek Flat area near Oak City as well as in other areas of west Millard underground water enhanced agricultural production. Farmers throughout the county adopted sprinkler irrigation technology for potatoes, grain, and alfalfa hay.<sup>28</sup>

Over the years, county farmers had learned that to irrigate efficiently the topography of the land had to be more uniform. West Millard men had worked for years with various devices—rails, drags,

fresno scrapers, and land planes—to level their farms; but none of these were capable of more than superficial realignment of the terrain. It was the wartime development of heavy earth-moving equipment and hydraulic carry-alls that enabled local farmers to move large quantities of earth quickly and economically. One geographer observed of the Delta area, “there are probably more acres of land leveled to instrument standards in the Delta area than in all the rest of the state combined.”<sup>29</sup>

Another war-related spinoff—the chemical compound known as DDT—was used on the farms against insect infestations, particularly of the lygus bug. Since the late 1920s the lygus bug had seriously reduced alfalfa-seed production in west Millard. In 1941 a Utah Agricultural Experiment Station study of the Delta area revealed that 88 percent of the potential seed was destroyed by lygus bug infestations. Five years later, after DDT became widely available, another study discovered that treated fields produced far more alfalfa blossoms and attracted more bees for pollination. The researchers concluded that three times as many seed pods were formed, producing eight times more mature seed than in the past.

As a result, alfalfa-seed output increased from an average of fifty-eight pounds per acre in 1945 to as high as 230 pounds per acre in 1953. The record year in total alfalfa-seed production during the early postwar period was 1951 when the area produced 8,181,000 pounds of clean seed, two-thirds of Utah’s total output. The record year for alfalfa-seed production was 1925, when the area produced over 14 million pounds, which was more than 26 percent of the nation’s total alfalfa-seed output. Cumulatively, the 1950s exceeded all but the years 1923–1927 in annual output. In terms of gross dollars unadjusted for inflation, the seed crop in 1925 brought in about \$2 million, while the 1951 seed profits grossed over \$4 million.<sup>30</sup>

Several of the alfalfa-seed companies faced difficult financial times during the Depression. The Peppard Seed Company remained in the county during the Depression but closed shortly after the end of the war, selling its plant to Utah Poultry Company. Northrop King returned in the mid-1940s to establish a new cleaning and storage facility in the southern portion of the old sugar factory and warehouse. Moody Brothers Seed Company, established in 1934 by Milton

Moody and his sons, purchased the closed Delta Seed Growers cleaning plant along with a similar facility in Hinckley and combined the two, using equipment from both at a site near the Delta railroad depot. The Moody Brothers Seed Company continued to serve a large segment of county alfalfa-seed growers through the 1960s. In 1941 more than a dozen Oasis area alfalfa-seed farmers organized the Oasis Seed Growers Association to market and clean their seed.

Honey production remained a stable segment of the county's economy until the 1960s, at which time the number of beekeepers dropped to only a few full-time keepers. Insect spraying impacted honey production; however, where there was close cooperation and coordination between the activities of spraying and pollination, the hives produced as much as twenty pounds more honey per hive. Marketing problems hindered honey production in the 1950s.

The infusion of wealth in the postwar period was rather broadly distributed among the area farmers and resulted in the remodeling and refurbishing of existing homes, the paying off of farm mortgages, and the purchasing of new farm equipment. Prosperity in the Delta area also was reflected in the number of new automobile and truck purchases. Between 1947 and 1955, west Millard residents purchased 2,237 new cars and trucks, which was just over one vehicle for about every two people, far above the Utah or national average at the time.<sup>31</sup>

Pace Motor Company, operated since 1934 by C.M. Pace, led out in sales of Chevrolets, Oldsmobiles, and many trucks. Van's Motor Company became the Studebaker dealer for the area in 1946. Noble Peterson and his son Richard sold Chrysler automobiles. Several dealerships changed hands after the war: Fords sold before the war by Richard S. Morrison were sold by Heber Curtis after the war; Pontiac sales moved from Orlin Hunsaker to Ashby's Implement Company, which also sold International trucks. Delta Motor Company, operated by Mr. and Mrs. Lee Gronning, sold Willy's jeeps and cars after opening in 1948. Spor Motor Company sold Buicks and GMC trucks.

Many local farm implement companies flourished as well. Orran and Carl Ashby owned the International Harvester dealership. Reed Turner was the J.I. Case franchise holder, and Farmer's Supply, managed by G.E. Day, sold John Deere equipment. Orlin Hunsaker sold



Massey-Harris equipment from his service station, and Ralph Morrison retailed Ford tractors from his feed-store business. Harold Done acquired the Minneapolis-Moline equipment dealership from Peterson Motors and operated it from his Sugarville farm.

With continued high wheat prices immediately after the war, many Millard County farmers dry farmed the benches along the Pahvant and Canyon Mountains from Leamington, Oak City, and Scipio on the north to land south of Kanosh. Mechanization and more scientific methods for dry farming enabled farmers to harvest as much as thirty-five bushels of wheat to the acre.

Earlier, dry farmers of the county fought New Deal agricultural programs that attempted to limit wheat production through marketing quotas. This policy had limited the only means of support for the county's dry land farmers. In 1943, county wheat farmers launched a fight against what the *Progress* termed "oppressive A.A.A. rules." County wheat farmers wanted to use locally grown wheat for livestock feed without penalty. In support of Millard County wheat producers, the Utah State Senate and House of Representatives passed resolutions and addressed them to the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture petitioning to modify wheat regulations for Millard County. Local state legislators James A. Kelly and Mark Paxton were recognized for their service in these endeavors.

In 1945, following the modification of Department of Agriculture rules on wheat production, east Millard County dry farmers shipped forty railroad boxcars of wheat. More wheat would have been shipped, but poor weather in August destroyed the remaining crop. The next year, using larger combines, a number of farmers harvested their best crop ever. In 1947 grain production on the east side reached its all-time high, with 42,000 acres planted to wheat and an estimated 650,000 bushels of wheat harvested.<sup>32</sup>

The removal of wheat restrictions resulted in a surge of wheat production nationally during the war and immediately thereafter. However, as Europe recovered, there was a growing surplus of wheat, which resulted in a drop in wheat prices. This reversal placed a real hardship on local wheat producers. To sustain wheat prices, a new national "soil bank" and price-support programs were initiated. Still, many felt that these federal programs also placed a hardship on

wheat growers in the county. Despite the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 and his appointment of Utahn Ezra Taft Benson as Secretary of Agriculture, price supports for various agricultural commodities continued. Benson was clearly sympathetic to the sentiments of Millard growers. As late as 1961, popular county agricultural extension agent Rodney Rickenbach stated, "federal crop controls will be with us for a long time."<sup>33</sup> For a generation thereafter, the main business for some farmers was collecting subsidies for not growing wheat.

Other farmers in the county diversified. More corn and barley were planted in the 1950s. Sugar beets continued to be economically profitable for some farmers, and more potatoes were shipped from the county, especially from the McCornick area. In 1954 fifty train cars of sugar beets were shipped from the Flowell area.<sup>34</sup> In the decade of the 1950s there were approximately 300 acres of potatoes planted annually.

Important to the economic recovery of the county was the presence of financial institutions. Following the closing of the several banks in the county in the 1920s, the Delta Lion's Club undertook to reestablish a bank in Delta in 1939. Max Thomas of the Commercial Bank at Nephi provided limited banking services. In the early 1940s the Richfield Commercial Savings Bank opened a branch in Delta. In 1946 P.P. Thomas acquired the branch and along with Max Thomas ran the bank for two years before it was acquired and consolidated into one management system with branches in Spanish Fork, Nephi, and Payson. In 1956 First Security Bank Corporation acquired the bank in Delta along with the others.

The Fillmore area was without a bank after 1932. In 1935 the Richfield Commercial Bank opened a branch in Fillmore. Manager and cashier Miles L. Nielson later purchased the branch and along with other businessmen of the community helped establish the independent Fillmore State bank. It eventually became part of the First Security Bank system.

The success of the Brooklawn Creamery beginning near the end of the 1930s prompted Clair Gardner and several of his sons to open Sunrise Dairy. In the early 1950s the dairy was providing milk to the school-lunch program in west Millard. Brooklawn also built a cheese

plant in Fillmore in 1946. A decade later, the Brooklawn Creamery in Fillmore produced 39,000 pounds of cheddar cheese monthly. Nearly 200 dairy farmers shipped most of their milk to the creamery. By the end of the 1950s county agricultural agents estimated that the east-Millard dairy industry grossed about a million dollars annually.<sup>35</sup>

During the Depression and world war, many county farmers turned to egg production. In 1944 the Utah Poultry Farmer's Cooperative opened a small operation in Fillmore; six years later the planted yielded \$6,500 weekly to east-side egg producers. In 1953 there were reportedly over 67,000 chickens between Holden and Kanosh. The Utah Poultry Co-op also opened an egg-processing facility in Delta in the mid-1950s. By the end of the 1950s the two area plants shipped over 230 cases of eggs weekly, each case containing thirty-six dozen eggs.

Their success was challenged in the early 1960s when feed prices increased and egg prices decreased. Further, the Delta egg plant caught fire and was partially destroyed. It operated briefly thereafter before closing. The Fillmore egg plant was renamed Intermountain Farmers at about the same time and in 1964 it too closed, citing the "disappearance of poultry raising from the county."<sup>36</sup>

The Iverson brothers opened the Fillmore Frozen Foods Company, a custom slaughterhouse, in 1943. Eight years later the company added private cold-storage lockers, and in 1960 it rebuilt and enlarged its slaughterhouse. The Jeffery and Talbot families opened two west Millard slaughterhouses, doing custom meat packing and supplying fresh meat to local grocery markets. Quality Meat in Delta offered cold-storage lockers. The Terrill family operated a meat-packing operation on the west side of the county. Important to the selling of livestock was the establishment of the Delta Livestock Auction by local stockman Dewey Sanford in 1946.

After the delays in highway construction because of the war, demand again mounted for highway improvements. In September 1945, citizens from some central Utah communities petitioned Governor Herbert B. Maw for a direct east-west highway across Utah. Some west Millard observers suspected that this petition was an effort to circumvent plans for U.S. Highway 6, motivating them to renew their efforts for that highway. County officials contacted for-

mer Delta resident Layton Maxfield, then a member of the Utah Road Commission, for advice and aid. Added pressure came from outside the state as well. Nevada officials were anxious to surface the easternmost segment of Highway 6 to the state line, but this could not be done until Utah had decided where the highway was to enter Nevada. In the summer of 1947, 180 delegates from Utah, Nevada, Colorado, Nebraska, and California met at Price to organize a Western States Highway 6 Association to coordinate advocacy of the project. Delta Mayor Golden H. Black was selected as one of two directors to work with the state road commission and the governor to complete the highway.

Work on U.S. Highway 6 resumed in Utah in a piecemeal fashion. In 1948 bids were accepted on the crucial King's Canyon section of the highway through the Confusion Range, but there remained long stretches of the road to be completed. Local appeals to new Governor J. Bracken Lee to move more quickly met with expressed sympathy but no changes in highway construction priorities. Frustrated by delays, Nevada citizens offered Utah a \$250,000 loan, interest free, to speed up construction of U.S. Highway 6. Utah's attorney general determined that this offer could not be accepted, arguing there was no statute for accepting the interest-free loan. Some Nevadans believed that Utah officials were more interested in seeing improvements made on the northern transcontinental highway, thereby satisfying the political and economic interests of Salt Lake City, a view that west Millard advocates and their supporters had long held.<sup>37</sup>

When state funding for completion of U.S. Highway 6 continued to be inadequate, county supporters, with the support of state road commissioner Harley J. Corleissen, sought congressional support for the highway's completion. Utah Senator Arthur V. Watkins was enlisted in the effort along with Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada. Watkins sponsored an amendment to another bill that earmarked \$10 million to complete gaps in key highway systems. With the help of McCarran, the measure passed. In March 1952 the contract for the final thirty-three miles was awarded to the W.W. Clyde Company of Springville.

As completion of Highway 6 neared, officials from Nevada and

Utah cooperated in planning dedication ceremonies. A "Completion Jamboree" was held in Delta in late September 1952, and it was probably the biggest celebration in the town's history. An estimated 7,000 people attended. Governors Lee and Charles H. Russell of Nevada assisted Senators Watkins, McCarran, and LaVon Brown, Miss Utah, in cutting the ceremonial ribbon. A parade featured eight bands, floats, and covered wagons and stagecoaches. Among other events were amateur boxing matches and a main event featuring ranked heavyweight professionals Bob Dunlap and Dale Hall, refereed by top contender Utah's Rex Layne.<sup>38</sup>

Improvements on other area highways and roads also were made following World War II. In the summer of 1947 a new bridge was completed across the Sevier River in Leamington Canyon, and twenty-two miles of the highway toward Nephi were paved and improved. An improved section of U.S. Highway 91 through Scipio Pass was also completed and additional miles of the road from Vernon to Tintic Junction were oiled. West Millard's isolation was reduced with the highway improvements.<sup>39</sup>

The completion of Highway 6/50 was an important accomplishment for many, including Dr. Myron E. Bird, who had spent countless hours working for the highway's construction. Bird had come to Delta in 1929 and stayed for over a half century delivering more than 5,000 babies and performing thousands of surgeries. He and his wife operated a six-bed hospital by themselves for thirty-five years. The doctor also devoted much time to church and civic service, including four years as mayor of Delta. He was later a member of Utah's first Council on Aging and was instrumental in the inception of the senior citizens' center in Delta eventually named for him.

During the last years of World War II Romania Westenskow Bird took almost sole responsibility for the management of the Delta hospital. In addition, she frequently assisted her husband in the operating room. With wartime shortage of labor, she often did much of the cooking and laundry for the hospital as well. Still, she had time to participate fully in the Fidelity Club and the Saturday Bridge Club. She was also a participant in the Lion's Club women's auxiliary.<sup>40</sup>

Work on Highway 6/50 prompted new commercial activities in Delta. The Bill Killpack family built a service station on a corner of

Clark and Second West Streets, and a short time later Richard S. Morrison moved his service station to the opposite corner. The old Pauvant Hotel was reopened as the Millard Hotel, and the old Cooper was reopened as the Hotel Southern; they were operated by Ned Church and Noble Peterson, respectively. Peterson added some adjacent motel units in 1958. Seven years earlier Bill Killpack had built several motor cabins to serve automobile tourists. Earl Willden constructed a twenty-two-unit motel at about the same time.

In the spring of 1948 Hatch Farnsworth of Panguitch purchased a cafe that soon became one of the more popular eating establishments in the region. Two years later, Doyle Topham relocated his Gem Cafe to the Banque Hotel. A new specialty-food franchise, a Spudnut store, operated largely by Delta High School student Kent Prestwich, opened in Delta in the late 1940s. Prestwich later became a very successful restaurateur. The soda fountains at the Sunrise Dairy and the three area drug stores were popular with the young in Delta. An Arctic Circle fast-food franchise was opened in the mid-1950s by Eldon Sorensen.

The east-side communities experienced good economic growth following the war mainly because of tourism. Besides the several large residences in Kanosh that had been turned into hotels in the late 1910s, the grounds around the Alvin Penny home became a "campground" for automobile travelers. The Pennys moved and converted several old buildings into tourist cabins. After World War II, Carl and Daisy Billington built a four-unit motel and a service station in the same area. Later, there were three other service stations in Kanosh as well as a cafe operated by Frank and Mildred Harding. During the peak tourist years of the 1950s Meadow also had three service stations and a cafe.

In 1956 William Emmett purchased the tourist court of Hal and John Robison, built in Fillmore in 1932. Milo Warner and his sons Edgar and Milton, who had built four cabins north of their Arrowhead Garage in 1930, expanded the Arrowhead Cabins. Carl H. Day operated several tourist cabins near his service station on the east side of Main Street.

Much earlier, Thomas Callister and Ira N. Hinckley owned what became known as the El Rancho Hotel. During the war, Dr. J.M. Allen

and his daughter Helen Overton purchased and remodeled the property, making eighteen rooms and eight baths in the building. Vera Huntsman Laver and her husband, Brian Laver, added a tourist court on the old Fillmore Hotel and sold it to C.W. Wilde in 1948. Udell Champers purchased the old George Hotel in 1953, and in 1956 Dell Frampton purchased the old Stevens Hotel and remodeled it into the Del Patio Motel. In 1951, the eleven-unit El Capitol Motel was built by Arnold Lesin, Fawn Bennett, and Tom Reeve. This completed the city's lodging expansion until the construction of Interstate 15.

John and Ilene Cooper opened Cafe Ilene on Main Street in Fillmore in 1945. The old building was soon destroyed by fire and the Coopers quickly rebuilt a modern facility. For many years thereafter Cafe Ilene was popular and served as the Greyhound Bus station as well. Merrill and Merl Hone opened the Fillmore Cafe in 1941 on the opposite side of Main Street. Farther north on Main Street, Maurine and Ed Elvin opened Mom's Lite Lunch. Later, they moved to a building formerly operated as a cafe by Bill and Clara Shaw. Shaw's Cafe was replaced by a new drugstore in 1948.

By the late 1950s seven lodging establishments operated in Fillmore, employing more than twenty people even during the winter season. The cafes and new automobile food stops added thirty or more to the employment rolls. In 1956 there were eight service stations in Fillmore.

Several new automobile dealerships were built in Fillmore following the war. In 1948 Milton Warner built a new structure with plate glass windows for his Ford and Mercury dealership. Londo Dardon, with his father and brother, purchased the Shell station in 1946, adding a garage. In 1950, they constructed a building, including a showroom and parts department, and became dealers for Pontiac cars and Minneapolis-Moline farm machinery.

The Cluff-Melville Chevrolet company became Melville Chevrolet in 1941. Ten years later, Buicks were added to the line of cars sold. The dealership's name was later changed to Earl and then Harden Chevrolet. Stevens Merc proprietor LaVoy Kimball also became a dealer for International Harvester farm machinery and trucks and operated as Farmer's Equipment Supply. Arnold Lesin sold Chrysler Corporation cars and trucks in the 1950s. Peterson

equipment sold GMC trucks and other machinery. Rodney Stott owned the John Deere farm equipment dealership in Fillmore.

Most area businesses did well during the post–World War II economic boom. Holden had several service stations, and increased travel greatly bolstered the economy in Scipio; by 1946 there were eight buses passing through town in each direction daily. That same year the Utah State Road Commission counted over 1,700 vehicles passing through town during one day. There were five service stations, several lodging establishments, and three cafes. Historical data about tourism in the 1950s is lacking. However, it can be reasonably assumed that a large percentage of the annual retail income generated by the more than 100 businesses in the county came from tourism.

Even the grocery and department stores in each east Millard town benefited from the tourist trade. The D. Stevens and J. Francis Kelly stores remained the main mercantile establishments. The former, which had expanded to branches in Delta and Cedar City, was primarily owned and managed by LaVoy Kimball. Besides its farm-equipment operation, the store sold clothing, dry goods, meat, groceries, hardware, and electrical appliances. The Kelly store, first expanded in 1919, became one of the most modern stores in central Utah in the 1950s. It also sold dry goods, men's clothing, furniture, appliances, groceries, and meat. In 1943 Noble Day bought out his sister Zina and her husband, Orrin Peterson, remodeled what had been a department store located on First West, and operated it as a grocery and notions store. Reuben and Rhoda Melville built a small bakery and grocery store in 1944; it was later run by Gene and Verl Ashby as Ashby Grocery. Orrin and Addie Palmer built a grocery store that also featured a soda fountain and short-order meals.

In addition to road construction activities, tourism, and transportation sectors of the economy, Delta, particularly, experienced a great amount of commercial building and remodeling activity in the 1950s. Orville Jeffery, for example, expanded his Quality Market, acquiring Delta Variety from Spencer Wright. Jeffery then expanded his retail business to include hardware and variety goods. Cecil Baker purchased Thornton Drug and remodeled the building. Service Drug Company opened in a new building on Clark Street. The Delmart on



the north side of Clark Street was remodeled and managed by Clayton Stapley. The D. Stevens and Company branch, a combination grocery, clothing, furniture, and appliance store, continued to flourish as the oldest business establishment in Delta. The store's manager, William Starley, trained others in the community in the retail trade business. Blythe Pace Taggart's women's apparel store opened in 1948.

During the Second World War and the decade that followed, Millard County more than recovered from the Great Depression and the war. More than a thousand residents who participated directly in the war effort had their horizons raised, changing them permanently. Most who remained to farm generally surpassed earlier agricultural production. The modernization of agriculture continued, and all in the county were drawn closer to the world about them.

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## CHAPTER 10

# THROUGH THE 1970s

Millard County experienced periods of both economic expansion and decline along with greater economic diversity between the end of World War II and the 1970s. Some of the expansion was fueled by tourism, although the completion of Interstate 15, which provided a better highway through the county, seriously impacted the tourism sector of the county's economy. Hospital and school construction marked the era, as did home and farm improvements. Recreational facilities also were developed and high school sports, always popular with county residents, were followed with particular interest. Population patterns continued to shift in favor of west Millard, ushering in a new period of influence and power for that section of the county.

In early 1945 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints agreed to cooperate with local citizens to build a community hospital by matching the funds raised in the east Millard communities. Throughout the state at the time, the Mormon church with community assistance financed, built, and operated medical facilities. In June, plans for a twenty-six bed hospital were approved by church

officials and a non-profit corporation was formed to construct the concrete-block two-winged hospital. Estimated cost for the health facility was \$84,000. East-side citizens immediately set out to raise their share, and when the last contributions were made in early 1946, residents had collected all but \$6,000 of their pledged share. However, post-war delays, scarcity of building materials, and added essential hospital equipment drove up the price of construction and furnishings to over \$150,000. The local proportion of costs was increased to \$76,000. With over half the funds raised, construction began later in the year.<sup>1</sup>

In a second fund-raising campaign to raise the additional needed money, each east-side community was assessed an amount proportional to its population: Fillmore was assigned \$24,000; Holden, Kanosh, and Scipio each \$4,000; Meadow, \$3,000; and Flowell, \$1,500. Flowell and Holden residents were the first to raise their assessments. In Fillmore, various groups including the Jaycees, volunteer fire department, and Veterans of Foreign Wars womens auxiliary raised significant amounts. Various fund-raising activities were organized including a "boxing-wrestling extravaganza" that featured local boxing star Dick Warner. *Progress* editors threatened to publish the names of all who had met their financial commitments, thereby pressuring those who hadn't. This threat and general renewed efforts succeeded in raising the necessary funds. The hospital was dedicated on 3 July 1948 by LDS Apostle Harold B. Lee. That evening a banquet was served of mostly donated food to 700 at the national guard armory. The banquet raised another \$4,000 for the hospital account. The community was justly proud of its accomplishment in securing a new medical facility; however, the hospital remained hard-pressed financially.<sup>2</sup>

Lacking electrical connections to the Telluride Power Company system, the newer rural communities of Flowell and Pahvant worked to obtain electric power in 1944. Residents there received financial assistance from the federal Rural Electrification Administration, and by early 1946 fifty homes and farms in the vicinity were connected to the Telluride system. The completed electrification project was marked with a community dinner and the election of a board of



The first Delta swimming pool, 1948. (Great Basin Historical Society)

directors. Electric power service was later expanded to other areas of the county.<sup>3</sup>

Freed from building material constraints of the war years, several LDS wards in the two stakes in the county were either remodeled or built new chapels. In Delta a third ward, temporarily called the East Ward, was organized. This was soon renamed the Delta Third Ward and absorbed the old South Tract ward area. The new Deseret LDS Stake Center was also built on Main Street, which about then was renamed Center Street, with Clark Street becoming Main Street. The new stake center was similar in design to the Fillmore stake center being constructed at the same time. A large proportion of the building funds was raised through individual assessments. One notable fund raiser was a giant yard sale, pot-luck dinner, and carnival called a “mirthquake” held at the Palomar Hall. The Delta First, Sutherland, and Oasis LDS wards also built fine new buildings, while the Delta Second Ward underwent major remodeling.

After almost forty years, the Millard County School Board approved plans for a new Delta Elementary School, located just east of the new LDS stake center. The U-shaped, fourteen-classroom

school was built by Provo general contractor Irvin Talboe and was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1953.

As soon as the world war ended, Delta citizens renewed efforts to build a community swimming pool to be located on a lot the city had designated as a city park. Working from earlier surveys and plans prepared with assistance from the federal Public Works Administration, a fund-raising committee set about to raise \$10,000—half of the necessary amount. Within a year, the money was raised and work, mostly volunteer labor, began on the project. The most difficult part of the project was a continuous twenty-four-hour concrete pour of the pool; volunteer crews from various community groups, including one from Hinckley, pitched in. Before the pool was opened in June 1947, additional funds were collected to purchase special equipment and to enclose the pool with glass walls instead of ornamental wire. While area flumes, reservoir, and other traditional swimming spots were still popular with some, the Delta swimming pool served the residents for the next generation.

In the fall of 1947, after decades of disappointment, citizens of Fillmore began planning their own municipal swimming pool. The Junior Chamber of Commerce, organized the previous spring, led the drive to arouse interest and generate funds for the project; however, funds were slow in being collected. In the spring of 1950 the Jaycee wives staged a benefit to raise funds and by July preliminary preparations were made to select a site. Support for the project languished when the Jaycees floundered, however. Money raised by the Jaycees and others was placed in a bank account, where it remained until 1954 when the newly organized Kiwanis Club along with the Lions Club and American Legion regenerated interest in the project. A *Progress* editorial stated that the community really did desire a swimming pool and urged Fillmore citizens to inform city officials they were willing to stand a little extra tax burden for the pool.

Finally, in 1956 the Fillmore City Council accepted what the local newspaper had long urged was its responsibility—to underwrite the construction and operation of the municipal swimming pool. With the assistance of the private funds raised, the city committed to spend \$15,000 along with the county's share of \$4,000 of the total \$38,000 estimated cost of the project. The years of fund raising had generated

\$7,000, leaving an additional \$12,000 needed. A final pledge drive raised the needed amount, and pool construction commenced in the early summer of 1957. The pool was completed and opened on 16 August, much to the appreciation of a generation of young people and other users of the facility.<sup>4</sup>

Dallin Nielsen began his career as a music teacher at Millard junior and senior high schools in the late 1940s and established excellent choir, orchestra, and band programs. In 1954 his band was selected by his peers as the best in the state. He later became principal of Millard High School. Sheldon Johnson followed Nielsen in the music program, maintaining the school's high level of achievement in music. In 1956, Millard High School's band was selected as one of the best one hundred high school bands in the nation. Over the years, the band received regional and state honors. Nielson returned to teaching music in 1962 and honors continued. In 1965, Roslyn Callister was selected to the all United States of America high school band.<sup>5</sup>

The Millard Eagle vocational agriculture program, directed by Robert A. Nielson beginning in 1951, also attained state and national recognition. Johnny Peterson was Utah's Future Farmers of America president in 1956. For eight consecutive years, beginning with the 1958–59 school year, the chapter won the coveted gold emblem, awarded to only sixty-four of some 8,800 school chapters nationwide, among other honors bestowed on the program.

There were other excellent extracurricular programs at Millard High School. The forensics teams did particularly well at regional and state competitions. A combination girls' 4-H club and home economics program prepared a number of local women for state and national sewing and clothes-modeling competitions. In 1965, for example, Linda Sistrunk won a national contest, receiving, among other things, a trip to Europe.

Both west Millard County high schools also had good school music programs, doing particularly well in regional vocal competitions. Evan Christensen and Richard Long organized a summer band which played frequently in towns throughout the area as well as marching in local parades and in the Days of '47 parade.

Both Delta and Hinckley high schools had excellent vocational



programs and Future Farmers of America programs. Several boys won high state awards and Edward Skidmore served in 1952 as state FFA president. The 4-H clubs, to which a high proportion of the county's youth over the age of ten belonged, were organized through the agricultural extension service. In addition to agricultural and homemaking projects, the county's youth participated in an annual county 4-H summer encampment at Oak City Canyon. These summer encampments consistently drew more than 350 young people. As participation grew, the summer camps were divided, with the east-side 4-H club members holding their camps at Maple Grove, Maple Hollow, and Adelaide Park. The east-side 4-H club and FFA chapter members continued to support the Junior Livestock Show and county fair on the west side of the county.

Millard County produced some very fine athletes and the high schools developed excellent athletic teams during the period. One noteworthy athlete was Clarence "Robbie" Robison. In 1942, Robison became a champion middle distance runner, and he later became one of the great runners in the history of Brigham Young University. At a 1948 track and field meet, Robison won three first places, a feat never before accomplished in Utah on the college level. That same year, Robison participated in the Olympic Games held in London, England, running in the 5,000 meter race. At year's end a proud county staged a special day on Robison's behalf. The next year, Robison was named head track coach at BYU, a position he held for more than three decades. During his first years as track coach he was associated with former Millard County product basketball coach Stan Watts.<sup>6</sup>

High school athletic contests strengthened community spirit as well as creating intracounty rivalries. A legendary football coach was Taft "Crafty Tafty" Watts, a former local basketball star, who was very innovative and molded highly disciplined teams from mostly average athletes.<sup>7</sup> He was very successful at beating cross-county rival Delta High. The winning streak over Delta High was five years long when the *Progress* stated: "a football season without a victory over Delta is simply no football season." Watts's teams won the state Class B football championship each of the first four years of the 1950s. In 1953 Watts turned down an offer to coach at Carbon College in Price.

Other schools were also building excellent programs, but none were as consistent as that of Millard High School, which also went on to win football championships in 1958 and 1960. By 1960 Taft had over one hundred victories and only five losses, mostly in the state quarter finals and finals, and three ties—two with Delta. His win streak against Delta finally ended in 1961. Jack Wade, Alton Wade, Earl Johnson, LaVea Smith, Eldon Marshall, Pat McBride, Delyle Carling, Roger Adams, LeGrande Kimball, Phil Duncan, Gail Hunter, Gary Robins, Jan Freeman, and Carl Nixon were some of the fine football players Watts helped develop while coaching at Millard High School.

Taft Watts was equally proficient as a track coach. His teams won sixteen regional championships and four state track championships in seventeen years. The first track championship came in 1949 when Millard High was led by Lex McKee. During his coaching career, Watts sent several solid performers to Clarence Robison at BYU, including Oscar and Paul Anderson and broad jumpers Glade Nixon and Larry Schlappi. Watts was also a successful wrestling coach. One of Watts' fine wrestlers was Lafe Parish, who later was equally successful at the College of Southern Utah.

Hinckley High School, with a very small enrollment, fielded only basketball and baseball teams during its existence. In basketball the team was very competitive. In one of the last years of its existence, the Hinckley High School basketball team defeated the larger Delta High team, and, before combining with Delta High School, Hinckley High School in 1930 took first place in the state for basketball.

Delta High School's athletic program was bolstered in 1941 when a new athletic field was built, largely by the National Youth Authority. Lights were added to the football field and track in 1947. Although Delta High had a gymnasium, interscholastic games were played in the Palomar Hall, where there was more room for spectators. The school baseball team utilized the adjacent field for its practices and games.

Delta High's basketball and track teams, long coached by Merlin Christensen, enjoyed consistent success, placing in state tournaments and meets almost every year for a decade following the war. DeRay Fullmer, one of many excellent area high school basketball players, was a member of the 1951 BYU basketball team that won the

National Invitational Tournament. Donald Floyd of Delta and Ray Robinson of Hinckley were stars on the junior college basketball team at Cedar City. Among other outstanding athletes were track stars Harold Snow and Arlyn Finlinson. Jim Porter was later inducted into Southern Utah University's athletic hall of fame. Bud Nielson, a track hurdle champion at Delta High, was also inducted into SUU's hall of fame. Among the many Delta High football players who did well at Dixie Junior College were Gordon Barben and Ken Sampson. Dean Perkins was prominent on the Dixie basketball team in the mid-1960s. John Whatcott, an all-around high school star, was a regular running back on an excellent Utah State Agricultural College team in the late 1950s as well as an all-conference baseball catcher.

Delta High School's phenomenal wrestling program began in the 1940s when Coach Nephi Schwab asked his brother Moroni, a state intercollegiate heavyweight champion wrestler at Utah State Agricultural College, to help coach wrestling in Delta. Bruce Osborne later succeeded Nephi Schwab as wrestling coach and continued to develop the wrestling program into one of the best among the small high schools in the state. The first two state wrestling champions from Delta High School were Robert Callister and Jim Porter. BYU wrestling coach Reed Nilsson spent several summers running a farm in McCornick, where several later successful wrestlers at Delta learned techniques on summer evenings. Following the division of high schools into classes, the Delta High Rabbits won several state championships and placed consistently among the top teams during the 1950s and early 1960s, going on to even greater success later on.

Community baseball had long been part of the county's recreational activities. In the early 1950s, an eight-team community baseball league was organized, with games frequently played on Sunday afternoons. To counter Sunday baseball play, the LDS church organized junior- and senior-division softball teams for both men and women. Most of the games were played on makeshift fields each ward maintained. Later, members of the Fillmore Third Ward donated \$700 for a better field.

Lights also were installed at the Delta High School football field where weeknight softball games were played. Teams were sponsored by area businesses. In 1953 the LDS Deseret Stake refurbished its ball

field and installed lights for night softball. A church fast-pitch softball league was established which flourished for over a dozen years. Most wards fielded teams and, with several age groups of women along with junior and senior men's leagues, the softball fields were busy most summer nights. Over the years, several different teams qualified for the all-LDS church tournament held in Salt Lake City, the largest softball tournament in the nation. In west Millard the interest was so high that the *Chronicle* featured batting statistics and team standings.

The high schools had a consistent offering of plays and operettas along with other programs, and the LDS stakes combined youth and adult talent into notable productions of music, drama, and dance. The church-sponsored "road shows," in which each ward attempted to create a clever musical skit of limited time were performed throughout the stakes, with winning performances chosen to compete on broader levels.

Singing groups in the county included the Deseret Sentinels men's chorus, mostly from the west side of the county and directed by Ladd R. Cropper. At least four female trios, including the DelTones, Harmonettes, Gay Notes, and Mel-O-Dee's, provided musical entertainment. These groups sang at Ute Stampede rodeos at Nephi, at talent contests held in connection with the state fair, and on television, where most won trips to Chicago, Boston, and elsewhere.

Individually, Ardythe Twitchell and Darlene Warner sang with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. Ardythe's brother Noel sang in many BYU musical productions and also sang professionally. In 1953 county native Cherry Beauregard was awarded a scholarship to play at the Tanglewood Music Festival. He later played tuba in the Munich Opera Orchestra in Germany. Loabelle Black Magnusson-Clawson became widely known for her work in modern dance at the University of Utah.

In 1947, at the centennial of Mormon settlement of Utah, Fillmore was featured as the ceremonial capital of Utah. State dignitaries visited Fillmore and area producer and writer of dramatic events Frank Rassmussen presented "Up to the Sacred Mountains." Written for the centennial, the drama had a cast of 150 and depicted

events from the founding of the LDS church through settlement of Millard to the time of its composition.

The Avalon and Crest theaters and a drive-in theater across the Delta overpass were popular through the 1950s and early 1960s. Slowly but surely theater attendance began to drop, however, as Millard citizens began to avail themselves of a new form of entertainment, television. Poor reception initially delayed extensive television viewing in the county. In many areas fifty-foot antennae were required, often costing about as much as the television set itself. In October 1957 the state legislature authorized the installation of translating facilities on the Oak City hills and Cedar Mountain near Fillmore. Many young people listened nightly to radio stations as far away as Los Angeles and Oklahoma City.

In 1940, west Millard civic leaders agreed that Delta would host the main area celebration of Independence Day, Hinckley would host the 24 July activities, and Deseret would continue to be the headquarters for the county fair and what at that time was called "Seed Days." In 1948, Seed Days was changed to "Days of the Old West." Leamington began sponsoring a Labor Day observance called Leamarado in 1948. Hinckley's 24 July celebration usually featured a parade, children's games, and an amateur rodeo in the evening at the lighted grounds. The community celebrations often featured either chariot races or draft-horse pulling contests. The "Days of the Old West" event had displays at the Deseret LDS ward chapel until some fair buildings were constructed adjacent to the rodeo grounds. The professional rodeo held at Deseret was generally well attended, as was the parade.

A popular performer at various rodeo venues in the county was Matt Cropper, a professional rodeo cowboy. His specialties included calf roping and bareback bronc riding. In later years his son Marlow with his wife, Carol, also participated in professional rodeo, as did Jack Manis, Niel Callister, and Howard Carroll, who later was a world champion bull rider.<sup>8</sup>

The Delta Fourth of July celebration started with fireworks or an explosives salute near dawn followed by a mid-morning parade, a patriotic program, children's games and youth activities at the high school, free swimming at the municipal pool, movies at the Crest

Theater, baseball games in the afternoon, and fireworks and a dance in the evening. Various religious and civic organizations took charge in organizing the yearly celebration.

Fillmore's Fourth of July celebrations were organized by the various American Legion posts and included horse shows, parades, patriotic observances, children's activities, and evening fireworks and dances. Pioneer Day celebrations were equally festive and were organized by various LDS wards.

Thoroughbred horse races were very popular events at the Fillmore Independence Day celebrations as well as at other times. The fairgrounds track at Fillmore had been improved with grandstands accommodating at least 1,200 people. In 1948 there were over 200 thoroughbreds that trained at the Fillmore track. Several county thoroughbred owners also raced their horses elsewhere in the West. Dean Robison, a local jockey, won several big races at Bay Meadows near San Francisco. Local horse trainers such as Dan Brinkerhoff, Howard Smith, and Harry and Frank Crane did fairly well in the profession, as did local jockeys Vernon Mitchell and Val Brinkerhoff.<sup>9</sup>

In the late 1950s, there was an increasing need for volunteers to aid the sheriff in search-and-rescue activities. As a result, the East Millard Sheriff's Posse was organized, and it also served as a popular riding club. It was later superseded by the East Millard Jeep Posse. The East Millard Riding Club was also organized in the late 1950s and frequently staged local horseback events such as horse shows, calf-roping and cutting-horse competitions, and horse races. The riding club also competed elsewhere in the state and for several years also sponsored a professional rodeo. By the mid-1960s Scipio had replaced Fillmore on the east side of the county as the primary location for rodeos, which were strictly amateur.

At Christmas the Delta Lion's Club usually secured a large community Christmas tree and located it near the offices of the Telluride Power Company. The power company crews decorated the tree with lights and local merchants assisted with the expenses. In at least one community Christmas celebration in Delta, pilot Leo Burraston landed Santa Claus in his Cessna airplane on Main Street. Thereafter, in the interests of safety, Santa arrived by plane at the Delta airport

and was taxied into town on the town's fire truck from which candy was distributed to the children.

Millard County has long been regarded as possessing some of the best deer-hunting areas in the state. As elsewhere in Utah, school districts designated the day before the beginning of the hunt as a school vacation day and scheduled the weekly football games held on Fridays to Thursdays of that week. The traditions and stories of the deer hunt are among the most prized aspects of the county's folklore.

Upland bird hunting was also an extremely popular activity in the county prior to the 1960s. The Chinese ringneck pheasant was introduced in the state in the 1890s and was brought to the county by Albert L. Simmons in the late 1910s. These beautiful game birds flourished on the feed and abundant cover offered by the vast farm and brush lands on both sides of the county, and their numbers eventually became sufficiently numerous to provide some of the best hunting in the state, attracting numerous Wasatch Front hunters to the county. More recently, many weed-filled fence rows and ditch-banks have been eliminated and, as a result, the pheasant population has declined, as has interest in hunting generally. Other game birds that have been planted in the county include grouse, sage hen, other kinds of pheasants, and chukar partridges.

Oak Creek, Chalk Creek, Corn Creek, and Maple Grove have long been popular with anglers. Oak Creek reportedly was "lined from end to end [with fishermen] for the opening" of the season in 1911, and a month later county game warden Miah Day reported catches remained good both on Oak Creek and the Sevier River. The Sevier and area reservoirs have yielded catfish and bass of all sizes, perch, bluegill, walleye pike, and masses of carp and chubs. Sizeable trout have been caught along sections of the river in Lemington Canyon. However, over the years, heavy fish catches along with extensive diversion of water for irrigation have reduced fishing on most streams in the county. Editor Vance Wilson and his west-side counterpart Frank S. Beckwith called for imposing smaller limits on some streams, but these suggestions were never implemented. In one senseless act, a large number of native trout were killed by unknown persons poisoning a branch of Corn Creek in the 1970s.<sup>10</sup>

In early 1947, Battery C, 2nd Artillery, of the Utah National

Guard at Fillmore was reorganized under Captain Hal Robison. For several years thereafter, the unit was understaffed; however, when the Korean War erupted in the summer of 1950, the Fillmore unit was almost at full strength. In August 1950, forty members of the unit entered federal military service and received further training at Fort Lewis, Washington, before being ordered to South Korea, where they were quickly thrust into the battle zone. Fortunately, there were no casualties among the Millard County guardsmen engaged in their first battle. During much of this time, Corporal William V. Wilson, future managing editor of the *Progress*, sent home a number of reports about camp life.<sup>11</sup> In late October, after Utah Senator Wallace F. Bennett received a number of letters complaining about national guard units bearing more than their share of front-line duty, Battery C received a rest furlough in Japan. During its participation, Battery C received no major casualties.

In addition to the county's national guard unit, a number of men served in the regular armed forces during the conflict. On 11 July 1950, within weeks of the outbreak of war, Glen R. Elder of Oak City was killed, the first Utah man to die in the war. Several months later, Delynn Barkdull was captured and imprisoned by the North Koreans, an ordeal he endured for more than two and a half years until liberated in a prisoner exchange. Other county men saw heavy early fighting, including Elvin Mitchell and Jack Day. Day earned a Bronze Star by exposing himself to enemy fire while retrieving a machine gun during an enemy attack. Claude L. Johnson of Holden was the first east-side man killed in the war, dying in early 1951. Don Brimhall, formerly of Holden, helped rescue several wounded comrades under heavy fire in the fall of 1951. James Eugene Stephenson of Hinckley was killed in 1951 when his tank overturned. Later that year, Robert J. Meyers of Delta, who had been in action only two months, was also killed. Fay Dutson of Hinckley was killed in action in August 1952.

Several World War II veterans from the county were recalled or induced to reenlist when the Korean War broke out. Among them were pilot Lt. Lonnie (Tex) Moseley. While regularly assigned as a personal pilot for General W.P. Ennis, Moseley demonstrated heroism making twenty dangerous landings to help evacuate allied troops



who were caught by a North Korean-Red Chinese counteroffensive. For this he received a Silver Star. Marine Corporal Harold M. Soderquist earned a Silver Star for rescuing a wounded comrade using his body as a shield. Artillery officer Harlan Hilton, another veteran of the earlier war, received a Bronze Star for his service in Korea, as did Lt. Eugene Sanford. During the last year of the war Edward L. Johnson of Holden was killed by a "dud" shell while performing dangerous duty with a special demolition crew; he was posthumously awarded the Bronze Star. Ned Davies, a Millard High graduate, was killed in the spring of 1953 and was honored with the Bronze Star.<sup>12</sup>

During one of Lieutenant J. Ralph Wood's one hundred fighter missions in a Saber jet, he and a companion were attacked by enemy Mig jet fighters but chased the enemy north to the border with China. For this he received the Distinguished Flying Cross. Jay Fisher, a World War II veteran pilot, was decorated with the South Korean Legion of Merit and other awards for his service training South Korean pilots. Fisher later attained the rank of Lt. Colonel. Garth Stevens, a West Point graduate and a decorated World War II veteran, attained the rank of full colonel while serving in Korea.

The outbreak of the Cold War encouraged a number of county men to make the armed services their chosen career. Former Hinckley resident Lt. Boyd Hilton reentered the service in 1948 and was retrained to fly jet fighter planes. He was killed when he failed to successfully eject from a Thunderjet over Germany in April 1951. Morgan Abbott died in a training accident in England in June 1954, and a month later Ward Davis was killed when he attempted to bail out of his crippled Navy dive bomber in New Mexico. The career of Lt. Doyle George was cut short when he was killed in 1955 when the transport plane he co-piloted collided with a similar aircraft in Germany. Lt. Russell C. Wood was killed when his plane crashed at a base near Spokane, Washington, in 1961, and Bill Starley died when his jet bomber flamed out on takeoff in New Hampshire, killing all crewmen on board. Other jet pilots at the time included Wayne Morgan, Sterling Nixon, Milton (Andy) Melville, Rollo Brunson, Connie Bement, Dale McCormick, Marlow Morris, and Jack Iverson.<sup>13</sup>

Suffering from a lack of irrigation water and poor crop prices, a number of west Millard farming communities experienced a decline in population in the decades following World War II. The population of Hinckley reached 821 in 1920 but had declined to 589 in 1950. The population trend continued downward, bottoming out at about 400 people in 1960. The population remained at about that number for the next ten or fifteen years before inching upward. A shock to Hinckley residents came with the closing of Hinckley High School. The number of graduates dropped from nineteen in 1951 to twelve in 1952, although the last graduating class in 1953 was twenty-five students. Junior and senior high school students were bussed to Delta High School beginning in the 1953–54 school year.

The attraction of urban employment at higher pay contributed to the significant decline of the county's population. Total annual income from field crops also dropped during the period of the 1950s from about \$4 million to \$2.5 million, adding to the incentive to leave farming. In 1960 the county's population had dropped by 16 percent from the previous decade—to 7,866. Further, mechanization of agriculture reduced the need for farm workers even as better machinery enabled farmers to cultivate more land. The number of individual farms operating in the county in 1950 was 1,133; by 1964, the number of farms dropped to 777. However, the average farm increased in size: in 1950 the average size farm was 414 acres; ten years later, the average farm size jumped to 656 acres. Another perspective of farm size is reflected in the following numbers: there were 112 farms of between 260 and 499 acres, 91 of 500 to 999 acres, and 120 of 1,000 or more acres in 1964.<sup>14</sup>

Meadow provides a good example of the changing pattern. Almost half the people who left Meadow in the 1950s and 1960s moved elsewhere in Utah; about 15 percent of those who moved relocated to either California or Nevada, and the balance moved elsewhere. The majority of the farmland in Meadow in 1960 was owned by people over sixty-five years of age. Since many of Meadow's children had moved elsewhere, consolidation of area farms continued. The entire process of out-migration and consolidation of farms assured that there would be fewer young people living in the area engaged in agriculture.

Not all of the displaced farmers left the county. There was a marked increase in all levels of government service—from 345 in 1950 to 551 by 1966. Wholesale and retail trade employment also gained, going from 295 in 1950 to 336 in 1966. Many non-agricultural employment workers also operated small farms as a sideline. For example, 307 farm operators (nearly 40 percent) were employed elsewhere than the farm for more than 100 days in 1967.<sup>15</sup>

Two sectors of Millard County's farm economy which enjoyed modest though inconsistent success were alfalfa-seed producers and hay growers. In 1961, county seed producers received more than \$2 million for their seed as a result of an usually strong seed market, and hay farmers received more than \$1 million for their crop.<sup>16</sup>

The trend which began in the 1920s to raise more cattle continued into the 1950s and 1960s. In 1961, for example, more than 19,000 head of livestock were either sold or slaughtered and over \$3.3 million was realized from the sale of livestock. In 1962 approximately three-fourths of west Millard farmers were engaged in some feeder operations, utilizing their capacity to produce home-grown corn silage and grain. Besides the large amount of feed grain consumed locally, \$81,591 worth of feed grain was sold, largely through the Morrison Grain Company and Intermountain Farmers Association of Delta. The two Delta hay-processing plants that dehydrated green-cut alfalfa into feed pellets, primarily for the state's turkey industry, netted \$128,250.<sup>17</sup>

Increased cattle production corresponded to increased activity of the Delta Livestock Auction, managed principally by Elwin Pace. By the 1960s, the Delta auction ranked second statewide behind the Ogden livestock exchange. In 1961 the Delta auction, which could seat 500 sellers and buyers, sold 25,479 animals for gross proceeds of \$2,994,845. Four years later, at one weekend sale, 3,000 cattle were sold for \$382,428.<sup>18</sup>

Dairying remained relatively steady during this twenty-year period. The Brooklawn Creamery in 1961 processed nearly 4.9 million pounds of cheese, worth over \$205,000. The Sunrise Dairy operated by the Jensens netted \$11,664 for milk and almost the same amount for ice cream that same year. And the local honey industry

grossed \$117,000 worth of honey plus an additional \$6,450 from commercial beeswax.

Significant progress was made in water conservation, reducing seepage in west-side canals in the late 1950s. Technical assistance with water conservation came from U.S. Soil Conservation Service officials who had gained experience working with east-side irrigation companies earlier. Area businessmen Carl Ashby and Lyle Bunker purchased new ditch-digging and lining machinery and were employed by the companies in this water conservation effort to line the ditches with concrete. The combined local irrigation companies, known as DMAD, rebuilt the old diversion dam, increasing its capacity from under 2,000 to 11,000 acre-feet. The rebuilt dam provided additional storage from spring runoff of water below the Sevier Bridge dam and stabilized the water flow of the Sevier River.

The decade of the 1960s in west Millard marked the end of an economy based almost entirely on agriculture. Slowly, tourism grew in importance economically. The thirteen area service stations, six eating establishments, the five motels and two hotels, and the three drugstores generated just over \$500,000 in revenue from tourism in 1961.<sup>19</sup>

Of continuing concern to the residents of Delta was the lack of adequate medical facilities. The initial hope was for the LDS church to build and operate a community hospital similar to the hospital projected for Fillmore. In February 1945 Desert Stake President Harold Morris announced that LDS church officials in Salt Lake City had approved of the plan and agreed to provide \$50,000 for a hospital in Delta. However, the church failed to act further on the plan; church officials felt that the Fillmore hospital was adequate for the entire county. As a result, west Millard residents resolved to raise funds for a new hospital on their own.

Delta Mayor Glen H. Black went to work to solve the problem. Surplus hospital equipment was obtained, but much of this was inadequate and outdated. Former Delta Mayor C.M. "Pat" Pace hoped to persuade thirty prosperous farmers to each donate one thousand dollars to begin the project. Pace, LeRoy Smith, and John Day were the first contributors; however, other voluntary donations were slow in coming. Fund-raising events were organized, including a series of

amateur boxing matches at the Palomar, one featuring Niel Rawlinson of Delta and Dick Warner from Fillmore. The event, won by Rawlinson, garnered \$1,350 for the hospital fund. Other successful fund-raisers were pheasant hunts. Area farmers agreed to open their fields to pheasant hunters who purchased special hunting badges, and \$30,000 was contributed to the hospital building fund from that activity.<sup>20</sup>

By early 1959 the community had raised sufficient funds that the volunteer hospital association hired an architect to prepare several plans for the new hospital. Community fund-raising efforts continued, including a horse race at the Deseret fair grounds, donations of eighteen dollars from the Delta Elementary School's second grade class, and a rummage sale sponsored by the women of the Sunshine Club. With plans approved for an eight-ward hospital, laboratory, x-ray, operating, and delivery rooms; \$112,000 raised, with additional pledges of \$35,000; and the community agreeing to provide volunteer labor, hospital construction got underway in 1962, to the praise of others in the state.<sup>21</sup>

Competition in various forms between the two sides of the county has existed for many years: from athletic competition between the high schools, to the county school district, to economic development. The growth of population of west Millard added fuel to the continuing competitive spirit of some. Until the 1960s, east Millard held a majority of the five school board district seats. However, a significant shift of power occurred when one of east Millard's school board seats was allocated to the west side of the county and west-side members Jack Nelson, Alta Ashby, and Delma Jean Galli voted to move the county school district offices to Delta. East-side board members Milton Beckstrand and Dr. Dean C. Evans voted against the proposal, and east Millard citizens expressed deep disapproval of the decision and took the matter to court. Many living on the east side of the county felt that history was on their side, as no county offices other than an assistant county extension agent and deputy sheriff previously had been located in Delta.<sup>22</sup>

For four decades the Delta High School building had served the educational needs of the community. However, time was taking its toll on the building and on the educational experience. Attorney

Thorpe Waddingham led a committee of those who believed it was time for a new high school; however, convincing county school district officials and the board of trustees of the need was a slow and difficult process. In the summer of 1963 the state building engineer confirmed that the old high school had numerous deficiencies. The county school board agreed to hold a building bond election to finance a new high school. The bond passed, but before further work on the building took place several east Millard residents brought a lawsuit against the school district, charging that the school district had failed to complete a farm mechanics shop at Millard High authorized by an earlier bond. The plaintiffs were concerned that the Fillmore project would be delayed further or cancelled if a new high school was built in Delta. The plaintiffs' hired Calvin Rampton, a high-profile attorney (and future governor) to represent them.

East Millard residents also feared the possibility that with the completion of a new high school, county school district offices might be moved to Delta as threatened. Although the lawsuit did not prevent eventual construction of the new high school building, it did delay it for many months. After months of litigation but before the case reached the state supreme court, Fillmore attorney and group spokesmen Lee Peterson agreed to support the new school building with the promise from the county school board that it would complete the Fillmore High School shop building. Further, Peterson and the east-side committee strongly urged, for "good will and harmony among the citizens of Millard County," that the school district offices remain on the east side of the county. The school board agreed to the first part of the east-side demands but concluded to move the district headquarters to the increasingly more populous town of Delta. The school district utilized a relatively new auxiliary building at the old high school for its new offices. Stringham Construction Company of Salt Lake City was awarded the construction contract for the new high school with a low bid of \$1,631,000.<sup>23</sup>

Even before the completion of the new high school in 1966, coach Jim Porter had begun a wrestling dynasty that became one of the most notable interscholastic activities at Delta High School. That year, the Rabbits won a fourth straight state championship. For the next three decades under coaches Ronald Peterson and Ladd

Holman, the wrestling team won a total of twenty-five state championships, believed to be a national record. Porter also coached the Delta football team to state championships in 1966 and 1968.

Joe Lyman, one of many Delta state wrestling champions, later attained high achievement at BYU, where he won three Western Athletic Conference championships. In 1969 Delta High School athlete Doug Bailey won the BYU Invitational All-Around track competition. Dave Johnson was a three-time state champion in the mile run and went on to win All American honors as a cross-country runner at BYU.

Delta High basketball teams resumed their winning ways in the early 1970s under coach Mitchell Meyers. Delta High reached the basketball finals for Class B schools in 1971 and the following year won the championship for the first time in the school's history. Basketball success at Millard High continued under Coach Keith Gillins. In 1978, the Eagles won the state basketball championship, followed two years later by winning third place. That year, Andrew Jenson was selected to the all-state basketball team. Two years later, Bob Jenson was also named to the all-state basketball squad and was selected outstanding athlete of the year, partly for his success in football as well.

In football, Millard tied Delta in 1966, the year the Rabbits won their first state championship since 1938. A year later, Millard beat their cross-county rivals to reach the state football quarter finals. The following year was of particular interest when the two schools qualified for the state championship, the first time Millard had been there since 1960. Delta won the game, which demonstrated the high quality of the two schools' athletic programs.

In 1970 Lewis Monson, a former Millard High player, was hired to coach at his alma mater. His first year at Millard High he led the Eagles basketball team to their best season ever, placing third in the state. Richard George was selected to the all-tournament team that year and also finished second in the BYU all-around track competition. He later achieved All-American honors throwing the javelin at BYU and in 1976 competed for the United States in the Olympic games at Montreal.

Millard High's football team won state championships in 1976,

1981, and 1982. A number of county high school football players were named to all-state football teams. Dan Davies was chosen most valuable player in 1976, and Robert Monson was most valuable player in 1978. Cliff Stephenson shared the honor with Bob Jenson in 1981. Jay Day was the recipient of the award in 1982, as was Tilden Swallow in 1988. Former Millard High Eagle Jeff Keel later earned National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics All-America honorable mention honors at Southern Utah State College.

Millard High School's wrestling fortunes were revived in 1981 when former Delta standout Ladd Holman was hired. Several years later, however, he left Millard High to accept a coaching position at Delta High. In 1983, the Eagles beat perennial powers Delta and Wasatch and garnered three individual state championships. Greg Searle was selected outstanding wrestler in the tournament.

Discussions of the impact of the interstate highway project through east Millard began in the spring of 1959. During the next several years public hearings were held for citizens of east Millard to express their concerns regarding the location of the highway and its impact. An important element of the national interstate highway system was the elimination of direct contact with crossroads. The plan was to bypass rural towns and cities with limited access via on- and off-ramps. Those businesses in Fillmore, Kanosh, and elsewhere in the county that catered to the traveling public found themselves isolated and removed from highway commerce. Kanosh representatives wanted the interstate to pass closer to their town, and Meadow spokesmen preferred the highway to be located east of town rather than west. Scipio residents, bypassed earlier by improvements of U.S. Highway 91, were concerned that no more farmland be sacrificed than was absolutely necessary.

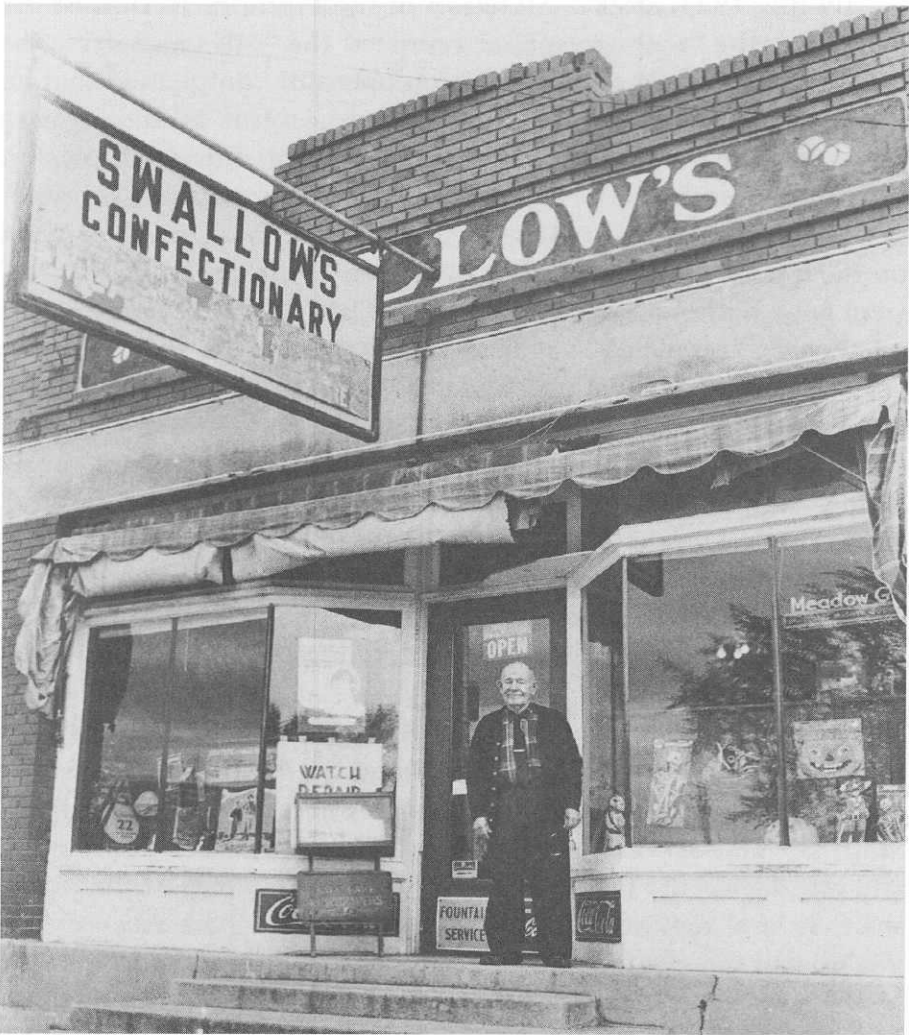
As late as the fall of 1971, the *Progress* tried to encourage local businessmen by reporting that Cedar City officials believed the interstate highway through Iron County had actually enhanced business at their restaurants and service stations. The article, however, failed to explain that many businesses had moved nearer to the on- and off-ramps. Some east side businesses opted to remain at their traditional locations, with only a few that initially planned to relocate nearer the interstate.



By July 1973, after completion of the Fillmore section of the interstate, the local newspaper reported the “cafes and drive ins look[ed] empty.” One service station operator complained that he had pumped only seventeen gallons of gasoline all day; others observed there were hardly any automobiles from outside of town on the streets after dark. The economic impact of the bypass was immediate and devastating to many businesses that had thrived for years on the tourist industry. Half of the dozen Fillmore service stations were gone within a year. The Fillmore Cafe closed even before the freeway was completed, and Shady’s Cafe was gone by the end of the year. The only cafe in Kanosh closed as well. It took a little longer for the highway to take its toll on the motels in the center of Fillmore. Other businesses, including grocery stores, auto parts stores, repair shops, and banks, experienced a slow-down in economic activity. Reflecting on the changes wrought by the interstate, a *Progress* reporter wrote, “the first year of the bypass with the completion of I 15 around Fillmore has taught us the highway [was] all important,” and added “we must now look to other things to fill the [economic] gap.”<sup>24</sup>

Several business people recognized that a change of location was necessary if they were to survive. Before work began on the Fillmore section of the interstate, John and Ilene Cooper purchased the Truck Stop Cafe and Service located nearer the proposed north off-ramp and remodeled the facility in 1973 to take advantage of the traffic shift. Several new service stations were built in the area as well. Within two months of the completion of the Fillmore section of the highway, the large Paradise Inn and Garden of Eatin owned by Carol and Fred Huntington of Provo was opened under the management of Neldon Adams. The motel and restaurant complex did a very good business, demonstrating the importance to travelers of location. Don Fullmer eventually bought the business.<sup>25</sup>

The planning and construction of I-15 through the county stirred other business activities. A group of civic-minded residents organized the Fillmore Industrial Foundation (FIF) to promote new businesses. Representatives from FIF visited a sewing operation in Beaver and noted the economic boost it gave to that community. Clothing manufacturing enterprise Cal-Ute soon located in Fillmore.



J. William Swallow's Confectionery Store, Main Street, Fillmore. (Utah State Historical Society)

In early 1973, with assistance from federally financed business loans, Cal-Ute began sewing clothes. Sewing classes were organized and advertisements posted for women seeking employment sewing. The Cal-Ute company shipped the first jackets made locally in early April. By August 1973 the Fillmore factory of California Clothing Manufacturing, a successor company, employed forty-two workers,

who were making hundreds of coats. The next year, California Clothing opened another plant in the old Scipio school. During its operation in Scipio, California Clothing generated an average weekly payroll of \$1,600 for the community.

Despite their high quality of work and good production, rumors began to circulate that the clothing plants would close. Jerry Duke headed a company known as Review Apparel in an attempt to revitalize the local clothing industry. Review Apparel met with good success and was soon employing one hundred county residents. It took control of the clothing operation in Scipio as well. In fact, a decade later, when the entire enterprise was sold to Roy Rosvall and his associates, they took the company name of Scipio Sportswear Incorporated. This operation also established a sewing plant of forty sewing machines in Hinckley at the old Millard Academy. Dallin Nielsen, Jr., established D.J. Sportswear in Fillmore with thirty-seven employees manufacturing clothing sold to J.C. Penneys and Sears stores. Native Americans at Kanosh also promoted their own enterprises, engaging in manufacturing specialty clothing and Indian handicraft items. Despite some considerable success, however, virtually all of the local clothing manufacturing businesses closed with a dozen years partly as a result of lower labor costs abroad.<sup>26</sup>

To attract other business to the Fillmore area, civic leaders planned an industrial park complete with all of the necessary utilities in 1973. The first and largest company to locate at the industrial park was Mountain Mushroom Company, headed by Don Smith, a former resident of the county. Smith's initial interest in the park was to open a pork-packing plant and dog food company utilizing byproducts from the packing plant. Instead, however, Smith formed the mushroom company with Gordon Griffin. Securing federal economic development loans to supplement their own capital, the Mountain Mushroom Company owners built a 95,000-square-foot environmentally controlled growing facility, considered by many at the time as the most modern in the world. Gathering an experienced management staff, the company began operating in late 1974.<sup>27</sup>

A work force of fourteen families of some eighty people from Vietnam and Cambodia, refugees from the Vietnam War, were sponsored by Ken Sanderson, an associate of Smith, to work in the mush-

room factory in Fillmore. The company prepared a trailer park residential area south of the Fillmore airport and adjacent to the mushroom-growing facility for the new workers and their families.

The community welcomed the newcomers with donations of clothing and household furnishings, much appreciated by the naturally apprehensive refugees. The school district hired a specialist to help the new students learn English. The process of assimilation was soon well underway. A year later, most new employees were reported to be enjoying their work at the mushroom facility and were thankful they had been brought to the Fillmore area. Within a few years, Smith sold the plant to a subsidiary of the Dole Foods conglomerate.

Longtime editor of the *Progress* June McBride Wilson wrote that Smith deserved much of the credit for promoting east Millard economic development: “Through the efforts of Don Smith and others Fillmore has reversed the trend of [its] economic downhill slide.” The newspaper added, “more new homes and people have arrived in Fillmore during the last two years than any other time in history.”<sup>28</sup> The population of Fillmore grew by nearly 48 percent during the decade of the 1970s—from 1,411 in 1970 to 2,083 in 1980—the largest increase since the founding of Fillmore. The county as a whole also experienced an increase of population—from 6,988 to 8,970—during the same period. There was a major change brought about largely by efforts of a core of determined and innovative citizens to adjust to the new situations. Although there was no assurance of a permanent solution to the challenges of population loss or economic disruption, east Millard had again demonstrated impressive resilience and community spirit.

In the late 1970s the mushroom operation employed 140 people regularly and had an annual payroll of \$3–4 million. After the Dole Foods affiliate divested itself of the Fillmore plant, the new owner, Mushroom King, got into severe financial difficulty in 1987. Through “heavy lobbying” by state and local officials, the facility remained operational during the crisis and was purchased later that year by United Foods Incorporated. Operated as Pictsweet Mushroom Farms, with branches in Salem, Oregon, and Ventura, California, the company has maintained a position of the fourth-largest mushroom

producer in the nation. Eventually, the Fillmore area had one of the highest concentrations of Asians of any community of its size in the Intermountain West, many of whom have worked at the mushroom facility. In 1980 Millard County had the highest percentage (1.5 percent) of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the state.

In February 1969 a *Progress* writer had observed, “we don’t at the present time have enough interest to support a Fillmore booster club, let alone a Chamber of Commerce or Junior Chamber.” However, community efforts during the previous five years belied any such lack of energy or civic pride. In 1965, after a community campaign to clear the many dead trees in town and a painting project at the fairgrounds and old capitol building, Fillmore won recognition as the cleanest town for its size in the United States. Two years later, Fillmore garnered a runner-up award for communities of less than 25,000 inhabitants in a similar national clean-up contest. The following year, the community received a plaque for outstanding achievement in a national civic betterment competition and was featured on a statewide television program that declared Fillmore the “cleanest little city” in the state.<sup>29</sup>

During the decade after the completion of the Fillmore section of I-15, the face of Fillmore’s downtown changed substantially. First Security Bank replaced the buildings that housed Kessler Milling, May’s Beauty Shop, Dame’s Electric Shop, and Swallow’s Confectionery with its own new building. Zions Bank also constructed a new building. Other businesses closed their doors, including Rowley’s Variety store in 1970 and Fillmore Frozen Foods. Longtime merchants LaVoy Kimball of Stevens Mercantile and J. Francis Kelly retired. The Circle S tavern closed in 1982.

In mid-1975 east Millard suffered another disappointment when the Bureau of Land Management District office was downsized and a substantial number of local personnel were transferred to the BLM office in Richfield. The reassignment and reallocation of BLM resources was part of a statewide consolidation of BLM districts from eight to five. There was extensive public outcry in Millard County over the decision. The *Progress* echoed the *San Juan Record’s* observation that the moves were almost universally opposed by the public at large, including those who usually complained about the BLM’s

management of public land. In the end, the *Progress* appealed to citizens to again work together to “fill the gap” of the loss of this source of local revenue.<sup>30</sup>

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Vietnam War impacted Millard County, as eligible young men were inducted or called into the armed forces to serve their country. Over 250 persons from Millard County served on active duty during the war, about a quarter of them seeing duty in Vietnam. Some had seen military action in World War II as well as in Korea. Wayne Morgan, for instance, served in all three wars. Among the combat flyers from the county was Lt. Michael Chesser, who flew over 200 helicopter missions and earned a Distinguished Flying Cross and Bronze Star. Marine helicopter pilot Russell Black flew on 350 often-dangerous missions on his first tour and returned as a jet bomber pilot for a second tour. Promoted to captain, he was much decorated for his service. Career Navy pilot Marlow Morris was killed in an accident while attempting to land his aircraft off Antarctica during extremely poor weather conditions. Andy Melville, who eventually made full colonel, primarily flew fighter-bombers on 200 missions, including seventy-nine over enemy targets, for which he received the Distinguished Flying Cross, as did Major Sterling Nixon, who flew in 250 missions. Lieutenant Raymond Stephenson had a shorter flying career, but he too was decorated for his Vietnam service, as was Major Jack Iverson. Captain Chesley R. Davies served as a physician under hazardous conditions in Vietnam, for which he too was decorated.

Others highly decorated for valor included Colonel Alexander Galli, Captain Mike Moody, Warrant Officer Reed Bohn, Sgt. McKay Church, Sgt. James Mace, and Private First Class Ronald Bailey. All earned the Bronze Star, with the latter two paying a dear price, Mace with his life and Bailey losing an arm and suffering other grave injuries. Others seriously wounded in the war were Paul Moody, Ray Johnson, Brent Sheldon, Jim Cummings, Sherman Peterson, and Rex Finlinson.

Corporal David J. Bohn was killed in Vietnam at the end of 1966. A year later, Raymond S. Adams, a helicopter door gunner, was lost when his aircraft crashed and burned. James D. Mace died in an ambush while on patrol in 1970. Two other local servicemen died in

automobile accidents: Dennis P. Cahoon in October 1971 in Germany and Bryant Wright in Florida. Jet fighter pilot Lieutenant Paul Swalberg, who was stationed in Thailand in 1976, was later killed in an aircraft accident.

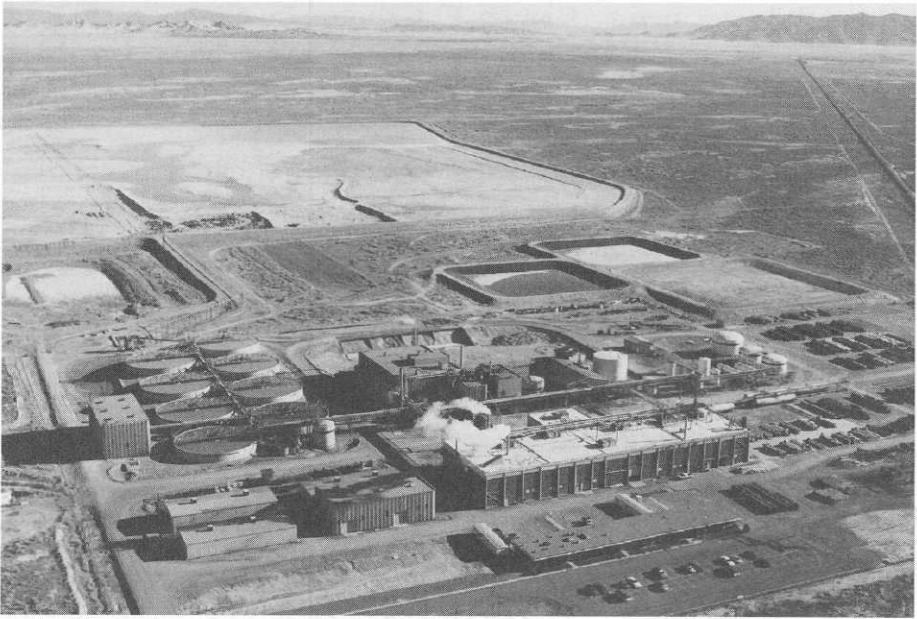
On their return home to Millard County, Vietnam soldiers were warmly welcomed, unlike the case in some other areas that featured anti-war demonstrations. Most Millard County residents supported the government's war efforts and concerns.

An unusual farm settlement in Millard County is the community of Eskdale, founded in 1956 and located near the Nevada border north of Highway 6/50. Under the leadership of Maurice L. Glenndenning, a former member of the Mormon church, the small Christian sect called the Order of Aaron began by establishing several small communities, including Partoun, in Snake Valley in 1942. The Order of Aaron is devoted to sharing common property and economic endeavor. Claiming not to be a polygamist group, the Eskdale community is proud to be compared to earlier Mormon United Order settlements. While they live as family units, members eat at a common dining hall and work at daily tasks assigned by the work supervisor.

Maurice Glenndenning died in 1969 and his chosen successor, Robert Conrad, presided over the group for about two decades. By the 1980s the Order of Aaron had about one hundred members residing in Eskdale, with up to a thousand adherents living elsewhere in Utah and surrounding states. In 1990 an estimated 250 members remained active in the order under the spiritual leadership of John Conrad, a veterinarian.

Soon after settling in Snake Valley, members of the order constructed a reservoir to provide water for their orchards, fields, gardens, and dairy. By the late 1970s the dairy produced 870 gallons of milk per day and grossed \$200,000 per year. More recently the order has focused its attention on selling embryos of genetically superior cattle for use in artificial insemination.

Besides the farming operation, the real showplace of Eskdale is its school, which includes some dozen students boarding from member families from the outside world. An impressive number of Eskdale children have accomplished much scholastically, and many have contin-



Brush-Wellman Beryllium Plant constructed in the 1970s north of Delta. (Great Basin Historical Society)

ued their education by attending universities and colleges. As elsewhere in the county, Snake Valley is home to some polygamist families.<sup>31</sup>

In the late 1950s and early 1960s beryllium was discovered in the volcanic rock west of Spor Mountain in Juab County. Beryllium, used in space vehicles and jet aircraft among other things, set off a wave of economic excitement in west Millard County. Several mining companies and numerous individuals rushed to stake claims. By 1962 Brush Beryllium, the nation's largest processor of beryllium, successfully secured most of the valuable Juab County ore claims and developed manufacturing methods economically feasible for the Utah deposits. Brush Beryllium designed a mill and let a construction contract to Denver-based Stearns-Roger, the same company that built Delta's sugar factory prior to World War I. The mill, located between Delta and Lynndyl, was completed in September 1969 at a cost of approximately \$12.5 million. Utah Highway 174, the forty-seven-mile "beryllium road," was improved for heavy truck traffic carrying the ore from Juab County to the mill in Millard County.<sup>32</sup>



At the end of the 1970s Brush Beryllium became Brush Wellman, and competing companies worldwide abandoned the field, leaving it as the only beryllium mining and milling operation outside the communist bloc. By 1978 the company's net annual income had risen 55 percent to just over \$12 million. In 1984 the company announced an expansion program of over \$50 million, including improvements at its Delta plant. The company was also undertaking a difficult transition from dependence on government contracts to the private sector, particularly commercial airlines.<sup>33</sup> The company has remained a significant economic asset to the county.

The establishment of a \$7 million Continental Lime plant thirty miles south of Deseret between Clear Lake and the Cricket Mountains in July 1979 also added to the economic diversity of west Millard. The company employs some two dozen men from the county. The lime ore is trucked six miles from the quarry to the plant, where it is crushed and heated in a rotary kiln to produce the principal product of quick lime, or calcium oxide, used in mining and electrical-power-generating industries. Among the eventual consumers of the quick lime was the Intermountain Power Plant.<sup>34</sup>

Since 1959 several different companies, including the Dixon Chemical Company, employing workers from Millard, Beaver, and Sevier Counties, have attempted to operate a sulfuric acid plant at Sulphurdale, which is just beyond the Millard County line near Cove Fort. The making of sulfuric acid at Sulferdale has not been economical, however. Union Oil Company, following the drilling of test wells in the area during the national energy crisis of the 1970s, did develop a geothermal well in the area that has generated small amounts of electric power for the city of Provo.<sup>35</sup>

In the summer of 1962, American Telephone and Telegraph (ATT) announced plans for a "temporary" 400-foot microwave test tower located four miles southeast of Delta. Less than a year later the site became a major link in the nation's growing communication network, involving both long-distance telephone calls and television transmissions. The Delta station amplified the microwaves, sending them to smaller facilities at Scipio Pass, Clear Lake/Black Rock, or the Confusion Mountains. The Delta facility had the capacity to handle up to 6,000 telephone calls at once when it went on line in June 1964.

Several employees were hired to maintain the various communication facilities in the county. That year AT&T reportedly spent \$10 million in the county on its transmission facilities and paid taxes to the county second only to Union Pacific Railroad.<sup>36</sup>

The following spring, the federal Defense Communication Agency announced plans to build an Automatic Voice Network (Autovon) switching station southeast of Delta, one of seventy-five facilities linking the country's numerous military bases. The complex was built and operated under contracts with Millard County Telegraph and Telephone Company, which was just then merging with Continental Telephone Corporation. The Autovon facility could operate independently as a self-contained operation, providing accommodations for its operators and generating its own electricity in case of emergencies. It operated for more than two decades before being closed in the early 1990s when automation enabled the function to be provided by other stations.<sup>37</sup>

The influx of construction workers, the hundred permanent employees of Brush-Wellman, and the several dozen other workers employed by the microwave and Autovon facilities helped reverse the population drain and local economic recession west Millard had experienced for some time. During the first half of 1968, Delta City officials issued seventeen new residential building permits, more than at any time since the early 1950s.

In anticipation of new prosperity, the Orville Jeffery family expanded their Quality Market hardware department into the former Workman Sterling Market building and the grocery operation into the vacant Wright's Variety Store. Other physical changes in Delta occurred as well. Several buildings were razed, including the old school. Delta City eventually built a new city hall/library/police station on the school site. In the late 1960s the historic Crest Theater burned and the building was demolished. The older Banque Hotel/Sharp Apartments were also razed and First Security Bank constructed a modern building on the site. The spurt in the local economy between 1967 and 1974 was reflected in gross sales tax receipts nearly doubling in the county.<sup>38</sup>

In 1974 Glen Gardner began the county's first radio station. Several generations of radio listeners had had only stations from Salt

Lake City, Provo, Richfield, Cedar City, and more distant national locations. Since its establishment, despite occasional financial difficulties, the radio station has played a significant role in local business advertising, providing local information and entertainment.<sup>39</sup>

In March 1977 ground was broken for a golf course near historic Pack's Bottom and Gunnison Bend Reservoir. Six years later, however, just as the course was coming into its own, it was destroyed by the great flood of 1983, a loss estimated at \$262,000. Millard County officials decided that a new golf course should be relocated, and land near the airport was donated for that purpose by Derrel Christensen. The Federal Emergency Management Administration provided three-quarters of the cost of the new golf course, with state and county monies providing the remainder. In September 1983 the county commission commenced the construction of a new golf course, which has proven to be very popular.

The Gunnison Bend Reservoir continued to be an immensely popular place for boaters, waterskiers, and fishermen. In 1977 the Bureau of Land Management solicited public comments and suggestions for more extensive recreational facilities at the reservoir. In 1985, following the earlier flood, county officials secured \$74,000 from the Utah State Board of Outdoor Recreation and the Intermountain Power Project to make improvements and construct a floating dock, fences, new high-power lighting, a pavilion, and restrooms. Much of the labor for the improvements was donated. The result was a water playground many consider unsurpassed in the region.

By the mid-1970s, after thirty-three years, the Delta municipal swimming pool was forced to close because of serious mechanical problems. In 1977, petitions circulated in Delta calling for a special services district to be created to secure financing for a new pool. The county commission held hearings on the matter, and in August the West Millard Recreation District was organized, headed by Ken Ashby and Carol Nielson. It was determined that the facility could be constructed and maintained through a small additional levy of 1.5 mills in county taxes. Following public meetings and discussion in the *Chronicle*, voters approved the measure by a two-to-one margin. The new indoor swimming pool complex opened in March 1979.

The pool has provided good aquatic programs for the handicapped and has enhanced school physical education opportunities.<sup>40</sup>

The sand dunes at Jericho in Juab County have added to Millard County's economy as well as providing county residents with another nearby recreational area for off-road vehicles and camping. On many weekends a literal camp city exists there, and county merchants have benefited from the visitors to the region.

The planning of activities for 4 July continued to be shared by various groups, including the Lions, the Jaycees, the American Legion women's auxiliary, and others. Hinckley continued to host the Pioneer Day celebration, and Leamington's Leamarado was also held each year on Labor Day. Between 1963 and 1972 the East Millard Riding Club sponsored horse shows as a major feature of Fillmore's Independence Day celebration, and other activities were sponsored by Fillmore LDS wards and civic groups. Kanosh, Fillmore, Meadow, and Scipio organized Pioneer Day celebrations, with Hinckley and Leamington staging amateur rodeos for the 24 July celebrations.

The riding club spearheaded an effort to build a quarter-mile straight track at the fairgrounds for the purpose of quarter horse racing. At the end of the decade of the 1960s, the same group donated the labor to construct fifty new horse stalls at the fairgrounds.<sup>41</sup> Thoroughbred horse races in the county had what the *Progress* characterized as a "great comeback" in the early 1970s, with races held almost every weekend during the summer months. The fairgrounds provided an excellent training location for many locally owned horses.

The economic and demographic changes that occurred in the county between the end of World War II and the 1970s were mixed. Many towns declined in population while, at the same time, there occurred a diversification of the county's economy. A change of political power from the east side of the county to the west side also occurred when the Delta site for the Intermountain Power Project was selected, providing a great boost to the county's economy.

#### ENDNOTES

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4. *Millard County Progress*, 24 October 1947, 24 March, 7 July 1950, 26 February, 11 June 1954, 26 August 1955, 27 July, 5 October 1956, 29 March, 12, 19, 26 April, 16 August 1957.
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7. See George B. Felt, *A Century of Utah High School Football, 1893–1993* (Salt Lake City: Utah Sports Publications, 1993), 133, which recounts one legendary play in the 1953 championship game.
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16. Merrill Kay Ridd, "The Influences of Soil and Water Conditions on Agricultural Development in the Delta Area, Utah" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1963), 148.
17. *Ibid.*, 171–78.
18. *Ibid.*, 151–52, 167–69.
19. *Ibid.*, 173.
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21. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 October 1961, 26, 28 April 1962.

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## CHAPTER 11

# THE INTERMOUNTAIN POWER PROJECT AND ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION

Millard County during the last two decades of the twentieth century underwent economic diversification far surpassing any previous developments. The Intermountain Power Project (IPP), one of the largest coal-generated electric power plants in the Intermountain West, has been a prime factor. Several mining-related operations along with processing and manufacturing enterprises added to the economic base of the county. Agriculture continued to be important, sometimes even bringing the county into the national limelight. Tourism remained an important segment of the county's economy. A shift in population from the east side to the west side of the county plus new communications technology resulted in some rethinking of county government services and location. New environmental laws brought on a new relationship of local citizens with the national government that sometimes led to conflict and at other times to accommodation.

In late 1977, after weeks of rumors, a public information meeting sponsored by the Intermountain Power Project was held at the Delta LDS Second Ward cultural hall. There, to a large gathering, an IPP official announced that a consortium of twenty-seven member

municipal electrical systems in California and Utah along with six Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives in Utah was considering building a massive coal-fired electric generation plant between Lynndyl and Delta, one of six sites being considered.

An important consideration in selecting the site for the IPP was its environmental impact. At the other possible sites in southern Utah, environmentalists were very much concerned with the power plant's serious environmental impact. This was particularly the situation at IPP's favored location at Salt Wash near Cainesville in Wayne County, near scenic Capital Reef National Park. A state intergovernmental task force was organized to provide input into the site-selection process. It soon was apparent that all of the other southern Utah sites were less suitable, and the task force recommended the location in Millard County southwest of Lynndyl and ten miles directly west of the Brush-Wellman Beryllium plant.<sup>1</sup> In early April 1978, IPP and the BLM approved a further study of the Millard County site. In mid-December 1979 the Millard County location received approval from former governor of Idaho and then Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus. Andrus concluded that the Millard County site would cause no major problems for the proposed wilderness areas then under consideration in the region and was an acceptable location for the power plant.<sup>2</sup>

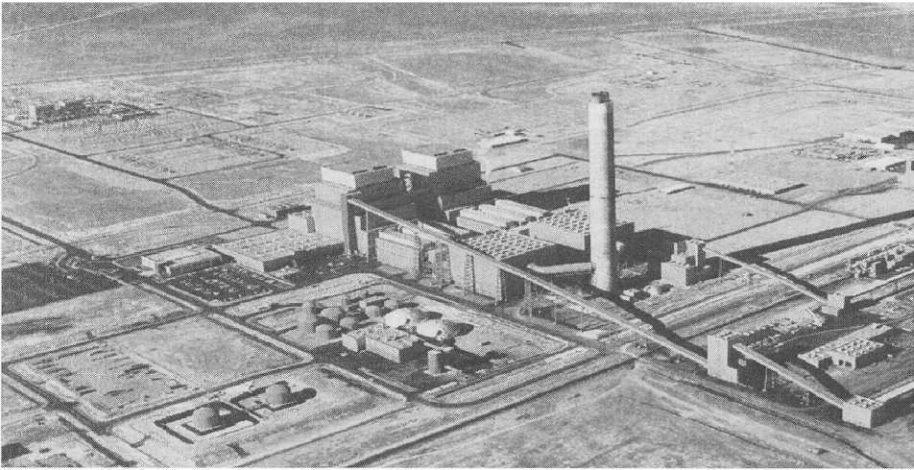
There remained several other significant hurdles to be cleared before work could begin. The first was a controversial 2 percent tax the state legislature levied on the gross income earned by power plants. IPP officials called the tax a "death knell to the project," although the company acknowledged that since state law prohibited counties from levying property taxes on such enterprises some means was necessary to provide funds to help alleviate costs incurred by municipalities dealing with the influx of construction workers and their families during the construction period. In lieu of the tax, IPP officials proposed that the legislature enact provisions to permit the company to make payments to the county and the communities impacted. The proposal allowed the company to contract directly with agencies like the Millard County School District to provide funds for school construction in a timely fashion. The legislation was passed by early February 1980.



A second hurdle was a companion measure of the legislature to tax the company's income, which IPP labeled as "excessive and discriminatory." Some expressed fear that such a tax might jeopardize the sale of construction bonds at an attractive rate because the Internal Revenue Service might revoke the company's tax-exempt status.<sup>3</sup> Municipalities hoping to benefit from the project criticized the legislature for jeopardizing the future of the power project. Nineteen mayors from the twenty-four Utah cities involved called for a halt in project planning until the tax issue could be resolved. The mayors charged state lawmakers with indifference to the needs of Utah towns and called on Governor Scott Matheson to veto the bill. The governor reactivated his tax-revision committee to determine if it was good public policy to tax a power project created by non-taxable municipalities. Matheson reminded the committee that since the power consortium was utilizing the state's coal and water resources, it must be held accountable. After studying the matter for more than six months, the committee reported that the tax structure "may be excessive" for IPP compared to other similar power projects and recommended that the legislature "take appropriate action" to assure equitable treatment of the company.<sup>4</sup>

The primary local concern was the power plant's need for at least 45,000 acre-feet of water annually. The state engineer approved the company's plan to drill wells for part of its water supply; the remainder would have to come from existing irrigation sources. In March 1978, stockholders of the Delta, Melville, Abraham, and Deseret irrigation companies agreed to sell to IPP about 20 percent of their total shares of water, or 45,000 acre-feet of permanent water rights, for \$1,750 per acre-foot. The neighboring Central Utah Water Company stockholders farming in Lynndyl, McCornick, and adjacent areas eventually sold approximately 85 percent of their water shares to IPP as well. These water users of the Highline Canal had faced serious water losses in the past, as much as 90 percent, through the canal's porous course and thus sold water that was of limited agricultural value as conditions then existed.<sup>5</sup>

There remained some opposition to the power plant from many Millard residents. In a public opinion survey of 2,700 county residents conducted by Congressman Dan Marriott, a full one-third of



The Intermountain Power Plant north of Delta, built in the 1980s. (Courtesy Intermountain Power Association)

west Millard residents and one-quarter of those from east Millard had serious reservations about the power project. About 40 percent of county residents believed that selling available irrigation water to IPP would severely impair agriculture in the county. The final environmental impact report published late in 1979 estimated that only 9 percent of the Sevier River water reaching west Millard would be required by the power plant. This loss meant the abandonment of between 7,200 and 7,800 acres of formerly irrigated farmland. A small but vocal group of about ninety opponents launched legal attempts to block the sale of water shares, essentially questioning the claimed limited impact of diverting for industrial purposes irrigation water, including some from newly approved wells. In the end, however, they only delayed final transfer of the water shares.<sup>6</sup>

With the issues of water and taxes settled, the Intermountain Power Agency, the corporate directors of IPP, approved the sale of bonds to finance completion of the power plant. The initial bond sales generated funds to purchase the water rights. The sale agreement stipulated the 500 water sellers would receive \$78,750,000, which until dispersed would generate interest. Earning the interest was delayed by lawsuits before the final settlement was reached.<sup>7</sup>

Just as IPP was about to become a reality, the United States Air

Force announced possible plans to build a massive missile network called MX on the Utah west desert and eastern Nevada. The massive multicounty project featured numerous launching sites connected by a rail system capable of moving intercontinental ballistic missiles from launch site to launch site with sufficient frequency to shield the missiles from being targeted. If both projects were to be built, they would place considerable strain on west Millard. It was estimated that the population of Delta would mushroom to 20,000 people by 1989, and Delta Mayor Leland J. Roper stated, "I don't know how we can stand them both."<sup>8</sup>

Throughout the state most Utahns opposed MX. Millard County's newspaper publishers were particularly effective in molding opposing opinion. The *Progress* stated, "our throats are big, but MX doesn't fit." *Chronicle* publisher Susan Beckwith Dutson spoke out against the project on the nationally televised "Today Show." Mormon church leaders issued public statements expressing the church's opposition to the project. The state's congressional delegation also spoke out against the defense plan.

With mounting public opposition from many quarters, the Air Force and the administration of newly elected president Ronald Reagan promptly shifted their attention for the project to a more favorable public-opinion climate in Wyoming. Few, if any, in the county were sorry to see the project disappear from their concern.<sup>9</sup> With relief, the community returned to the reality of the Intermountain Power Project.

Among the many issues Delta and the county faced when IPP announced its plans were the needs for vast improvements in roads, schools, and other infrastructure. Additionally, the announcement of IPP set off a wave of speculation. Various real estate speculators began purchasing acreage with good potential for development. Land prices skyrocketed. For example, a building lot that sold for \$2,000 soon brought as much as \$17,000.

However, with interest rates at the highest in the nation's history, many local investors deferred to larger outside developers with better sources of financing. One of the outside land speculators was Keith Taylor of San Diego, California, a longtime investor in Utah properties. However, when he opened an office in Delta, a local news-

paper article labeled him a “bejeweled fingered carpetbagger.” Some, like James and Robert Pendray, formerly of Lynndyl, returned to the area and were welcomed. In the summer of 1980 the Pendrays built a forty-eight-unit motel, a restaurant, and several retail stores in a plaza located on the main highway in the northeastern corner of Delta. They later built a movie theater and bowling alley at the location.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the many Utah municipalities involved in IPP, cities from southern California had also joined the power consortium to build the power plant. The Los Angeles City Council, for example, agreed to purchase over one-third of the total electric power to be produced over a fifty-year contract period. Neighboring cities of Burbank, Glendale, Anaheim, Pasadena, and Riverside contracted to purchase 24 percent of the power produced. Since the completion of IPP the percentage of power to these cities has increased.

The IPP agreed to provide impact funds to the city of Delta and other entities to improve schools and other public services in preparation for the expected large influx of workers and their families. Technically, impact alleviation funds were loaned to Millard County and their school district. Repayments were made by adding this debt to taxes charged to all taxpayers, then crediting IPP the portion they would otherwise have had to pay. However, the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power appeared to question the manner in which Delta proposed to spend the impact funds. Delta city officials and other government entities bridled at this. The Intermountain Power Agency quickly explained in June 1980 in a public statement it was not the members intent to “dictate to Delta what their budget should or should not be,” but, since the agency was being asked “to pay 28.9 percent of Delta city’s 1981–82 budget, it [wanted] to be sure the money’s not being wasted.” The details of the communication disturbed Delta Mayor Leland J. Roper and the city council. Spokesman for the Intermountain Power Agency correctly pointed out that this was a new experience and they needed to assure their backers the expenditures were justified. Still, it appeared to be outside interference in local affairs and was so labeled by the *Salt Lake Tribune*.<sup>11</sup>

For a time, Millard County officials suspended their dealings with IPA over similar impact-alleviation difficulties. From the

county's viewpoint, each budget they submitted had been returned for corrections but with little input offered toward resolving problems. Finally, Governor Scott Matheson called on the power agency to "cut the red tape and get on with the job of cushioning the impact" of the IPP on the county.<sup>12</sup>

By September 1980 power project representatives were reportedly "working better" with state and local officials in the aftermath of the outpouring of dissatisfaction. Perhaps partly because of the criticisms, the IPA board voted in mid-September to pay \$260,000 into Delta's \$800,000 budget for 1982, along with \$130,000 placed in escrow accounts for unforeseen contingencies. They also adopted standards for determining the direct impact on communities near the project, promising to utilize an agency of the state of Utah as arbiter in future disputes.

In 1980, IPP officials faced a major financial crisis when cost projections indicated a \$1 billion over-run on the estimated \$11.5 billion project. To meet this, the company considered a wide array of options—from abandoning the undertaking altogether to going ahead as planned. A plan soon emerged to cut the third and fourth power generating units, at least for the near future, thereby saving almost one-half of the estimated construction cost. Since these latter two phases were not part of the current construction anyway, sales of the initial bonds continued and interest rates on the bonds dropped, reducing the overall debt obligations and thereby enhancing the bond sales.<sup>13</sup>

Related to bond sales was the continuing struggle of the power company with the state legislature over taxes and related issues. In early 1983, legislation was again introduced to compel enterprises such as IPP to pay higher in-lieu fees in place of school property taxes. The bill that passed was more acceptable to power project interests, sharply reducing taxes on gross receipts. Similarly, there was three-way cooperation between the Utah Department of Transportation, the county, and IPP for improving and constructing better access highways to the power plant. The state mandated that \$600,000 be spent to improve the "Berylium Road" to the plant site, and the power company consortium loaned Millard County the funds for the improvement. IPP also loaned the county \$2.2 million

to acquire access and build the "Jones Road." Millard County also secured a commitment from the state transportation department to construct the "Airport Bypass Road," with the county assisting in obtaining rights-of-way. Road improvements between the Holden and Oak City highway intersection to Highway 6/50 just south of the Sevier River Bridge cut nine miles off the distance for coal carriers from Emery County mines to the power plant. However, by the time the road was completed in 1995, the power company was obtaining its coal from other sources and transporting it by other means, making the road less essential. The loaned road funds were repaid with interest by reducing IPP taxes after the entity came under taxation obligation.<sup>14</sup>

There continued to be disputes between the Intermountain Power Agency and state and local taxation entities during the first half-dozen years of operation. Because IPP comprised such a large proportion of the county's tax base, county officials had great difficulty anticipating revenues essential for accurate budgeting. The Intermountain Power Agency contended that since it was partially owned by Utah municipalities, that portion of electricity generated should be exempt from taxes. Taxes affected the power company's industrial bond ratings. Company managers also did not wish to be taxed on full power plant capacity if it operated at less than full capacity. In 1991 and 1992 both sides made concessions, although several disputed issues continued to plague IPP and the county. Despite these issues and frustrations, the public facilities and services provided largely through IPP impact funds have been numerous.<sup>15</sup>

One of the major concerns was housing. No provisions were initially made for the first 400 construction workers and their families. IPA executive officer Joseph Fackrell stated that the company hoped to avoid getting into the housing business and that private developers would fill the need. He stated that many construction workers expected inconvenience and often commuted long distances to the work site during the first months of a new project.

Some investors did attempt to fill the housing void. Local businessmen Rex Day and Marlow Cropper broke ground for a mobile home housing project east of town, having some guarantees that some of the units would be rented by IPP workers. Robert and James

Pendray also developed and leased fifty mobile home lots to the company for worker housing. Eventually, IPA participated in such projects as apartments, single-family residences, and the construction of the so-called "man camp," a home away from home for many workers.<sup>16</sup>

The influx of construction workers brought about social changes. *Chronicle* publisher and chief reporter Sue Dutson noted the town's first purse-snatching and juvenile auto theft. Instead of the usual one bar fight a year, during the first three months after construction began three bar fights were reported. Many in Delta feared this kind of behavior would bode ill for the future.

A year later, real estate agent and state representative Mitch Myers observed that high interest rates and other project uncertainties had prevented much speculative development by local entrepreneurs. Delta officials adopted stringent zoning codes and planned to assess impact fees. IPP and outside associates, including Meyers, began to plan single and multiple family housing southeast of town that within the year would markedly increase the size of the city and the number of its living accommodations.<sup>17</sup>

Established governmental agencies such as Central Mental Health Services and others took steps to meet the social needs of the boomtown residents. Studies were made of other communities with previous similar experiences, particularly the Wyoming cities of Gillette and Rock Springs. The Evanston, Wyoming, police captain was brought to Delta by officials to discuss crime problems accompanying rapid population expansion. The police captain asserted that 90 percent of Evanston's problems were alcohol related, with drug problems closely associated.<sup>18</sup>

Delta City police announced their intent to strictly enforce ordinances against driving under the influence and to institute a policy of not permitting plea bargaining where alcohol was involved. With stiff penalties and stringent standards for prosecution, law enforcement experienced a 100 percent conviction rate in thirty-two cases in 1983, with forty convictions in 1984. These stiff standards helped control when and where alcohol was consumed, but liquor sales still escalated from \$127,323 in 1981 to \$286,951 in 1983.<sup>19</sup>

Despite reducing drunken driving offenses, the Delta crime rate

increased, as expected. Chief Greg Cooper reported that there was a 376 percent increase in criminal incidents, a 93 percent increase in juvenile arrests, and a 422 percent increase in misdemeanors for the period from 1980 to 1982. By 1984 the number of criminal complaints had risen to 1,400, of which 803 became actual cases. Assaults went up 220 percent, drug arrests up 75 percent, bad checks up 62 percent, and auto thefts 21 percent.<sup>20</sup> The Delta City police force grew from three to nine officers by 1985. The turnover rate of qualified officers was high, however, as better-paying jobs were available elsewhere. Cooper himself took such a job in 1985 and was replaced by Roger Young.

A public controversy was initiated when the *Salt Lake Tribune* and a television report claimed that the dramatic increase in social problems in Delta and west Millard was caused by IPP workers. This triggered outrage among many IPP workers, who resented the implication that they were mainly responsible for Millard County's social problems. Local businessmen, not wishing these customers to withdraw patronage, were also outspoken in denying this was the case.<sup>21</sup>

As the controversy subsided, public officials became more cautious in making allegations against the power plant workers. Many local citizens also recognized that the increased population was only partly responsible for the increased crime problem. While a drug bust in 1983 implicated eight IPP employees, a series of drug arrests the next year was entirely unrelated to the power plant employees and actually included an alarming number of county high school students. The county sheriff's department involvement in drug arrests also increased markedly; however, it demonstrated greater sensitivity toward the problem. The *Chronicle* noted in an editorial that the crime rate and population had increased together and that such rates were going up throughout the region. The fact was that some county residents demonstrated a growing propensity for illicit drug activity and a general involvement in criminal behavior.

At the IPP groundbreaking ceremonies on 9 October 1981 the population of Delta City was at about 1,930. During the next several years, the population of Delta exploded. At IPP's construction and development peak, an estimated 2,600 workers and their families—a total of about 6,000 additional residents—moved into west Millard



and Delta City, most living in temporary housing. The *Salt Lake Tribune* characterized the decade of the 1980s as like a “python that has swallowed an antelope—a big bulge in the middle of the decade and a sharp tracing off at either end.”<sup>22</sup>

Roughly one-third of the construction workers and their families resided in apartments, trailer courts, and rented homes. Another third lived at the man camp at the construction site during the week and drove home on the weekends. The remaining workers commuted daily from Utah, Salt Lake, and other counties of northern and central Utah. In 1986, near the peak of construction, Delta’s population reached 3,530 people, about the same as the number of workers then at the plant. The IPP construction impact actually was far more diffused than had been anticipated.

The increase of population provided a case study for social science researchers. The Logan-based Institute for Social Science Research on Natural Resources noted that for the years 1982 and 1984 a high percentage of construction workers were single, not unusual for the heavy construction industry. Further, there was a high number of young married childless couples. As a result, the overall average household size in west Millard declined from four to three people for the period under study. In 1984 nearly 30 percent of the residents lived in mobile homes, compared to 17 percent two years earlier. Reflecting the transiency of the population, the study revealed that fully one-third of those surveyed expected to move on soon. Overall, the average household income increased by about \$5,000, and the survey concluded that Delta was about average in comparison with other communities where respondents had lived.<sup>23</sup>

Socially, many of the IPP workers, seasoned by many moves, gravitated toward social interaction within their own group rather than becoming involved with the permanent residents. Project supervisor Rod Clark later recalled that many IPP construction worker families had reservations about coming to an agricultural town in the desert. However, when most got settled and became more involved in the community, they discovered that it was a good place to live. Clark added that when the project was nearing completion many construction workers attempted to find other jobs and remain in the area. Few were successful, however.<sup>24</sup>

Some seasoned construction workers felt that Delta did not fit the pattern of a typical boomtown. Undoubtedly, prior preparation by all involved mitigated the typical boomtown syndrome of crowded trailer camps, rampant crime, endless traffic, strapped city services, and hordes of strangers. Psychologists also noted that they worked with fewer people than anticipated who suffered from stress, depression, or other similar problems. Another key factor was the plant's location. Many construction workers lived along the Wasatch Front, which allowed them to be with their families on their days off, and in many instances they were able to commute daily.<sup>25</sup>

The LDS stake and wards in west Millard had made improvements in their buildings before the IPP plans were revealed. New chapels were built in Oak City, Garrison, Hinckley, Leamington, Deseret-Oasis, and Delta. In 1979 local stake president Merlin Christensen and others saw fit to drastically alter the boundaries of the Delta wards, making three new wards, for a total of six in the community. A year later, the Delta LDS Stake was divided, making Delta Utah and Delta Utah West Stakes.

Holden LDS church members moved into a new ward chapel in 1969. The old cultural hall built in 1902 was destroyed by fire in 1984. In 1978 the Fillmore Fourth Ward was created to serve the growing needs of LDS members. By 1983 the hundred-year-old Meadow chapel was crumbling and in need of major repairs. There was some discussion of building a new chapel to serve both Meadow and Kanosh but it was decided that each community should have its own facility. The last event at the old Meadow warehouse was a dance in early 1984.

The sturdy Presbyterian-oriented Delta Community Church had always provided Protestant religious services for the many non-Mormon families of the area. During the 1970s a shared ministry arrangement was utilized in the Delta-Milford area with Rev. Jean Steiner of the Milford Community United Methodist Church. She served both towns each week. In 1980 Rev. Fred Hauman of Delta was appointed pastor of the Beaver-Millard parish. The First Southern Baptist Church was revived in 1976 and its congregation was ministered to by evangelist Clyde Billingsly of North Carolina.

This and the larger Grace Baptist Church led by Pastor Dennis Casun provided for the Baptist IPP construction workers.<sup>26</sup>

Since the 1920s there had been a dedicated corps of Jehovah's Witnesses in the county, who had been organized in 1946 under the leadership of Ammon Kozina, who was followed by his nephew Donald Kozina. Meeting first in Sutherland, then in Delta, the congregation constructed a Kingdom Hall in Delta in 1961 and maintained a proselytizing program throughout the community.

Catholics in the county have never been far from the services of a priest. Priests from St. Patrick's Parish in Eureka held mass when requested. In 1938 Bishop Duane G. Hunt arranged for the purchase of the disbanded Friendship Thimble Club's clubhouse. The Joe Nutsch family remodeled the building to accommodate an altar, sanctuary, and meeting room, and on 5 November 1939 Bishop Hunt celebrated mass and honored the church with the name of St. John Bosco. In 1947 St. John Bosco church was moved to Delta. For a six-year period, from 1958 to 1964, Father Rudolph Daz served the Delta parish, often visiting Fillmore church members as well.

In 1969 several parish families renovated the church and Father Louis Fischer resumed visiting the church regularly. During the IPP construction, church attendance reached an unprecedented level. A larger church was needed. Parish members went to work and on 30 June 1985 a new St. John Bosco church was dedicated by Bishop William K. Weigand of Salt Lake City.<sup>27</sup>

The Catholic community in east Millard was bolstered in the 1970s with the growth of dairy farming and the need for more farm workers. Dairy farmers and others hired a number of Hispanic farm workers to fill the employment void, and, by 1975, the Holy Family Mission in Fillmore, a part of St. Patrick's Parish in Eureka, was holding regular Sunday services under Father Walter A. Riendeau. Other priests served on a part-time basis. In August 1986 the Holy Family Mission purchased its own church on Main Street. The Holy Family Mission remained active into the 1990s.<sup>28</sup>

The steady growth of the school population in west Millard, particularly in Delta in the late 1960s and 1970s, created crowded school rooms. Further crowding was caused when the decision was made to consolidate outlying small elementary schools such as the Sutherland

school. County residents approved a school bond initiative in October 1975 to build new elementary schools in Fillmore and Delta and an intermediate school in Delta. The new schools in Delta were built in part with IPP mitigation funds.

Groundbreaking for the elementary school in Fillmore signaled the beginning of a series of new public buildings situated generally at the south end of town. The new Fillmore Elementary School was dedicated in 1978. Two years later, plans were developed to replace the "Old Main" academic building on the Millard High School campus with a new building. A new auditorium and gymnasium were eventually built as well. Not long after, a second Delta elementary school was built to handle the influx of IPP workers' children. Delta High School also experienced an increase in enrollment, and by 1985 Delta High had 650 students on a campus that was designed for 600 students. IPP mitigation funds of \$8–9 million greatly aided in building the new schools in Delta.<sup>29</sup>

IPP reoriented the commercial district of Delta. For a long time the popular A&W Root Beer Drive-in, owned by Grant Bennett, was the only commercial establishment at the east end of Delta. Competition came from a new McDonalds later. Quality Market was the first to move to a new store complex near the east end of town in 1978, placing it in a perfect location for the IPP boom. Other businesses soon followed: Pendray Plaza, with its motel, restaurant, shops, movie theater and bowling alley; Zion's First National Bank; and several real estate offices, among others. The new elementary schools, the hospital, regional park, and the largest number of new residences were located on the east side of Delta. Thus, commercial development also shifted from the west to the east end of town.

IPP brought other changes to Delta. In 1983 Delta's longstanding ban on Sunday beer sales was repealed. For more than a generation drinkers had to travel to Oasis, Deseret, or elsewhere to buy beer on Sundays. A new convenience store received a beer-sales license. Some citizens attempted to block its implementation because of the store's close proximity to the elementary school; however, the decision of the city council prevailed. In 1986 proprietors of the Pendray Plaza bowling lanes gained the right to place video games and pool

tables in the presence of minors and to allow alcohol consumption on the premises.

A new city office building was built in 1982 on the old elementary school site. Voters approved a financing package of \$180,000 from the sale of bonds, \$700,000 from IPP mitigation funds, and a \$10,000 grant from the Utah Library Board. The facility also included the library and police station. City councilwoman and later mayor Ruth Hansen fought hard for the library, which is largely a monument to her. The city's water and sewer systems were upgraded and enlarged beyond foreseeable needs, principally funded using IPP mitigation funds.<sup>30</sup> After years of a cordial and cooperative relationship, the two county newspapers combined in 1985.

IPP funds also helped build the new White Sage regional park, at a cost of \$1.2 million. With three new ball fields, the park ushered in a new era in recreation. A number of new men's and women's softball teams and leagues were organized. The regional park also included tennis courts and a childrens playground. Organized activities were directed by recreational departments of Delta and Millard County.

With so many new developments occurring, some fought to save west Millard's history. In 1985 area residents Howard Clayton and Fred Tolbert spearheaded a drive to retrieve and preserve a 1893 Case tractor which had been used early in the county. "We feel a need to establish a historical center to house items of interest," Tolbert stated. At about the same time, a state-sponsored survey of historical buildings in Delta encouraged more historical activity, and the Great Basin Museum and the Great Basin Historical Society were founded. The Continental Telephone Company donated a building. With the support and encouragement of Lenore McCall, Louise H. Lyman, Jane Beckwith, Dorothy and Ward Killpack, Charlotte Morrison, and others, artifacts were gathered and histories collected. A particularly significant joint venture developed with interested Japanese-Americans who wanted to preserve and interpret the history of Topaz.

During the 1960s there was growing interest in providing additional educational opportunities in the county. Geographical isolation was a major stumbling block for county students who wanted post-high school education, with only a few extension courses offered

by several of the colleges and universities elsewhere in the state. Early in 1970, Jess Jarvis, executive director of a six-county economic development district, proposed a vocational school for Delta. Little further progress was made until IPP was announced; then, largely through the efforts of Millard County schools administrator Jack Fowles and supported by impact funds, the West Central Utah Vocational Center, with a capacity of 1,500, was dedicated in 1984. The vocational center offered evening classes for working adults, provided training for IPP apprentice welders, carpenters, and iron workers, and provided educational opportunities for high school students wishing to add vocational training to their high school course load. The first year 450 high school students enrolled and sixty adults took evening classes.

Throughout rural Utah and America there were increasingly fewer physicians working, many in outdated and inadequate hospitals that were poorly staffed and facing financial difficulties. In Millard County during the period before IPP construction there were five physicians. Dr. Dean C. Evans was near retirement and some other doctors reportedly were looking to move elsewhere. Overall medical care was a growing concern in the community. Some help arrived when nurse practitioner Rory York moved to Fillmore in 1974.

That same year the LDS church decided to divest itself of its Hospital Services Corporation and the fifteen hospitals it managed and operated, including the hospital at Fillmore. A new non-profit secular health organization, Intermountain Health Care, was created to manage the various hospitals. The change in management of the Fillmore hospital did not alter the increasingly bleak condition there. To shore up the hospital financially, a county hospital district was organized and a tax levied for the institution. A few improvements were made, but the hospital continued to lose money, estimated to be as high as \$10,000 for some months. By July 1982 the facility had run a deficit for twenty-one months in succession and faced closure if changes were not made.

The Delta hospital faced a different kind of problem, an exploding population and associated medical needs. On the twentieth anniversary of its completion, Delta hospital administrator Dell Ashby noted the inadequacies of the hospital: too few beds and lack

of office space and other important amenities. The existing hospital had little room to expand. A new hospital was needed, particularly with IPP becoming a reality. A proposition for a new hospital was put forth to voters of west Millard; however, they defeated it. Other plans were then developed by the hospital board. After several public hearings, the West Millard Hospital Board proposed that the IHC be asked to build a new hospital, backed, if necessary, by county industrial revenue bonds. Some residents of the east side of the county had been waiting for just such a contingency to approach IHC for similar assistance.<sup>31</sup>

In Fillmore in 1983 a series of community meetings was held to consider the hospital issue. A bond proposal was made, but it too failed. *Progress* editor Marge Barton observed with frustration, "it is difficult to believe the apathy citizens [were] showing" during a time of real crisis.<sup>32</sup> In September 450 people signed a petition asking the county to take decisive action in behalf of east Millard.

Initially IHC agreed to construct a new hospital only in Delta. However, county commissioner Mike Styler and a delegation from the east Millard Hospital Board persuaded IHC to build a new hospital in Fillmore as well. The Fillmore hospital planned to utilize ten of its twenty beds for long-term elder care. The old Delta hospital was converted into additional extended care units to supplement the twenty-unit facility built in 1966.<sup>33</sup>

Groundbreaking for the Delta hospital took place in March 1984 on land donated by the IPP. IHC financed the entire \$3.4 million community health center. The design and use of a modular system of construction provided both new hospitals the flexibility to expand in the future. The Fillmore building was located just south of town, near the elementary and middle schools and the new county complex.

There continued to be a problem of recruiting and keeping physicians in the county. Intermountain Health Care offered a \$5,000 incentive for physicians to establish practices in the county, and several doctors were lured to the county by the offer.<sup>34</sup> Despite many physicians wanting to practice in more lucrative medical markets in large urban areas, the county in 1998 had six physicians and surgeons, with an equal number of dentists and optometrists practicing part of each week in the county.

Emergency services had sometimes been lacking. In 1972 the county assumed ambulance service, which local mortuaries had provided for many years. The county sheriff essentially provided ambulance and emergency service throughout the county, with the east-side sheriff's posse and other volunteers supplying the necessary manpower. In 1975 state regulations stipulated ambulance operations be handled by trained Emergency Medical Technicians (EMTs). A number of Fillmore area posse members became EMTs and continued to perform this valuable service. In 1978 a new ambulance was purchased for Delta, and the training of EMTs was coordinated under longtime hospital administrator Dell Ashby, with Dr. David Henrie as supervisor. The well-organized volunteer posses on both sides of the county continued to be active in the medical field and in search-and-rescue operations. A growing number of community volunteer fire departments also assisted.

The greying of the county's population along with that of the state generated public programs and facilities for people sixty-five and older.<sup>35</sup> Within a year after adding the extended care wing to the West Millard Hospital, area senior citizens began holding events at the old seminary building, abandoned when the new high school was built. It flourished under the direction of former high school principal Glen W. Seegmiller. The center became a focal point for the activities of a growing number of senior citizens. The county eventually organized a council for the aging, and construction commenced on a new senior citizen's building near the old municipal swimming pool and old hospital. The facility, built at a cost of \$95,000, offered special amenities and programs to the older users of the building. With Governor Scott Matheson in attendance, the center was dedicated in May 1978. The senior citizens facility was named the M.E. Bird Recreation Center for Dr. Bird, who with his wife, Romainia, also donated a musical organ to the center. This included federal programs to serve meals at the center as well as home delivery for those home-bound. Much of the work was volunteer, seniors helping seniors. IPP funds and personnel also assisted the center.<sup>36</sup>

In 1985 the community, using contributions and a loan from the Farmers Home Administration, built a low-income senior housing project of thirty units, the Delta Sands Apartments, on donated land



adjacent the extended-care facility. This housing project has been very successful in offering an independent living environment.<sup>37</sup>

On the east side of the county, county officials provided a remodeled building, once owned by the state, for a senior center. A minibus was purchased to transport seniors to various activities and to bring them to the Fillmore center from Holden and other nearby communities. By the early 1980s, a large number of senior citizens participated in the various programs provided by the center including pot-luck dinners and Friday evening dances. As many as 150 took advantage of the meals program.<sup>38</sup> In 1982, Mt. Catherine Manor was constructed in Fillmore by Millard County to operate as a home for senior citizens.

Fillmore City officials purchased the old Fillmore hospital in 1986 and remodeled it for city offices and a library memorial to President Millard Fillmore, all without going into debt.

The early 1980s with the IPP presented enormous challenges for the Delta City Council and mayor, moving from a rather sleepy farming community to a bustling boomtown. Mayor Grant Nielson stated "there have been more good days than bad, and in most areas I.P.P. has met their obligations."<sup>39</sup> One of the biggest concerns, however, was city streets. City councilmen Max Bennett, Don Bird, and Willis Morrison agreed that a big disappointment was that IPP did not accept more responsibility for upgrading city streets. IPP officials argued that Delta city streets were "not [an improvement item] they [had] agreed to."<sup>40</sup>

Unable to secure funding from the IPP for street improvements, city officials took an alternative approach, securing low-interest loans from the Utah Community Impact Board. A sum of \$1.3 million was obtained to pave twenty-five city block streets along with a one-half million dollars for closing open drainage ditches.<sup>41</sup> Traffic improvements were also made in Delta. Working through a maze of federal and state highway policies, city officials were finally able to install a much needed traffic light on Highway 6/50 which greatly improved safety.<sup>42</sup>

Increased population and construction activities created greater need for trash and garbage disposal. With \$200,000 from IPP, numerous open garbage and refuse dumps were closed in the county and

several county-operated sanitary landfill sites were developed. This eliminated the unsightly and dangerous old trash dumps.

Growth and economic diversity brought a myriad of new local, state, and federal rules and policies as well as new programs and means to implement them. The county commission hired Robyn Pearson, the county's first professionally trained administrative officer, to handle the complex day-to-day administration of the county. Working with the county commission and other county government officials, the county administrative officer made significant contributions to developing a countywide sanitary landfill system, improving the west Millard golf course, better maintenance of roads and bridges, and a cooperative working relationship with IPP. However, after considerable controversy, recently the county commissioners have once again assumed much of the day-to-day management and administration of the county.

The first unit of the IPP went commercially on line on 10 June 1986. A formal dedication of the project was held on 13 June 1987, and an estimated 8,000 people attended. The Mormon Tabernacle Choir sang and Thomas S. Monson of the First Presidency of the LDS church offered a dedicatory prayer. The Delta airport handled fifty-two private airplanes, which required the services of an air traffic controller complete with a temporary tower for the occasion.

The Intermountain Power Project reversed the steady decline of the county's population that had begun in the 1930s. As a result of the Beryllium mill, microwave, and other new employment opportunities, the county's population had increased during the decade by 28 percent in 1980, and the upward trend continued, with another 26 percent increase by 1990. Hinckley's quiet shaded streets and numerous vacant houses were enticing to many during IPP construction. The community's growth of nearly 42 percent during the decade of the 1980s surpassed even the county's dramatic growth percentage. During the IPP boom, Hinckley's population may have approached one thousand, more than double the number of residents of recent past years, although it had dropped back to 658 by 1990. The growth of Hinckley forced a division of the Hinckley LDS Ward in 1983 and the construction of a larger Delta West Stake Center in Hinckley in

1991. A new post office was also built there to accommodate the increase of population.

Elsewhere, the combined Sutherland-Sugarville rural community had exactly the same population as Hinckley in 1990, a marked increase there as well. The Deseret-Oasis LDS Ward grew to over 650 members. Oak City's population more than doubled; the 1990 census listed a population of 587. In 1989 the recently incorporated town was compelled to dig a new well to supplement its culinary water from Dry Creek.

Similarly, Leamington, which had almost become a ghost town in 1980 with a population of 113, increased by 124 percent during the decade to 253 residents. The local LDS ward, which combined with Lynndyl and Fool Creek Flat, has a relatively new chapel. Holden, Lynndyl, and Scipio also experienced increases of population.<sup>43</sup>

Following the expansion forced by IPP construction, Delta City officials were equally hard-pressed to reduce public services after construction was completed. For instance, the city's police department was cut in half to five officers, with similar economizing measures in other areas. The Millard County School District continued to pay a large bonded indebtedness. The county also was compelled to adjust its budget downward. No longer in need of rental units, IPP closed its White Sage apartments in June 1987, selling them as quickly as buyers were found. Within months, the modular units were moved.

Ten years after the dedication of IPP the county and other government entities and the Intermountain Power Agency faced a lengthy and costly court case over more than \$20 million in taxes. IPA claimed Millard County and other local governments had collected more taxes than had been agreed to earlier. During the course of negotiations, County Commissioner Tony Deardon offered to refund IPA \$5 million from a county contingency fund, and in the end the IPA board accepted the refund.

One of the most appreciated improvements IPP added to the county involved fire protection. In 1979 Fillmore City had built a larger fire station and had expanded its fire-fighting and emergency equipment with five usable trucks and an ambulance. In 1981 the Fillmore volunteer fire department had earned a state award as

department of the year. Elsewhere in the county the communities of Holden, Kanosh, Meadow, and Scipio established their own volunteer fire departments. On the other side of the county, the Delta volunteer fire department provided service for most of the extended west Millard area, and Hinckley and Oak City organized their own departments.

With a growing number of fire-fighting programs and the construction of IPP, interested citizens believed it best to create a countywide fire district to provide a uniform fire-fighting fund and taxation. Power plant officials also supported the idea. Several east-side communities, including Kanosh and Fillmore, initially hesitated out of concern they would lose autonomous control of their fire departments. Objections were resolved and protections incorporated into the district bylaws. Lynndyl, Leamington, and Garrison formed their own fire departments in 1983 and joined the district. Overall, the new fire district provided improved fire protection for the county and IPP. Culinary water systems also were improved in Hinckley, Leamington, and Oasis.

Despite problems, the Intermountain Power Project contributed more to physical improvements in west Millard and the county as a whole than any other single development in the county's history. The IPP contributed more than \$8 million to the county school system, it provided much needed improvements to Delta's sewer and water systems, it built a new city hall for Delta, provided funds for vocational education opportunities, enhanced police protection, assisted with the construction of a regional park, and provided funds for other services and community needs.

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25. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12, 13 November 1984.

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27. Bernice Maher Mooney, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1776–1987*, 410.

28. *Millard County Chronicle*, 26 September 1946; Mooney, *Salt of the Earth*, 83.

29. *Millard County Chronicle*, 23 August 1984, 11 September 1986.

30. *Millard County Chronicle*, 17 November 1983.

31. *Millard County Progress*, 2 September 1983.

32. *Millard County Progress*, 16 July, 17 December 1982, 1, 28 January, 8 April, 22 July, 9 September 1973.

33. *Millard County Chronicle*, 9 March 1978, 27 November, 25 December 1980, 6 January, 21 July, 6 August, 10 November 1983, 7 June 1984; *Millard County Chronicle-Progress*, 18 April 1985.

34. *Millard County Chronicle-Progress*, 18 April 1985, 29 June 1989.

35. For the period 1960 to 1990, the percentage of people sixty-five and older in Millard County exceeded the state percentage for the same age group. For example, in 1960 Millard County's greying population exceeded 9 percent compared to about 6 percent for the state. In 1990, Millard County's sixty-five and older population was 12 percent and the state's number stood at 8.7 percent. See *Statistical Abstract of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, various years).

36. *Millard County Chronicle*, 3 November 1977, 5 May 1978, 25 March 1982.

37. *Millard County Chronicle*, 28 January, 18 July 1985, 3 July 1986.

38. *Millard County Progress*, 30 September 1977, 1 December 1978, 20 January 1981.

39. *Millard County Chronicle*, 20 October 1983.

40. *Millard County Chronicle*, 8 August 1985.

41. *Millard County Chronicle*, 5 July, 20 September 1984.

42. *Millard County Chronicle*, 8, 29 August 1985.

43. *Millard County Chronicle-Progress*, 10 March 1988; Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 435–38.

## CHAPTER 12

# DEVELOPMENTS AT THE END OF THE CENTURY ... AND BEYOND

School districts across the United States underwent a significant change in interscholastic sports in 1972 when Congress passed a law which provided new opportunities for girls to participate in high school sports. Delta High School's girls volleyball team, mostly under the leadership of Liz Wiscombe, won six straight state championships beginning in 1981. A team coached by Jody Keys was second in the state in 1991, and Coach Jeanette Larson's team won championships in 1992 and 1995. Coach Wiscomb also led her athletes to a girls state basketball championship in 1986, and the girls softball team coached by David Wankier took state honors in 1993 as well.

Delta High School's boys athletic teams continued to do well, particularly in wrestling. The football team, coached by Dean Fowles, who had been a player on a similar team a decade before, took state in 1985 and 1986. Brothers Gary and David Porter and Jared Smith received most valuable player honors during those years. Many others were all-state selections as well. While many individual athletes have garnered recognition for themselves, including high school All American status, one of the most impressive accomplishments in

Delta High School's history was in 1992–93 when Kris Jackson earned all-state recognition in three sports—football, wrestling, and baseball.

The Millard High Eagles coached by Frank Bramall captured the state Class 2A football title) and the Delta High Rabbits coached by Dean Fowles claimed the Class 3A football title in 1995. The following November, the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted that Delta High School had set a state record by qualifying for the football playoffs twenty-two straight years.

The display of athleticism by both girls and boys was also matched in academic achievement. Highly qualified teachers such as chemistry and physics teacher J. Faye Jacobson provided an excellent scholastic framework in which students could excel. Jacobson was recognized for his teaching skills by several professional associations and universities. Waldo Warnick, an instructor of the building trades at the vocational school, also was honored nationally. The Delta High School chorus, led by David Wankier, was invited to perform in France in connection with the bicentennial of the French Revolution in 1989.

Outside of the classrooms and off the fields of athletic competition, county residents in the last quarter of the century have done themselves proud in various competitions. Margaret Church Callister was recognized as Utah Mother of the Year in 1978. Six years later, Tina Tolbert earned the honor of National High School Rodeo Queen in competition with girls from thirty-one states. That same year, Natalie Dutson won the national baton-twirling championship. The Millard High School drill team, Selgae (Eagles spelled backwards), has a longstanding tradition of achievement. The twenty-eight-girl unit has won three state championships and took the national championship for all schools in 1996. In April 1999 the team, directed by sisters Denise Tuttle and Tammy Beckstrand, won four national titles.

The Millard High School wrestling team, coached by Jim Porter, won the state championship in 1994, as did the baseball team coached by Gary Robbins. Both boys and girls basketball teams have been competitive, with the girls finishing second several times in the 1990s. The girls volleyball team also has taken second place. The





The DMAD Dam on the Sevier River northeast of Delta being washed out during the 1983 flood. (Great Basin Historical Society)

wrestling team under Marshall Sheriff took first in 1994 and has taken several second places in the last half of the decade of the 1990s.

In many parts of Utah, the water year ending 1 October 1982 was the wettest in history. The counties which make up the Sevier River drainage system experienced serious flooding in the spring and early summer of 1983. Runoff water flows were already sufficiently high in March to fill Sevier Lake, and nearby parts of Highway 6/50 were flooded. As warmer weather came, flooding reached a crisis. By June it was necessary to make cuts around the Deseret and Sutherland bridges to save them from washing out.

At the DMAD diversion dam, large crews of volunteers and national guardsmen worked to bolster the main spillway structure with thousands of truckloads of fill, boulders, and concrete-filled junked automobiles. Their effort was not enough—on 23 June the DMAD dam collapsed, sending 16,000 acre-feet of water down the Sevier River. The rush of water seriously damaged the nearby highway and railroad bridge. The seventy-year-old irrigation flume, life-line to the North Tract, was destroyed. In order to save the Gunnison Bend Reservoir downstream a breach was cut near the

spillway—the Cropper Cut—as had been done in an earlier great flood in 1910.

As word spread of the onrush of water, more than 500 people from Deseret, Oasis, Delta, and other danger points along the Sevier River fled their homes. At Deseret, flood waters inundated the town, damaged 90 percent of the houses, and destroyed thirteen. Some 5,000 acres of cropland were flooded and other property was severely damaged in the June flood.

Recovery work began as soon as the flood waters subsided. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and state emergency funds of \$550,511 and \$106,522, respectively, were provided for cleanup and recovery of the estimated \$3 million in damage. FEMA officials promptly opened offices at the Palomar Hall and over one hundred people applied for aid. The LDS church immediately set up shelters and helped with cleanup and even some rebuilding of homes. It was certainly a time those who experienced it would never forget.<sup>1</sup>

While east Millard had some flood difficulties in 1983, areas on the east side of the county experienced far more damage the following year. Heavy spring runoff caused the dam at the mouth of Corn Creek to weaken and break. Sheriff Ed Phillips called for volunteers with backhoes and other equipment to cut channels from the creek to divert water and reduce flooding in Kanosh. Elsewhere, farms in the Flowell area sustained flooding from Corn Creek as well as water from Meadow and Chalk Creeks. Some houses and fields were seriously damaged.<sup>2</sup>

Ironically, in 1982 on the east side of the county, drought caused culinary water users in Fillmore to take measures to conserve water. The town obtained an interest-free loan to make improvements to its culinary water system. Scipio also made improvements to its culinary system, redeveloping a spring, constructing a new storage reservoir, upgrading distribution pipes, and installing additional fire hydrants. In Holden, town officials requested funds from the Utah State Board of Water Resources to make improvements in its water distribution and storage system.<sup>3</sup>

In land issues, the 1960s had brought a greater integration of county interests and developments into state and federal programs.

Sometimes the interests of the several parties clashed, however. For example, when Interstate 70 was being planned to extend across the Midwest to California at approximately the same latitude in 1966, central Nevada and Millard County businessmen tried to persuade Utah and federal highway officials to build the highway from Salina to Scipio and then west through Millard County into central Nevada. Their proposal fell on deaf ears. The new interstate highway was built to merge with I-15 at Cove Fort.

In 1977 an attempt was made by the Highway 50–6 Federation, led by Ward Killpack of Delta, to improve connecting state roads with the interstate highway system, particularly through the McCornick area, to facilitate travel west to Nevada and California. This effort was unsuccessful as well, but the federation did manage to persuade state highway officials to designate connecting roads from Salina through Scipio and Holden to Delta as part of U.S. Highway 6.<sup>4</sup>

Since the 1960s, the federal Bureau of the Budget urged federal agencies involved in the management of forests and land to increase grazing fees on federal land. This encouragement was followed by a series of natural resource management acts passed by Congress in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many western grazers and other natural-resource users, including Millard County ranchers and farmers, feared that their interests were being overlooked by eastern policymakers unfamiliar with their needs and conditions. The demand to remove more public land from grazing and timber cutting brought an informal collective reaction from many in the West that was called the Sagebrush Rebellion. The “rebels” demanded that their voices for less governmental regulation of public lands be heard in the halls of statehouses and in the nation’s capital. Some government officials such as state Bureau of Land Management director Frank Gregory promised to work more closely with natural resource users.

In 1976 Congress passed a series of acts including the Federal Lands Policy and Management Act (FLPMA) to improve the management and use of natural resources in the West. The federal legislation directed the Bureau of Land Management to study all roadless lands under its jurisdiction for possible inclusion into a restrictive wilderness status. Several sections of the Millard County west desert and mountains including Notch Peak, Swasey Peak, Howell Peak,

Conger's Peak, Wah Wah Peak, and King Top were studied and deemed worthy of being designated wilderness areas. Some believed that these remote areas of the county were suffering considerably from off-road vehicle (ORV) damage and needed greater protection. Most local residents disagreed, however.

Concerned that the county might lose large areas to multiple use and other developments, Millard County commissioners expressed their opposition to the proposed wilderness areas. Their position was based largely on the negative economic effects such designation would have on grazing and mining interests. Their views were supported by a ballot initiative in 1989 in which 89 percent of those in the county who voted opted for multiple-use status for the public lands. Public congressional hearings were also held in Delta. Again, most interested citizens voiced their views in opposition to any alteration of traditional uses of the land. Many west desert recreational enthusiasts and those with mining and grazing interests were bitterly opposed to any wilderness areas being established.<sup>5</sup>

Other plans were submitted. The Utah Wilderness Coalition proposed that a large area surrounding Notch Peak, including all roadless portions of the House Range and the foothills on its northwestern edge, be set aside as wilderness. The BLM, on the other hand, proposed that much less land be included in the wilderness designated area. The Utah Wilderness Association submitted a proposal between the two extremes. The state congressional delegation unsuccessfully sponsored legislation to mitigate traditional wilderness restrictions of several types, including allowing mining and grazing and power lines in wilderness areas. When this failed, the same lawmakers unveiled a plan in June 1995 to transfer considerable western public land to state control, eliminate the endangered species act, and ease federal restrictions on mining, grazing, and water use. Although such proposals have no chance of success because of the mounting public interest and commitment nationally for conserving and protecting natural resources, they are popular at home in Utah and the West. As debate continues and newer plans are put forth—such as Governor Mike Leavitt's "Enlibra" process—the amount of land to be set aside as wilderness will undoubtedly be changed.<sup>6</sup>

Still other changes have been made by federal resource agencies,

some not necessarily to the liking of certain users of the land. In 1987 the U.S. Forest Service decided because of budget constraints to cease collecting garbage in Oak and Chalk Creek Canyons and Maple Hollow and Maple Grove Campgrounds, a service it had provided for more than half a century. In recent years, volunteer hosts have encouraged users to keep the premises clean, but often without much success. Many feel that such heavily utilized summer recreational areas should be made to pay their own way through use fees. A proposal presently being considered is that these areas need to be properly maintained and policed by the federal government or else handed over to some other entity that will see that they are maintained and managed.<sup>7</sup>

Some area horse enthusiasts were dismayed when the federal government enacted policies prohibiting private citizens from capturing wild mustangs on the west desert of Millard and adjacent counties, a popular activity for several generations. Instead, some of the animals were rounded up, penned, and fed at government expense at Delta, Fillmore, and occasionally near Cove Fort until they were adopted by individuals. Today mustangs have essentially disappeared from the west desert habitat.<sup>8</sup>

A federal policy also questioned by locals was whether naturally ignited fires on rangelands and forests should be allowed to burn. In the dry summer of 1981, lightning started such a fire near Clay Springs between McCornick and Oak City, and it was allowed to burn uncontested for five days. During the five-day period, Oak City was threatened. The town was saved through the efforts of 500 professional firefighters from five other states along with local volunteer firefighters and their equipment. An investigation conducted by Sheriff Ed Phillips and Millard County Attorney Eldon Eliason was undertaken to review the way the fire was managed. Their report was critical of the overall fire management philosophy. Five years later, a second fire threatened Oak City when it got out of control. The Black Willow fire northwest of Fool Creek Peak burned hundreds of acres of vegetation; fortunately, there was no heavy loss of private property.

In addition to flood, drought, and fire, Mother Nature has provided the county with periodic infestations of Mormon crickets (*Anabrus simplex*). In May 1990, due to particularly good environ-

mental conditions, the farming areas around Kanosh, Meadow, and Fillmore were heavily infested. After some delays because of protests from environmentalists, the invading army of insects was fought using poisoned bait on 8,000 acres of cropland.<sup>9</sup> The infestation was curbed if not completely eliminated.

Although there have been differences of opinion between local and state land users and managers and federal government officials, there also have been projects on which county, state, and federal land managers and users have worked cooperatively. In the early 1980s the Utah State Legislature enacted a law closing public lands to off-road vehicle use, except in areas administrative agencies designated for such recreation. Off-road vehicle users, being mainly restricted to state-owned and managed land, turned to using lands managed by the U.S. Forest Service, which was concerned with the damage being done by such users. A solution to the problem was sought. A series of public meetings was sponsored by county-based Fish Lake National Forest rangers, and users of the forest were asked for suggestions. Under the leadership of Clyde Lay of the Fish Lake National Forest, combined public and private user groups developed what became the Paiute All Terrain Vehicle Trail, which extends from the mountains of southeastern Millard County well into Beaver County, with trails into Sevier and Piute Counties as well. The trail has since become extremely popular with all-terrain vehicle (ATV) riders from throughout the nation. The Paiute Trail demonstrates that cooperation between various interests can work.<sup>10</sup>

Outdoor recreational activities on federal land in eastern Nevada also have been beneficial economically for the county. Since 1924 there had been several proposals put forth in Congress to establish a national park in eastern Nevada that would include the Lehman Caves and Mount Wheeler. In 1986 Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada sponsored a park bill that was smaller in size than previous proposals and was the first such legislation to preserve some grazing and mining rights for those who had long opposed the measure. Opposition to the bill still came from both Nevada and Utah. At least one hundred west Millard residents petitioned Senator Jake Garn to oppose the bill. On the other hand, Fillmore, Delta, and Milford tourist promoters supported the bill, believing that the three communities

would benefit economically from increased tourism and visitor revenues to the proposed Great Basin National Park. Millard County tourist officials estimated that the county would realize as much as \$2 million annually if the park was created.<sup>11</sup> The park was created. Although Millard County often advertises itself as the gateway to the new national park, limited tourist interest has thus far made earlier estimates of the county's economic benefit too high.

The massive Central Utah Project (CUP) authorized in the mid-1950s promised Colorado River water to many Great Basin farmers. A number of central Utah counties from Utah County south joined the multimillion-dollar reclamation project. Millard County water users agreed to participate, and taxes were levied to help pay for their share of the project. A key feature for Millard County water users was the proposal to build a storage reservoir near the Little Sahara Sand Dunes in Juab County, from which farmers in the county could draw water for irrigation during the normally dry summer growing season. That plan later was scrapped as being too costly, however, and an alternative plan was devised to supplement Sevier River Basin water with 36,000 acre-feet of water annually from the Uinta Basin through a twenty-nine-mile canal from Nephi to the Sevier Bridge Reservoir. Under the plan, local water rights from the Sevier River were to be exchanged or relinquished to upriver water users, providing them with additional water from the Sevier River and its tributaries.

Until the 1970s west Millard County civic leaders and water users were generally supportive of the CUP. In July 1972 P.B. DeLong, CUP project manager, expressed appreciation to Delta people for their support of the project. However, as low levels of federal funding delayed full construction plans and rising environmental and legal questions delayed the project further, there developed an uneasiness over the project. It appeared to many that the county was to receive little benefit from the project.

In August 1988 Millard County Commissioner Mike Styler and others, including longtime Sevier River expert Roger Walker, publicly broached the idea that the county should withdraw from the CUP.<sup>12</sup> The federal Central Utah Project Completion Act of 1992 allowed counties to pull out of the project and get a refund of taxes minus

any benefits or cost incurred for the withdrawing county. Millard County water users were then paying about \$1.2 million in taxes a year on the project, 8 percent of all taxes that supported the CUP.

Further discussion followed in the county and among the Sevier River Basin water users, and in 1993 a non-binding countywide referendum was held. The referendum garnered 1,709 votes for withdrawal; only 125 voters indicated that the county should remain in the CUP. The public discussion and vote in Millard County set shock waves to other counties involved. A year later, Millard County Attorney LeRay Jackson and county commissioners Lana R. Moon, Tony Deardon, and Frank Baker withdrew the county from the CUP. At a CUP meeting held at Richfield in May 1993, county commissioners Moon and Deardon distributed a letter that stated: "It is apparent that nearly all of our citizens want us to take the necessary legal steps to be excluded. The biggest concerns we have are a negative effect on our existing water rights, interference by the federal government and the exorbitant costs involved."<sup>13</sup> The county was determined to withdraw as quickly as possible, and nothing was going to hinder its effort. Commissioner Deardon stressed this point when he stated that the county would "take whatever legal measures are necessary to leave the district."<sup>14</sup>

An important sticking point of the county's withdrawal was the amount of money it would receive back from the Central Utah Water Conservancy District, the state management agency of the Central Utah Project. A settlement was reached in June 1994. Millard County representatives were disappointed that they did not retrieve more of the funds contributed to the project in previous years; however, they were relieved to make a successful exit without further complications. The county was aided in its desires from Senators Orrin Hatch and Robert Bennett. Senator Bennett encouraged both sides not to go to court over the money issue, maintaining that neither would gain and what money was to be refunded would be taken up in attorney's fees. Others recognized that a family quarrel within the CUP was politically dangerous to the future of the entire project, still under close scrutiny by congressional opponents. For a number of years critics of the CUP like New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley and California Congressman George Miller believed that the Utah reclamation pro-



ject was costing too much—money that the nation could not afford to spend.

Some other counties involved in the CUP were opposed the county's decision. Central Utah Water Conservancy District board member Tom Hatch of Garfield County strongly opposed the Millard withdrawal matter, alleging that "a very well-greased lobby" campaign designed to avoid lawsuits had prevailed against the best interests of his upper Sevier River area constituents. In fact, however, there was no such lobbying effort other than strong pressure from the Utah senators to keep the rift of the Central Utah Project participants from jeopardizing the project.<sup>15</sup>

By the 1970s Millard County farmers were the foremost producers of alfalfa and alfalfa mix hay in Utah and probably in the entire Intermountain region. Important to the county's reputation as one of the premier hay-producing areas of the nation has been the steady assistance and direction provided to county hay growers from Millard County Agricultural Extension agents. Important assistance came in the mid-1980s when better qualities of hay grown elsewhere challenged Millard County hay growers. Former Meadow resident and Millard County Agricultural Extension Agent James Bushnell of Utah State University along with future county extension agent Jody Gale and others developed a new technology for testing and grading alfalfa hay. Such innovations have helped keep county hay at the top in the marketplace among consumers.

Marketing of county hay has extended well beyond the Intermountain West and California. In the late 1980s county farmer Ken Ashby worked with the Utah Farm Bureau to market Millard County hay as far away as China and Japan. Other growers entered county hay in the "World's Forage" contest at the National Dairy Exposition in Madison, Wisconsin. In 1992 Clyde Bunker's entry was selected as the grand champion, topping 425 other entries. Bunker won similar honors the next year in the category of cubed hay. Two other local companies dealing in hay cubes—Stanworth, Anderson and Morrison, and Paramount—also won top awards.

County hay producers continue to receive recognition for their high-quality hay. In 1994, for instance, Roger Stanworth and six other growers finished in the top twenty contestants at Madison, with

Stanworth taking top honors. Millard County hay has been sold to Massachusetts dairies and Kentucky thoroughbred racehorse farms. More recently, Marlow Cropper has been selling cubed hay in Japan. Other standouts in hay production are Delyle Carling of Meadow, Garth Swallow of Flowell, and Ken Tuttle of McCornick-Holden.

The amount of acreage devoted to alfalfa has steadily increased since the early 1970s—from 50,000 acres to 69,000 acres in 1996. In 1992, farmers grew more than 230,000 tons of hay. In 1996, 69,000 acres in the county were planted in alfalfa, an increase of more than 15,000 acres in the past twenty years and a reversal of what was expected when much fertile farmland in Lynndyl, Fool Creek Flat, McCornick, and other places was planned to be abandoned after the sale of Central Utah Irrigation Company water to the IPP. However, many farmers in that area made a successful transition to sprinkler irrigation pumping underground water. The use of sprinkler irrigation even may have increased overall agricultural production in some areas. Certainly McCornick and Pauvant remain an integral part of the lucrative east Millard hay-producing sector.

For several decades following the demise of the Sunrise Dairy and Brooklawn Creamery there were no local commercial dairies. In the fall of 1977 longtime Sutherland residents Max and Elwin Johnson, assisted by Adrain DeBruin, a master cheesemaker from Europe, established the Delta Cheese Company plant northeast of town. Johnson and DeBruin were successful marketing cheese far beyond Utah. Thirteen years later, the cheese plant underwent a million-dollar expansion and modernization, and recently the founding family divested itself of its ownership in the company.

Millard County possesses good land, adequate water, and other factors important for a dairy region. As a result, several individuals and organizations have spearheaded a dairy relocation program aimed at California dairymen who are being pressed by urban sprawl and high property taxes, encouraging them to establish their dairies in the county. There has been some interest as several California dairymen have availed themselves of the opportunity. There also has been some opposition to the relocation by neighboring property owners, but it is an economic opportunity county leaders are willing to pursue. In recent years, area dairy farmers have invested as much

as \$13 million dollars improving their operations and increasing their dairy herds. The number of milk cows in the county increased to an estimated 8,500 head in 1998. Dairy products have moved toward the top of agricultural commodities produced in the county.<sup>16</sup>

Millard County's agricultural economy continues to rank in the top echelon in the state along with Sanpete, Utah, Salt Lake, Cache, and Box Elder Counties. In 1998, for instance, county cash receipts from farming amounted to over \$50 million.<sup>17</sup> Cattle continue to be economically important. In 1978, the number of cattle raised in the county peaked for the century at 70,000 head. Nearly twenty years later, the 354 county livestock producers still raised an estimated 60,000 head; only Box Elder, Cache, and Duchesene County livestock producers raised more.<sup>18</sup> Sheep and swine, on the other hand, have declined in numbers. Swine numbers topped out at more than 7,000 in 1959; currently there are fewer than 3,000 pigs grown in the county. Similarly, sheep production has declined from 37,500 head in 1940 to 4,000 head in 1996, although the western part of the county continues to be important for winter grazing of sheep from other parts of the state.

Millard County wheat farmers cultivated just under 7,000 acres in 1940. Seven years later the acreage increased to 42,000 acres and the harvest to 415,000 bushels. Since then, the number of acres sowed to wheat has declined—being 7,100 acres in 1996. Estimated acres and yields for 1997 indicate that there were 2,200 irrigated acres harvested, yielding an estimated 319,000 bushels; 1,900 non-irrigated acres, yielding 81,000 bushels; and 3,600 acres harvested in winter wheat, producing an estimated yield of 252,000 bushels.<sup>19</sup> Other grains including barley and corn have added to the county's agricultural output.

The decline of county wheat production is in part a result of federal programs. Low national wheat prices prompted government action and discouraged many farmers from growing more wheat. Today, land from Kanosh to Scipio that once produced wheat is now planted with wheatgrass and other plants that have prevented serious wind erosion.

High gold prices and a new method of cyanide leaching prompted Western States Minerals Corporation in late 1983 to

rework the hundred-year-old King Tut gold mine located in the Drum Mountain area. A few years later, geologists located another deposit of gold, which kept a sizeable work force, mostly from Millard County, working the mine. By 1990 the company had extracted 120,000 ounces of gold worth more than \$50 million. However, a decline in both ore and gold prices, rising production costs, and other factors caused the company to close its operation in the early 1990s. Should favorable conditions return, the company is poised to continue operating the mine.<sup>20</sup>

In 1991, during the move to establish BLM wilderness areas, the Centurion Mines Corporation of Salt Lake City announced an “extraordinarily significant” find of gold near King’s Canyon, sixty miles west of Delta. Crown Resources, with mining claims nearby, took steps to block the area from being designated wilderness. The mining companies argued that the King Top area had too many roads and old ranch structures to fit wilderness criterion and that there were “moderate to good” indications further investigations would determine that paying ore deposits existed there.<sup>21</sup> At the time of this writing, the wilderness issue has not yet been completely resolved for this area of the county.

Other mining developments, some yet to achieve profitability, have recently been attempted in the county. One enterprise is an effort to extract minerals from the brine beneath Sevier Lake. Work began in 1986 when representatives of the W.D. Haden Company of Houston, Texas, notified the county commission of its intention to construct a mineral extraction facility at the south end of the generally dry lakebed. Organized locally as Crystal Peak Minerals, the company’s aim was to produce potash for fertilizers as well as retrieving various types of salts from the brine solution. The company constructed dikes to contain 200-acre evaporation ponds to separate the minerals from the liquid brine pumped from 4,000 feet below the lake. Market prices have delayed full operation of the facility, although there was some renewed activity in 1997.<sup>22</sup>

The county faced its first serious industrial air pollution challenge in the early 1990s. The problem began in 1979 when Martin Marietta Corporation, which anticipated both MX and IPP construction profits, announced plans to build a cement plant just inside

the Juab County line at the mouth of Leamington Canyon near a large limestone deposit. When the MX program was cancelled, Southwestern Portland Cement of Los Angeles bought the plant from Martin Marietta and named it the Ash Grove cement plant. In 1988 the cement company announced its intention to seek permits to burn discarded tires, motor oil, solvents, and other potentially hazardous wastes as supplemental fuels for the Ash Grove facility. Three years later, after protests from county residents were carried to the state legislature, a short moratorium against burning such materials was issued. Further steps were taken in 1992 when state representative Joe Moody introduced legislation to prevent the company from resuming the burning of these materials. Soon after, state lawmaker Bill Wright, chairman of a legislative community council, advised the company to drop further pursuit of permits to burn hazardous wastes. Working with a newly formed citizens advisory committee, an agreement was reached to allow the company to burn tires and used oil at its operation. As many as 1,000 tires per eight-hour shift have been burned, and, by using scrubbers and other pollution-control devices, air emission tests have indicated little toxic emission occurring. However, the plant has not yet burned other alternative fuels.<sup>23</sup>

The Lynndyl town council in 1982 invited Rollins Environmental Services Incorporated, a company engaged in treating and disposing of hazardous wastes in Texas, Louisiana, and Pennsylvania, to consider locating one of its hazardous waste dumps near their community. The town council was persuaded initially that the economic advantages outweighed the liabilities of such an undertaking. However, as more information became available, opposition mounted. There was particular concern of the possibility of spills of toxic wastes from tanker trucks. With cooperation from Governor Norman Bangert, local representatives introduced a resolution at a special legislative session imposing a moratorium on dump permits until more careful studies of possible problems could be undertaken. Amid continued local opposition, the company announced it was withdrawing its consideration of the site in 1988, expressing disappointment because it had been led to believe it would get a friendly reception from the citizens and officials of the area.<sup>24</sup>

At the same time Millard residents mobilized to resist these projects in the northeastern portion of the county, a similar outcry was heard against a proposed project in the northwestern corner. The United States Air Force announced its intention to expand the existing Utah Test and Training Range into Snake, Tule, and Whirlwind Valleys in Millard County. West desert residents and others resented the plan due to long experience with low-flying aircraft, sonic booms, and night flights. Local opposition was led by Cecil Garland. Congressman Wayne Owens and others carried the local voice of opposition to the halls of Congress, where the Air Force's plan faded.<sup>25</sup>

Among the most controversial military programs that impacted the county were weapons testing at the Nevada atomic test site and biological and chemical testing at the Dugway Proving Grounds in Tooele County. Millard County citizens and their neighbors had long been exposed to questionable military tests and other activities conducted at these sites. On 13 March 1968, for example, during a test at Dugway, nerve gas was released and drifted beyond the restricted testing area killing 6,000 sheep grazing nearby. This made west Millard County farmers and ranchers cautious about other military tests and developments.

Millard County sheep men feared the worst in 1971 when a large herd of sheep was found dead at Mormon Gap, thirty miles from Garrison. However, it was discovered that the dead sheep had consumed an unusually high quantity of the highly poisonous weed halogeton, which had been introduced into the area thirty years earlier.

After much study and planning, in cooperation with the BLM, the Utah Division of Wildlife Resources introduced forty head of elk to the southern Oak Creek Mountains in May 1988. Numerous area residents applauded the action; however, the positive feelings among some changed when the elk caused great damage to farm fields and fences in the McCornick area. Big game managers conceded their failure and opened a short hunt for thirty-nine cow and five bull elk in the area in August 1992. Critics termed the affair a slaughter. There are still a few elk in the area that do some damage to farms, but they

are now tolerated because the Division of Wildlife Resources is more cooperative in working with farmers about damages.

The Division of Wildlife Resources experimented with other wildlife as well. Hungarian partridges were introduced to the Pauvant uplands, and in late 1995 wild turkeys were released at several locations along the eastern foothills of the county. It is still too early to report on the success or failure of these wildlife programs in the county.<sup>26</sup>

By 1980 the old Fillmore swimming pool was in need of major repairs and was deemed unprofitable to operate. Concerned with the possible loss of an important summer recreation facility, east Millard residents, following the example of west Millard, organized their own recreation district in 1979, and officials began plans for a new community swimming pool. Lacking funds to begin immediately, Fillmore City agreed to keep the old pool open for a few years until funds could be found for the pool.<sup>27</sup>

Flooding on the west side of the county destroyed the Delta golf course. Work began immediately to relocate and rebuild the Delta golf course. With major assistance in the form of a land donation valued at \$650,000 from Derrall Christensen and Ed Madsen, work on the Delta golf course moved ahead rapidly. East-side golf enthusiasts also wanted their own golf course and, following the lead of the Fillmore swimming pool committee, local golfers organized a committee to plan for a new golf course. However, before much progress was made, some members of the Fillmore Chamber of Commerce complained that the county commission was being unfair to east-side golfing interests. A major issue with many on the east side was what they believed to be an unequal distribution of county recreation funds. Commissioner Mike Styler explained that the apparent imbalance of funds stemmed the county's use of Federal Emergency Management Agency flood-relief funds as well as private donations to rebuild the Delta golf course. Without similar sources of funds, the east-side golf course would likely not be built.

Currently, east Millard motel owner Don Fullmer is making plans to develop a private golf course for the east side of the county.<sup>28</sup> However, enough public interest was shown over the apparent inequality of recreational spending that Reese Nielson, IPP general

manager, urged the county commission to support some east Millard recreation projects using Intermountain Power Agency funds. The commission agreed and in 1989 approved the use of \$250,000 in IPA funds to help build a new Fillmore swimming pool. The Fillmore City Council and Mayor Keith Gillins agreed to appropriate \$250,000 locally provided the county matched the appropriation. The county commission agreed, using additional funds from the Utah Community Impact Board. The Fillmore swimming pool was opened in April 1991.

In the meantime, to augment recreational opportunities in Delta, the West Millard Recreation Board voted to lease the Plaza Bowling Lanes with the intention to purchase the facility later. The recreation board also voted to build racquetball courts and a classroom complex near the Delta swimming pool at a cost of more than \$500,000. The high cost of this and other recreational projects and the apparent lack of public accountability of the board created sufficient voter outcry to induce the county commissioners to disband the recreation districts on both sides of the county and for the commission to commit to oversee such matters in the future.<sup>29</sup>

After another brief hiatus in horse racing in the late 1970s, horse races resumed again in 1982 and 1983 when large purses were posted for the winners. In 1984 prize money totaled more than \$11,000 for thoroughbred as well as quarter horse races in the county.

Flooding in 1983 had caused serious damage to the county fair property and rodeo facilities in Deseret. Utah Power and Light Company declared the lighting to be unsafe, and the lack of display buildings at Deseret forced county officials to move the fair to Delta High School and the associated horse race to the Fillmore fairgrounds. In 1984 the fair combined with the first annual Hay Days and was held at the city park and South Elementary School. In 1986 the county commission voted to return the fair permanently to Deseret, but that decision did not hold for long.

In the late 1980s, as construction of the IPP was winding down, land owned by the power consortium located near the White Sage Regional Park was put up for sale. The county commission purchased the property for the purpose of relocating the county fair in Delta permanently. A new exhibit building was completed by the time of



the annual county fair in August 1989. Additional buildings were completed the following year. In June 1990 the Millard County Junior Livestock Show, the oldest event of its kind in the West, moved its activities to the fairgrounds. Two years later, lights were added to the rodeo grounds and increased seating was completed. The Days of the Old West Rodeo was revived with good success in subsequent years.<sup>30</sup>

The historic Millard County Courthouse on the east side of the county by 1992 could no longer meet either security standards or those of the Federal Disability Act for access by the physically impaired. Additionally, the courtrooms were inadequate and there was a need for better office space. A new county court complex on the highway south of Fillmore was built not far from the new hospital and elementary school. It opened in 1993 on the old jail site, and the old court building remained in use as county offices. In 1998 the county also built a new office building in Delta, thereby providing better service to west-side residents.

The 1990s saw other significant changes for county residents. Early in 1990 the Kern River Pipeline Company announced that it intended to build a natural gas pipeline from natural gas fields in Wyoming to southern California. The line would pass through Millard County. A pumping station with a 9,200-horsepower turbine gas compressor was also built west of Hatton.

County residents decided to take advantage of this opportunity to heat their homes and businesses using natural gas. Mountain Fuel Supply Company gained non-exclusive franchise rights to serve several county municipalities, and, by 1992, 80 percent of 4,467 potential customers opted to be connected to natural gas service. With ceremonies headed by Mountain Fuel executives in Delta in July and in Fillmore in October 1992, the county was linked for the first time to the much-appreciated energy source.<sup>31</sup>

A 3,900-seat multipurpose high school gymnasium and auditorium was built at Delta High School in 1995. Named the Palladium, the facility included a large basketball court, dance studio, and wrestling room. Since its completion, the new facility has been the site for Utah High School Activities Association tournaments and playoffs as well as being utilized for LDS regional conferences. It is

one of the largest and best athletic venues in the central part of the state and attests to the community's support for such activities.<sup>32</sup>

The Fillmore area has had a longstanding tradition of staging dramatic pageants, many through the efforts of Frank Rassmusson. In the late 1980s the community staged an outdoor pageant which focused on one of the county's greatest historic figures, Chief Kanosh. The pageant ran for several successful summers. During the Christmas season, annual performances of Handel's *Messiah*, directed by Joe Moody, have been supported by people from both sides of the county. Also, as part of the centennial celebration of Utah statehood in 1996, a group of west-side residents wrote and produced an original musical entitled "In Our Lovely Deseret." It focused on the Black family, prominent in the second founding of the Deseret community, and performances have continued to the present time.

A group of well-known artists have grown up in or located to Millard County. Gerald Bishop, originally from Oasis, has spent a career as professor of art at the University of Arizona and has displayed his work in numerous exhibitions. Reproductions of his paintings have regularly appeared in *Arizona Highways* and other magazines and his works have commanded highly respectable prices. Lt. Colonel Frank Thomas served as a combat artist during the Vietnam War and later located at Holden and taught art at Delta High. During the Persian Gulf War of the early 1990s, he was called back to duty as one of two assigned to render visual accounts of that conflict. Mel Dobson, raised in Holden, paints wildlife in their natural environment, particularly in Africa. Carl L. Purcell, born in Fillmore and raised in Kingman, Arizona, has been an art instructor at Snow College for more than two decades and participates in several national exhibitions each year.

Roy Purcell, also originally from Fillmore, now director of the Southern Nevada Museum, has painted numerous works now owned by celebrity and corporate collectors. Michael C. Nelson, a Meadow resident, and Gwen Hunter, for years the art teacher at Millard High School, are other accomplished area artists. As part of the Utah statehood centennial, many of these artists were commissioned to produce mural-size historic scenes to be permanently displayed in the Millard County Fair Exhibition Hall. The mural collection is a great

tribute to a relatively small county, both for its many talented painters and its officials sensitive to artistic achievement.

Cove Fort was owned for many years by the Kessler family, who willingly showed the historic structure to patrons of their service station situated across U.S. Highway 91 from the fort. After a dispute over a 1979 will, the historic property was eventually obtained by the descendants of the earliest custodian of the property, Ira N. Hinckley, including LDS church president Gordon B. Hinckley. President Hinckley was instrumental in passing the property back to the Mormon church. With impressive care and expense, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints refurbished the interior buildings of the fort and rebuilt a large barn and other outbuildings that had once been there, filling the entire premises with excellent museum-quality period furnishings and equipment. Dedicated at a ceremony by President Hinckley, the LDS church now operates Cove Fort as one of its most visited historic sites. Some 78,000 people visited the site during the first six months following the fort's dedication. A large number of LDS church members serve missions at the fort as enthusiastic docents.

The women of Millard County continue to provide contemporary leadership in both the county and the state. Among them was one of South Tract's first daughters, Reva Beck Bosone, who began her professional career as a high school teacher in Delta. She later practiced law and was elected to the state legislature in the 1930s. She then went on to serve two terms in Congress, where she championed reclamation projects in the West and American Indian programs. More recently, Ruth Hansen and Doris Rasmussen were respective mayors of Delta and Fillmore. Lana R. Moon, originally from Provo, was elected the first female Millard County commissioner in 1991; she was reelected in 1995, also serving on numerous statewide committees.

Jane Beckwith, a Delta High School teacher, was one of ten teachers in the state to receive the Women's Achievement Award for 1997. Beckwith's devotion to education has been recognized both inside and outside the classroom. She has served on the Utah Humanities Council and has been in the forefront of cultural associations with Japanese citizens and Japanese-Americans, including having a long-



Utah State centennial activity in Fillmore 1997. Left to right: County Commissioner Tony Dearden, Governor Mike Leavitt, County Commissioners Lana R. Moon, John Henrie. (Courtesy Millard County Centennial Committee)

standing interest in Topaz. Other women of the county have been successful as writers, historians, teachers, artists, and leaders of various cultural and civic organizations.

County residents and former residents have contributed to society in other ways as well. Major Stephen M. Badger of Holden, for instance, put himself in harm's way on the parade grounds at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, when a man armed with a rifle opened fire on a group of soldiers. In an effort to apprehend the crazed assailant, Badger was shot and killed. He was buried at Holden with full military honors.<sup>33</sup>

For much of its history, the county's east side has dominated economically and politically. The construction of the Intermountain Power Project and other developments have provided a counter-balance which helped to shift population, political power, and economic influence from the east side to the west side of the county in recent years. In the early 1960s the Delta area squeezed ahead of east Millard in terms of gross retail sales, an important index to economic growth. More recently, in 1995, Delta moved ahead of regional center Nephi in Juab County, with over \$45 million in gross retail sales and purchases to some \$41 million at Nephi. The \$45 million, a full half of the entire retail revenue for Millard County, exceeded the amount generated in nearby Beaver County.

The construction of Interstate 15 greatly altered the commercial districts of Fillmore and neighboring communities. The proportion of income earned on the east side has declined somewhat, although the importance of tourism to the economy has continued. Today, tourism accounts for about one-tenth of the county's total business income. The county's gross taxable room rents collected in 1993 topped \$2 million for the first time.<sup>34</sup> The core of the county's economy remains agriculture, with mining, manufacturing, and electric power generation looming larger than in the past.

Millard County's contributions to Utah's centennial celebration included an open house at the territorial State House, with Governor Michael O. Leavitt, Senator Robert Bennett, and other state and local dignitaries in period dress in attendance. Two banquets featuring food from Millard County followed. At one, Governor Leavitt presented a centennial book to Brian Larsen, who, at age 102, was the

oldest resident of the county. Following the banquets, five governor's balls with five different kinds of dancing at five locations were held in Fillmore. The evening was topped off with a display of fireworks. The Millard County Centennial Committee was cochaired by Sylvia S. Huntsman and Qwen S. Hunter and was directed by County Commissioner Lana R. Moon.

The next day, a special Union Pacific train from Iron County was welcomed by 1,500 people, with music provided by the Delta High School band and with orations from state and county officials. The train continued on to Salt Lake City, where it met two other trains from other parts of the state at the Union Pacific Station.

The centennial celebration continued in June when the Centennial Wagon Train rolled through the county, making overnight stops at Scipio, Holden, Meadow, Kanosh, and Cove Fort. At Cove Fort, the wagon train was greeted by 15,000 people and music from the Delta High marching band. At Cove Fort, LDS church president Gordon B. Hinckley was presented with flowers from one hundred young women.

In July the Millard County Legacy Art Project, which consisted of twelve oil paintings depicting events in the county's history, was unveiled at a banquet held at the Millard County Fair Building. The state centennial celebration in the county ended in late September when 25,000 boy scouts from around the state held their centennial scout jamboree near Fillmore.

Whatever the future challenges, Millard County residents can be expected to meet them as they have impressively met similar ones in the past. The county is poised to enter a new century in a good position for continued progress and economic prosperity. Close observers see more harmony between the often rival east and west sides of Millard County. Drawing on the spirit of the county's past, Millard County will continue to be one of the best places anywhere to reside.

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Edward Leo Lyman (above left) received a B.S. degree from Brigham Young University and a M.S. degree from the University of Utah before earning a Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Riverside. He has taught history in high school and college for over thirty years in California. He has published extensively on Mormon politics, transportation history in the West, and local history. Lyman is author of *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* and *The Rise and Fall of San Bernardino*.

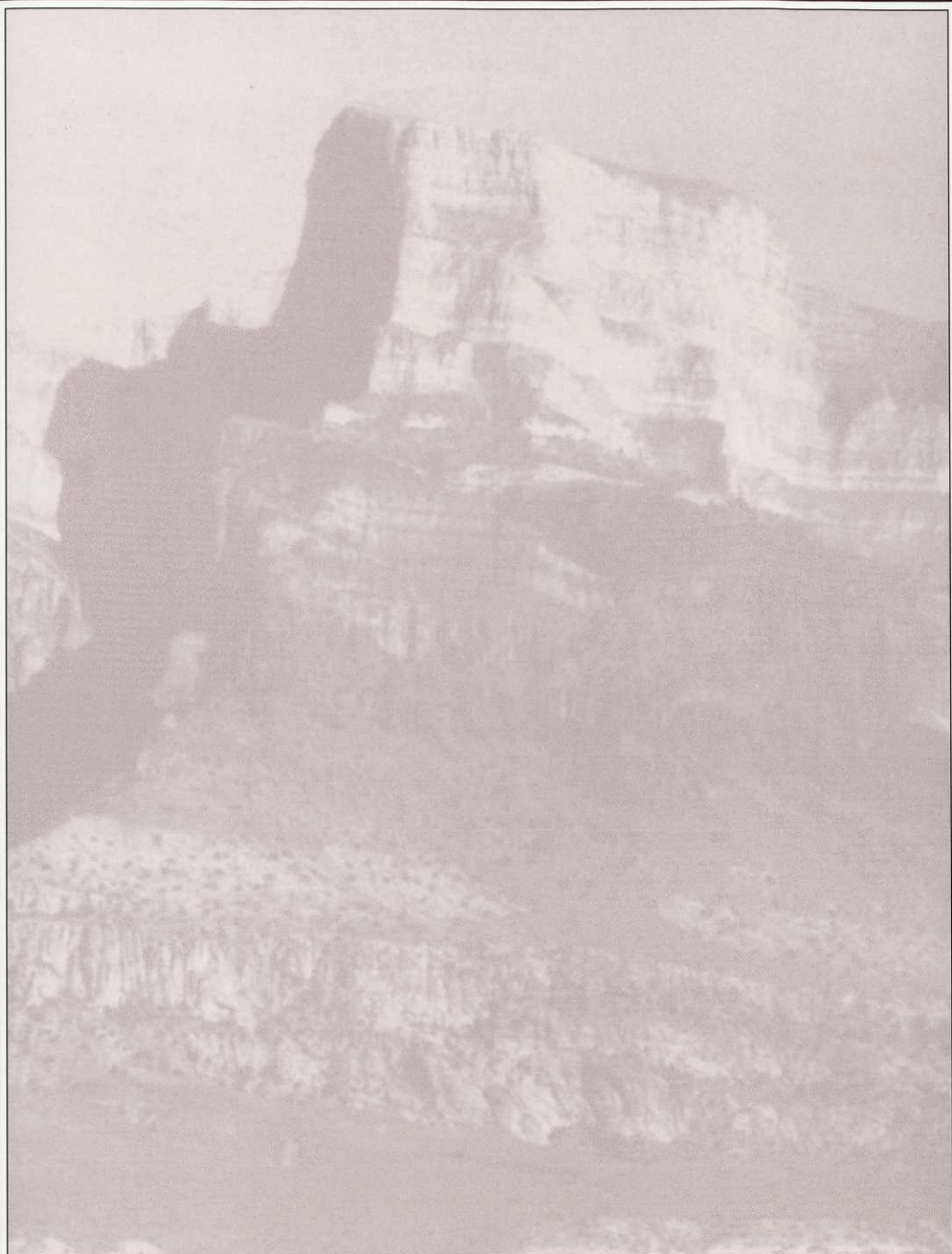
Linda King Newell (above right) is a writer of biography and family and community history. A graduate of Utah State University, she has co-authored *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* and numerous historical articles and essays. She co-edited *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* from 1982 to 1987. She has served on the Utah Humanities Council and as president of the Mormon History Association. Ms. Newell lives on a ranch on the California-Nevada border, where her husband, Jack, is president of Deep Springs College. They have four grown children.

*Front dust jacket photograph: Territorial State House, Fillmore, Millard County; courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.*

*Back dust jacket photograph: Notch Peak in the House Range, Millard County; courtesy of the Utah Geological and Mineral Survey.*

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