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Aberrant Mormon Settlers:

The Homesteaders of

Highland, Utah

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

David T. Durfey

December 1992

This thesis, by David T. Durfey is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



G. Wesley Johnson, Committee Chair



Paul B. Pixton, Committee Member

18 Sept 1992
Date



Paul B. Pixton, Department Chair

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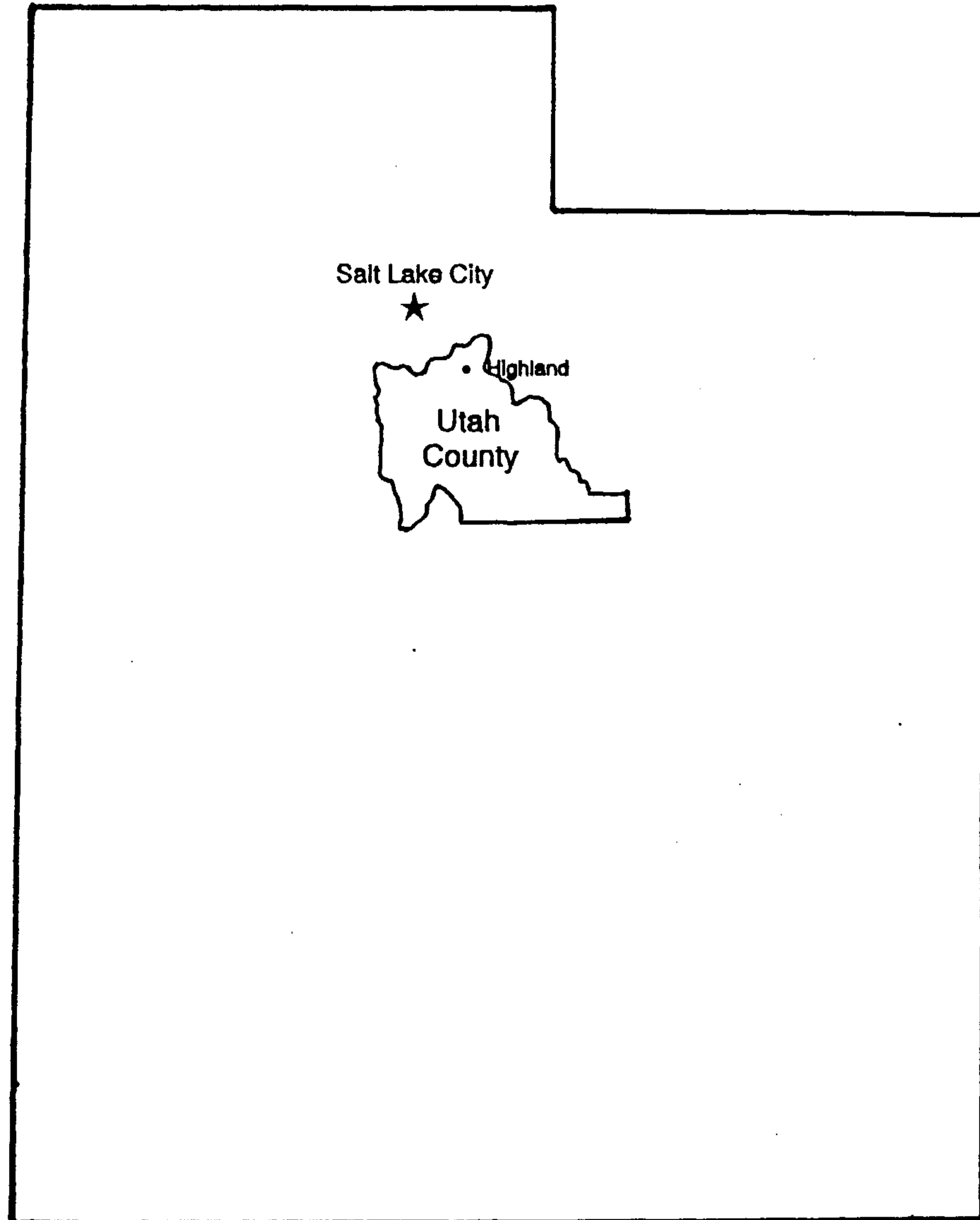
INTRODUCTION

Almost thirty years after the Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, and nearly thirty miles away, a few brave souls began to settle on virgin land outside the Mormon villages of Lehi, Alpine and American Fork in north Utah County. Many of these first homesteaders moved away before their new place of residence ever received a name. Since 1850, when the surrounding communities were settled, this area was referred to as the 'Bench,' which it did resemble because it was a long flat, elevated plain located above the valley floor near the western foothills of the Wasatch Mountains (see Map 1). The Scottish immigrants, however, who began to farm on the Bench in the 1870s and 1880s decided that 'Highland' was a more appropriate and descriptive title since it reminded them of their highlands of home. It took some time for this name to take hold, but by 1890 the Church and government began to acknowledge this designation in their records.

The history of Highland's origin as a community is significant in the historiography of Mormonism and early Utah. Speaking of the importance that local community histories could have on the broader, more general history of Utah, one historian made the following observation:

MAP 1

The State of Utah and Utah County



Source: Drawn by Author from Atlas of Utah, Wayne L. Wahlquist, ed.,
(Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), p. 18.

. . . the town [generally speaking] not only stands at the center of the Mormon experience but that indeed, it long stood at the center of the Church's entire experience, and studies which bypass life of everyday Mormons at the town level to focus upon the Church hierarchy and upon Salt Lake City leave untilled Mormon history's most fertile seedbed.¹

The Mormon village has been popularly researched by sociologists and historians,² but the breakdown of this highly structured colonization pattern has received little attention. The pioneer migration of Mormons to Utah has been well documented, but the sequestered out-migration within Utah has been hardly recognized.³ The histories of original Utah

¹Charles S. Peterson, "A Mormon Village: One Man's West," Journal of Mormon History 3 (1976), p. 3-12.

²See Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958) pgs. 88-95, 215-223, 354-355, 382-384; Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941) pgs. 59-67, 118-133, 142-163; Dean L. May, "The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change," Utah Historical Quarterly 45 (Winter 1977), p. 75-92; Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952); Charles S. Peterson, "A Mormon Village: One Man's West," Journal of Mormon History 3 (1976), p. 3-12; Joel E. Ricks, Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement, (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1964); Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890," (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, 1974); Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography on the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (June 1965), p. 191-220.; Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," Brigham Young University Studies 17 (Winter 1977), p. 223-240.

³There is a deficiency in the amount of historical research completed on the out-migration within Utah. See: Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "A Geographer's Discovery of Great Basin Kingdom," Great Basin Kingdom Revisited, Thomas G. Alexander, ed., (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991). Most of Utah colonization literature which refers to the out-migration of Mormons does so in the sense that large companies of Mormons left the state because they were responding to a Church 'call' of settling beyond the borders of Utah, in order to enlarge and strengthen the boundaries of Mormonism, for example: Richard Sherlock, "Mormon Migration and Settlement after 1875," Journal of Mormon History 2 (1975), p. 53-68; Charles S. Peterson, Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonization along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973); John F. Palmer, "Mormon Settlements in the San Juan Basin of Colorado and New Mexico," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young

settlements have been written and rewritten, but the later development of smaller free-lance communities as outgrowths of larger organized settlements has been barely noticed. Some of these bedroom communities, like an illegitimate child, suffer from a historical identity crisis, not knowing who conceived them.

One obvious reason why these settlements have largely been ignored is because they were so gradual in their development and slow in growth that no one noticed or was interested in their history until long after the original settlers had died or moved away, leaving few records behind them. Another reason why histories of the free-lance communities are not as prevalent is because they were not founded by the prominent pioneers who were publicly more visible and enumerated than the private families who broke away from the tradition of residing in the village. This thesis is an attempt to narrow the gap between the historical awareness of the historically popular Mormon village, which was carefully planned and quickly populated, and the marginal, sometimes obscure community which was inchoately settled at a slow, random pace. Highland, Utah, was colonized by an unrenowned populace who came to the Bench sporadically and salutarily.

To appreciate the unique and aberrant style of settlement which

University, 1967); Judson H. Flower, Jr., "Mormon Colonization of the San Luis of Colorado, 1878-1900," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966); Albert R. Page, "Orson Hyde and the Carson Valley Mission," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970).

Highland represents, Chapter One will review the distinctive Mormon colonization pattern of settlement fostered by Church hierarchy--the Mormon village. Emulative of the Puritan colonies, the village received commanding endorsement as the authorized place of residence from proclaimed prophets Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, both former New Englanders. Nearly every community established by the Mormons before their arrival to the Great Basin in 1847 until Young's death in 1877, was patterned after the vision of the prophet Joseph Smith to build a city of Zion. Every village was to be a consecrated place, a "covenanted community," seeking to become like the biblical City of Enoch, where every resident, according to Mormon doctrine, experienced a unity of "one heart and one mind." Secondary to the spiritual goals, the village type of settlement was also strongly sanctioned for physical protection, social interaction, economic advancement, and educational, as well as cultural, opportunities. Prior to the late nineteenth century, Mormon families who resided outside a theocratic village were acting contrary to Church counsel. Based upon the recommendation given by Mormon authorities, any land outside the city limits was considered off-limits to private homesteading. However, in the 1870s this ideology began to change.

The coming of the railroad and the enactment of the homestead laws in 1869, incited a deterioration of the Mormon land monopoly in the Great Basin. The railroad permitted an increasing population, including

adventurous newcomers, to enter the territory while the homestead laws enabled second generation Mormons, dissatisfied Mormons, and Gentiles⁴ to purchase property outside the village. These conditions helped create the early history of Highland. Between 1870 and 1880 three people received homestead rights to land located on the Bench. From 1881 to 1890 the original three homesteaders had exploded to thirty, and the remaining acreage in Highland was taken when seven additional homesteads were claimed between 1891 and 1903.

Not everyone who homesteaded in Highland, lived in Highland. Chapter Two will identify and examine the nonresidents, who were willing to speculate in land, but not take the risk of being viewed as an outcast by living outside the village. Chapter Three provides a history of the fiercely independent, first residents of Highland, who in some cases were seeking autonomy from the Church or the village, and in other instances were just trying to establish a place of their own because of the crowded, overpopulated conditions causing a shortage of land within their agricultural environment. Comparing the historical background of the nonresidents with the residents, certain patterns of similarities and differences become apparent, these patterns will be discussed in Chapter Four. Finally, Throughout the history of Highland there is a chain of continuity, some

⁴This term has several different connotations, even in the Mormon Church it has various meanings, but in this thesis the term will be strictly used to describe those who are not members of the Mormon Church.

common threads that tie the community's past with her present. These will be reviewed in an aftermath and conclusion.

During the American nineteenth century there was nothing ordinary or dull about the achievement of establishing a town, no matter how humble and slow its beginning or how proud and quick its end. It is no more heroic how certain communities were originated in Utah by illustrious pioneers, who believed they were fulfilling a mission for God, than the establishment of a town by ordinary folks who randomly settled on the Bench. The prominence of a community's settlers, or lack of prominence in Highland's case, should not add or detract from their feat. Their lack of public life makes their story more difficult to tell, and more mysterious, but it is an account of triumph and endurance. Although Highland is still considered a small community, the history of any community is no small thing, and deserves recognition in the court of local history.

CHAPTER 1

A DISTINCTIVE STYLE OF SETTLEMENT: THE MORMON VILLAGE

Some called him Brother Brigham, others refer to him as a Modern Moses, but few disagree that the Mormon prophet, Brigham Young, was one of the most prolific colonizers in American history. After leading thousands of believers to the arid Great Basin, he directed for thirty years the establishment of three hundred fifty-eight settlements and villages,⁵ stretching from the state of Idaho to San Bernardino, California. Evidence of his powerful influence on the colonization of Deseret⁶ is suggested by the fact that even after his death in 1877, thousands of Mormon immigrants continued to gather to Salt Lake, but relatively few new communities were settled in Utah. To this day, most of the large cities and small towns in this state originated as highly organized Mormon villages between 1847 and 1877, under the auspices of Brigham Young. One early Gentile visitor to the Salt Lake Valley made the observation that all Mormon communities were

⁵Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), p. 377-382.

⁶"Deseret" was the name given to the Mormon territories which covered all of Utah, Nevada, most of Arizona, and at least a small part of six other western states, including: Oregon, California, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho.

the result of a "system of united and well-directed action under one leading and controlling mind."⁷ Because the Mormon hierarchy advocated a form of Christian Zionism, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were persecuted and eventually compelled to migrate to the Intermountain West, where Brigham Young established a Mormon empire by calling submissive Saints to settle in small, isolated villages, which became a distinctive colonization pattern in the Great Basin.

Before the Saints moved to the West they experienced resistance in establishing new settlements. Mormon doctrine encouraged an exclusiveness which frequently invoked persecution. Mormons believed in a literal gathering which included physically coming together to separate themselves from the Gentile world, which they equated with Babylon. The concept of gathering meant more than just moving to the same general locality; it included moving into the same well-defined town or village. The founder of the Mormon Church, Joseph Smith, taught that it was "the duty of the brethren to come into cities to build and live, and carry on their farms out of the cities, according to the order of God."⁸ Joseph discouraged the isolated farmstead when he described the ideal, utopian community, Zion:

...the tiller of the soil as well as the merchant and mechanic will live in the city. The farmer and his family, therefore, will enjoy all the

⁷Howard Stansbury, An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1855), p. 133.

⁸Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed., B.H. Roberts, 7 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1948), 3:56.

advantages of schools, public lectures and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society, which has been, and always will be, the great educator of the human race; but they will enjoy the same privileges of society, and can surround their homes with the same intellectual life, the same social refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or banker or professional man.⁹

To practice this doctrine they left New York and settled in the Kirtland area of Ohio, not far from Cleveland. "With the removal of the Saints to Kirtland, . . . a distinctive social ethic, a separate geographical location, and a separated community were established as fundamental characteristics of Mormon life. 'The Gathering' as Mormonism's basic doctrine took on concrete form."¹⁰ This community, however, was abandoned by Mormons after some persecution, and because of a revelation Joseph Smith received to build the City of Zion, near Independence, Missouri.¹¹ When this also failed, the Mormons established a new community further north, named Far West. Despite heavy persecution the Saints were counseled continually to isolate themselves by gathering. In 1838 the First Presidency counseled the Saints:

In order that the object for which the saints are gathered together in the last days, as spoken of by all the holy prophets since the world began may be obtained, it is essentially necessary, that they should all be gathered into the Cities appointed for that purpose; as it will be much

⁹Joseph Smith, quoted in B.H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 6 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 1:311-312.

¹⁰Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 112.

¹¹The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 57:1-3.

better for them all, in order that they may be in a situation to have the necessary instruction... The advantages of so doing are numerous while the disadvantages are few, if any.¹²

After the Saints were completely expelled from Missouri, they then moved northward again and built Nauvoo, "the city beautiful," on the east bank of the Mississippi River in Illinois. Tranquility surrounded the Mormons for several years, but in 1844 Joseph Smith was assassinated, and after two years of persecution, the Saints were forced to flee their homes once again and seek refuge elsewhere.

In great hardship they marched across Iowa, establishing temporary camps where they could rest. Finally, under the direction of their new leader, Brigham Young, the Saints built a temporary city in Nebraska which they called Winter Quarters (now a suburb of Omaha). This was Young's first major attempt at colonization which provided him with valuable experience for the role that awaited him in Utah.

The name, Winter Quarters, gave some indication that this city was never meant to be a permanent settlement. Before they departed Nauvoo, Brigham Young and other Mormon authorities had studied and discussed alternative places to locate. They had considered Texas and the Oregon territories but had finally decided upon the Great Basin. This land technically belonged to Mexico, and seemed barren and hostile enough to provide Mormons the isolation they sought in order to practice their religion without

¹²Elders Journal, (Far West, Missouri), August 1838, p. 53.

interference, but fertile enough to produce for them the necessities of life. Brigham Young, with a vanguard of pioneers left Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847 and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847. Mormon migration from the Midwest was perceived as not only a necessary evil, "We left because we had to," in order to protect themselves, but it was also a prospective blessing from God. Brigham himself best expressed this view, "We have been driven from the habitations of man and hurled . . . as a stone from a sling, and we have lodged here in this goodly place . . . just where the Lord wants His people to gather."¹³

Shortly after arriving in the Great Basin, Brigham Young envisioned settling an expansive territory by establishing hundreds of small agricultural villages, resembling the pattern of Joseph's City of Zion. The village style of settlement consisted of living on small building lots of close proximity within the town limits. Farms and pastures were located outside the town, sometimes miles away from where the citizenry lived. To a Mormon farmer, his house, not his land, was the symbolic center of his life. This was very different from those who settled on isolated farmsteads. While Mormon villages represented a unique style of land settlement in the West, they were reminiscent of the Puritan covenant communities in New England.¹⁴ "The

¹³Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, August 7, 1847, in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. Cited in Gustive O. Larson, "Land Contest in Early Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 29 (1961), p. 310.

¹⁴Smith, As a City upon a Hill, p. 3.

village pattern of land occupancy is as old as agriculture. It was the first form of settlement, . . . But in the United States and Canada the farm village is not common. Scattered farmsteads prevail. Aside from the early New Englanders the Mormons are exceptional in their mode of rural dwelling."¹⁵

Brigham knew that in order to build a Mormon empire thousands of colonists were needed in addition to the 25,000 members of the Church that lived in the United States and Canada in 1847.¹⁶ The fulfillment of this vision required Mormon missionaries to evangelize and recruit outsiders to join the Church. Europe seemed to be especially fertile ground and over the next several decades produced a good harvest of converts. In 1848, after Young had returned to Winter Quarters to prepare another company of pioneers to go west, he wrote a "General Epistle to the Saints," and issued the following summons:

Gather yourselves together speedily near this place on the east side of the Missouri River, and, if possible, be ready to start from hence by the first of May next, or as soon as grass is sufficiently grown, and go to the Great Salt Lake City.... To all the Saints in the United States and Canada, gather to the same place... To the Saints in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and adjacent islands and countries, we say, emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity [Salt Lake City].¹⁷

Only a few years later, in 1849, Brigham's call became even louder,

¹⁵Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), p. 3.

¹⁶Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 13.

¹⁷Brigham Young, "General Epistle to the Saints," Latter-day Saint Journal History, March, 1848, Ms. Cited in Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 94.

"We want men. Brethren, come from the States, from the nations, come! And help us to build and grow, until we can say, enough -- the valleys of Ephraim are full."¹⁸

When the gathering began to occur it became obvious that because of the rapidly increasing population that all Saints could not live in one valley. When Salt Lake City was originally surveyed in 1847, it was planned that the city would contain 135 blocks. The following year 63 blocks were added, and in 1849 another additional 85 blocks were included.¹⁹ So after heeding the call to gather to Salt Lake City, the Saints were often greeted with yet another call by leaders of the Church--to leave the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake and collectively organize new villages, or individually settle in communities already established that needed specialized skills of labor.

These callings were viewed by Mormons in good standing as revelations from God, and in some cases they were referred to as "missions." Often these colonizing missions came as a great surprise to the recipients and were fulfilled with extreme sacrifice. John Doyle Lee's experience serves as an example. After attending a meeting called by Brigham Young where the subject of creating settlements in the south was discussed, Brigham approached John, put his hand on Lee's shoulder and

¹⁸James R. Clark, ed., Messages of the First Presidency, 6 vols., (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 2:33

¹⁹B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 6 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 3:282.

said, "John, when I talked about making settlement in the south, I meant you. If we are to establish an iron industry there, we must have a solid base of farming to help support it. We need men like you to produce food for the miners and mill workers." John was exasperated, "I don't see how I can possibly leave now. The whole idea is repugnant to me!" Lee expressed a willingness to even pay "two thousand dollars in money or goods" to another family to take his place. The house that he was building in Salt Lake City was almost finished, and some of his family were not well. But Brigham counseled John to "'Be of good cheer . . . Accept this mission and you will be prospered and blessed beyond your fondest dreams.'" To that there was no answer. He would go, of course."²⁰

"Mormon settlers were characterized by a remarkable willingness to follow those in authority." They were "a people who with intense fervor attempted to carry out the advice of their superiors."²¹ Mormon theology does not differentiate the spiritual from the physical, or temporal.²² This perception of the world makes it very difficult to separate economical, social, educational, and political affairs from the ecclesiastical Church. This philosophy coupled with the belief that the direction and advice given by Church leaders was from God, compelled the Saints to follow the counsel of

²⁰Juanita Brooks, John D. Lee, (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1964), p. 154.

²¹Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 59.

²²The Doctrine and Covenants, 29:34-35.

Brigham Young and other presiding Church authorities.

There were other reasons, besides the belief in revelation, that individuals were selected for the various missions, based upon the skills which the new immigrants brought with them, and the needs of the particular community they were being sent to help establish. "In opening up new areas to settle the Church did not wait for volunteer action or send only those who were seeking a stake in the land, rather it selected the nucleus group with regard to leadership, agricultural experiences and diversification of occupation."²³ The following list illustrates the diversity of skills required, as viewed by Church authorities, to establish new settlements. This list is a compilation of those called to the "Cotton Mission," in Southern Utah:

31 farmers; also 1 horticulturist, 2 gardeners, 2 vine dressers, and 1 vintner
2 with molasses mills
2 dam builders
14 blacksmiths
2 wheelwrights and 1 machinist
1 mill builder, 2 millwrights, and 3 millers
10 coopers to make barrel containers for either liquids or solids
1 adobe maker with 5 masons to lay the walls
1 plasterer and 1 painter
3 carpenters and 1 chair maker
1 mineralogist and 2 miners
2 wool carders, 1 weaver, 1 tailor, 1 hatter, 1 brush maker, and 1 manufacturer who did not designate his product
1 tanner and 5 shoemakers

²³Feramorz Y. Fox, "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land under the Direction of the Mormon Church," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1932), p. 148.

4 musicians and 1 fiddler
3 schoolteachers, 4 clerks, 1 lawyer, and 1 printer
2 surveyors to divide the land
2 daguerreans to preserve their portraits for posterity
1 butcher, 1 baker, 1 castor oil maker
1 tobacco maker
1 drum major and 1 sailor²⁴

Because of this mission concept of settlement, many of the Mormon villages established between 1847 and 1877 grew and developed almost overnight. They were highly organized and watched over by Church authorities. One example of this was the "Iron Mission." "In November, 1851, after the harvest had been completed, a group of thirty-five men skilled in mining and manufacturing were called to found the pioneer iron producing and working mission, at Cedar City. Committees of these iron missionaries were appointed to lay out a village, erect a fort, dig a canal, plant a cooperative farm, construct a road . . . , and locate materials." And all of this was accomplished almost a year before, "the blast was put to the furnace."²⁵ Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards, two of the twelve Mormon apostles, went to check on the progress of Cedar City. When they returned to Salt Lake, Snow reported, "We found a Scotch party, a Welch party, an English party and an American party, and we turned Iron Masters and undertook to put all these parties through the furnace, and run out a

²⁴Cited in Eugene E. Campbell, "Early Colonization Patterns," Utah's History, ed., Richard D. Poll, et al, (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1989), p. 134.

²⁵Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 122.

party of Saints for building up the Kingdom of God."²⁶

These "villages of withdrawal" were a perpetuation of the Church's attempt to separate themselves from the world, ²⁷ and to become self-sufficient. After the arrival of the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, their isolation was short lived. Two years later, the gold rush of 1849 brought thousands of Gentiles through Salt Lake Valley on their way to California. In 1857, seven years after a territorial government had been established in Utah, 5,000 federal troops marched through Salt Lake City, and settled southwest of the city for three years. In the 1860s, communication and travel improvements (e.g., wagon trains, pony express, telegraph, and the railroad) made the world more accessible to Salt Lake City, and as a result the Mormon Capital became more accessible to the world. Therefore, Brigham Young increasingly called for the establishment of mission communities, especially in the southern part of the Great Basin. In each of these villages the Salt Lake City settlement experience was reenacted all over again, and in the process, the Mormon community in the Great Basin was enlarged and strengthened.

Young particularly called for settlements south of Salt Lake City for two reasons. First, he wanted to develop a "portal of immigration" for the

²⁶Deseret News, December 25, 1852. Cited in Dean L. May, "The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change," Utah Historical Quarterly, 45 (Winter 1977): p. 76.

²⁷Charles S. Peterson, "A Mormon Village: One Man's West," p. 3-12.

gathering of the converts migrating to the Great Basin from San Diego, who were arriving by ship from England and the East. The southern town sites acted like a "Mormon Corridor" to the sea.²⁸ This corridor would allow year round immigration because of the warmer climate. Evidence of the planning which occurred in order to establish this passageway through Zion was the strategic spacing between each community. Communities were geographically and strategically located to prevent shortages of food, fuel, and water, and to insure adequate protection and security.

The second reason that Young strongly encouraged southward settlement was because of the colder weather and shorter growing season in the north.²⁹

Even after the arrival of the railroad, in 1869 had eliminated any need for a seaport, Young continued to direct the settlers south. After all the suitable sites had been settled in Utah, he directed Mormon settlers into Arizona, New Mexico, and southern Colorado. None of these settlements can be interpreted as aiding in obtaining a route to the sea. Rather their location in marginal regions is an outgrowth of Young's negative assessment of areas north of the 42 North parallel.³⁰

A farming economy was central to the colonization of Utah and the

²⁸Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, pgs 68-91; Gustive O. Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom, (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co., 1947), p. 93; Joel E. Ricks, Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement, (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1964), p. 127.

²⁹D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 55 (1965), p. 191-220; Richard H. Jackson, "Mormon Perception and Settlement," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 68 (1978), p. 317-334.

³⁰Richard H. Jackson, "Mormon Perception and Settlement," p. 326.

more arid climate in the south was favorably viewed by Church leaders for better crops, in some instances tropical ones. Brigham Young openly expressed his feelings for the north to the Saint, "the further we go north, the less good characteristics are associated with the valley," and that "when people are obliged to live in the north country, that will be high time for them to go there."³¹

The small southern villages of Mormonism proved to be even more tight-knit in their social and economic cohesion than the Salt Lake Valley Saints. Salt Lake City history became a tale of two people--it was Church headquarters for the Saints, but also the center of Gentile opposition. Because of the larger population, the stronger Gentile influence, greater economic diversity, the extra feeling of security resulting from the location and population of the city, and its representation as the secured center of Zion, there was naturally a more scattered and relaxed pattern of settlement in the immediate vicinity of Salt Lake City. The village style of settlement "was the rule in Utah Valley [and all points south], while dispersed farmsteads were common in the northern counties."³² Isolated farmsteads anywhere south of Salt Lake City were rare, if they existed at all. Some early colonizing entrepreneurs did attempt to establish isolated farms

³¹Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (Liverpool, England: F.D. Richards) vol. 4, p. 326. Cited in Richard H. Jackson, "Mormon Perception and Settlement," p. 326.

³²Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1974), p. 162.

between the present communities of Lehi and American Fork in 1849.

When Church leaders recognized their attempts at colonization, they quickly called for additional families to move onto the farmstead, and transform it into a village.³³ These towns, located in Utah County, were among the first along the "Mormon Corridor" south of Salt Lake City.

The Mormon village style of settlement was recommended by the Mormon hierarchy not just for social and educational advantages; the foundation and motivation for establishing the Mormon village was much deeper than that. The early pioneers settled in villages with the hopes of establishing their concept of Zion. Mormons had been encouraged since 1830 to build the City of Zion. Joseph Smith had drawn the plat for the City in 1833, and for the next fifty years this became the general pattern for exemplary Mormon communities, even though some specific details for each settlement were quite different.³⁴

The doctrine of Zion could not be excluded from the theological notion of the expected Second Coming of Jesus Christ, which Mormons at that time believed was soon approaching. Zion was a spiritual condition and a physical place which would allow the Saints to meet their Saviour. This feeling of imminence and urgency demanded the Saints to strive to be of

³³Charles S. Peterson, "Imprint of Agricultural Systems on the Utah Landscape," The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, ed. Richard H. Jackson, Charles Redd Monograph Series, No. 9, p. 93.

³⁴Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," B.Y.U. Studies, 17 (Winter 1977), p. 234.

"one heart and one mind,"³⁵ which seemed impossible spiritually, if they were not in close physical proximity. This intimate physical closeness would not only allow them, the Mormons, to grow together, but would also permit them to separate themselves from the Gentiles. Ideally, the village, or Mormon town, was to be a cohesive group of families who would shut out the evil influences of the world. The goal of every devout Mormon during Brigham Young's presidency was to turn the Great Basin into Zion, and to make the desert "blossom as the rose."³⁶

Contrary to the counsel of Mormon hierarchy not everyone settled in a village, but these were the exceptions to the rule. Even though a few communities were settled without the call of a prophet, even they were settled in a group fashion, and most of them eventually received Church sanction. The minutes taken at a Church conference read: "It was decided to locate a town or city at Brownsville [Ogden], and also at Utah [County], near the settlements now existing, the Presidency having previously visited those places and selected sites." [emphasis mine]³⁷ Another example is the colonization of Coalville, Utah. Some Mormon faithful, as family and friends, using their own initiative, identified a popular camping area between Wyoming and Salt Lake City as an appealing place to build a town, which

³⁵Moses 7:18, The Pearl of Great Price.

³⁶Isaiah 35:1. This metaphor taken from the Bible is quoted often in early Utah Mormon literature.

³⁷James R. Clark, Messages of the First Presidency, 2:34.

they did with some success, and eventually Brigham Young gave his consenting endorsement.³⁸ The community of American Fork was established only when President Young granted permission along with two thousand acres of land to seven faithful men. At the same time he pronounced upon them a blessing "to prosper in the name of the Lord."³⁹

Practically all Mormon villages were carefully supervised, from the beginning, under the direction of Brigham Young. He was not only involved in the selection of sites, but also in the selection of the individuals and families who were to settle in each new community. As one scholar summarized it, "Brigham Young, . . . was the 'all in all' in the colonization of Utah."⁴⁰

The village style of settlement was highly planned and directed by Church authorities. This was their method of establishing a Mormon Empire. For the first twenty years following Brigham Young's announcement that the Great Basin was the "Right place" for his followers to gather themselves, the Mormon village was the only type of town that really subsisted. Mining

³⁸Norma Eileen Pyper Thompson, "A Community Study of Coalville, Utah, 1859-1914," (Master Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1989).

³⁹Arza Adams, personal journal, (Provo Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, Brigham Young University).

⁴⁰Milton R. Hunter, cited in Kate B. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1948), 3:287.

towns did not exist, despite some frail attempts.⁴¹ No river town could sustain itself, and there was, of course, no railroad town before 1870. From 1847 until Brigham's death in 1877, small agricultural villages were uniquely and solely the Mormon pattern of land settlement in the Great Basin. But shortly before Brigham died, the winds of change started to blow.

In the few years preceding Brigham Young's death in 1877, a massive outmigration began to occur. The highly organized Mormon villages started to breakdown. The outmigration was the result of an overpopulation caused by a rapidly growing second generation, and the continuous migration of new Mormon converts and Gentiles to the Great Basin. It was also the result of a shortage of good farm land. Mormon hierarchy had encouraged the agricultural industry, therefore, most Mormons were farmers, creating a dearth of arable land in the arid Great Basin. When the village became crowded and farming continued to be the overwhelming choice of occupation, it was only a matter of time before the farmers began to locate their families on their farms. As one observer put it, "I find the settlements crowded up to their utmost capacity, land and water all appropriated, and our young people as they marry off have no place to settle

⁴¹Mormon leaders preached against the mining industry because they feared the growth of the Gentile population, and the "evils" which the industry seemed to attract. The Church was not opposed to mining itself. This is evidenced by the number of mining missions sponsored by the Church. The Mormon institutional goal of self-sufficiency overrode the get-rich-quick scheme of Gentile individualism. The mining missions of the Church were organized like other Mormon villages, which included farmers and other occupations. Therefore, a mining mission was always considered to be a Mormon village first. (See: Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 241-243, 473-474)

near home ... the resources of the people are about exhausted, unless they go into manufacturing."⁴²

Perhaps Young's attempt in 1873-1875 to establish the practice of the United Order in several communities is evidence that he was aware of the collapsing village structure,⁴³ and this was his way of asserting control over his Mormon Empire by regulating the economy. "Mormon economic policy, in 1869 and immediately thereafter, was devoted almost fanatically to the preservation of the tightly-reined independent theocratic commonwealth."⁴⁴ With a fever pitch Young promoted the establishment of new colonies. In the ten years preceding the death of President Young, 127 new communities were settled. In just a four year period, from 1876-1879, over one hundred new villages were founded; many of them located outside of Utah, in the neighboring states of Arizona, New Mexico, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming.⁴⁵ The last twenty years of Brigham Young's life "were spent in keeping the community a community."⁴⁶ The time period just before and just after his death was "the greatest single colonization

⁴²F.A. Hammond, Deseret News, April 29, 1885. Quoted in: Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 354.

⁴³L. Dwight Israelson, "An Economic Analysis of the United Order," B.Y.U. Studies, 18, (Spring 1978), p. 536-562.

⁴⁴Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 244.

⁴⁵Sherlock, "Mormon Migration and Settlement after 1875," Journal of Mormon History, 2 (1975) p. 53.

⁴⁶M.R. Werner, Brigham Young (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925), p. 418.

movement in Mormon history," except for "the initial colonization of Utah in 1847-1851."⁴⁷ The leading Church authorities after Brigham's death were also aware of the outmigration. Like their predecessor, these Church officials continued to strongly encourage the village style of settlement, despite the obvious challenges of continuing this pattern of colonization. John Taylor, President of the Church succeeding President Young, wrote the following in a letter addressed to a stake president in Logan, Utah.

In all cases in making new settlements the Saints should be advised to gather together in villages as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlements in these mountain valleys. The advantages of this plan instead of carelessly scattering out over a wide extent of country are many and obvious to all those who have a desire to serve the Lord....A spirit to spread far and wide out of sight and reach of the authorities of the Church, must be discouraged as all Latter-day Saints must yield obedience to the laws of the Gospel and the order of the Kingdom of God and a methodical, comprehensive and intelligent system be inaugurated that we may gain influence (not lose strength) by strengthening the wards of the stake of Zion.⁴⁸ [emphasis mine]

The outmigration of the 1870s was made feasible with the enforcement of government land laws and the coming of the railroad, both in 1869. The influx of Gentiles and their ability to obtain land outside the villages of Mormonism was fuel to the flame of the outmigration. Because of the outmigration, discontented Mormons also found it easier to remove themselves from the religious life within the village and enjoy greater autonomy.

⁴⁷Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p.354.

⁴⁸John Taylor and Joseph F. Smith, to William B. Preston, in Fremont Stake Manuscript History, December 26, 1882. Quoted in: Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 158-159.

Some people distanced themselves from the village not only for theocratic reasons, but for economic reasons as well. The United Order had failed, capitalism had infiltrated the Rocky Mountains, and a shortage of arable land produced an economic environment of survival of the fittest. The village's common field and mutual cooperation were lost to isolated farmsteads and land competition. The rising generation had simply outgrown the village, and in order to support their new families it became necessary to locate themselves on agricultural land outside their towns of origin.

Highland, Utah, located thirty miles south of Salt Lake City, is the result of the outmigration of the 70s. It is an aberrant, free-lance settlement compared to the highly organized Mormon villages. The decreasing control of Mormon hierarchy and the increasing control of federal land laws made the establishment of a new community in the heart of Mormon country possible. Highland's settlement was accomplished as a result of the intense, independent attitude of her original settlers, and without Church endorsement.

CHAPTER 2

NON-RESIDENT HIGHLAND HOMESTEADERS

From 1847 until 1869 Mormons were technically "squatters" on public land. "The Mormons, who were the first to colonize between the Rockies and the Sierra, became the last to enjoy the privileges of land ownership."⁴⁹ While the rest of the country was taking advantage of the Preemption Act of 1841⁵⁰, and the popular Homestead Act of 1862⁵¹, Utah did not benefit from these federal acts of legislation until seven years after the Homestead Act was passed into law. There is little doubt that the reason the government delayed Utah's participation in federal land laws was to apply pressure to the Mormon Church to make certain changes in their social institutions, such as plural marriage.⁵² Homesteading in the Great

⁴⁹Gustive O. Larson, "Land Contest in Early Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly vol. 29, 1961, p. 309-325.

⁵⁰The Preemption Act of 1841 allowed settlers the right to purchase up to 160 acres of land at the minimum government price of \$1.25 per acre. See: Benjamin Horace Hibbard, A History of the Public Land Policies, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 158.

⁵¹The Homestead Act of 1862 entitled settlers to free agricultural property. See: Paul Wallace Gates, History of Public Land Law Development, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 394.

⁵²Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 249.

Basin was also stalled because of the "cohesion of the Mormon community, the single-minded determination to exclude Gentiles from the agricultural lands, and the typical nucleated village pattern of settlement."⁵³ The coming of the railroad in 1869, and the establishment of a federal Land Office in Salt Lake City during the same year, increased the population and the availability of land, resulting in an outmigration. This represented a greater opportunity for discontented Mormons, avowed Gentiles, and young families to obtain public land and establish isolated farmsteads which had been considered taboo because of the Church sanctioned village. Under these new conditions, many families began to locate outside the confinement of the delineated Mormon communities. The Church began to lose its control over the land monopoly it had enjoyed for over twenty years.

In 1869 a run on the available land began to occur. Competition was fierce, but despite Mormon and Gentile fears, there was remarkably little conflict over land in Utah. In the first decade of homesteading there were some 4,100 entries recorded, and only twenty-six contests or complaints officially filed with the state. However there were some "contests between Mormons settled in ecclesiastical courts."⁵⁴

It is a reasonable deduction to conclude that the land deemed of most value to homestead was arable land located near the mountains which

⁵³Lawrence B. Lee, "The Homestead Act: Vision and Reality," Utah Historical Quarterly vol. 30, 1962, p. 215-234.

⁵⁴Ibid, p. 219.

could provide families with food, fuel, building supplies, and water. Based on that criteria, Highland, located in northern Utah County, at the foot of the Wasatch Mountains, near the mouth of the American Fork Canyon, must have appeared quite attractive (see Map 2).

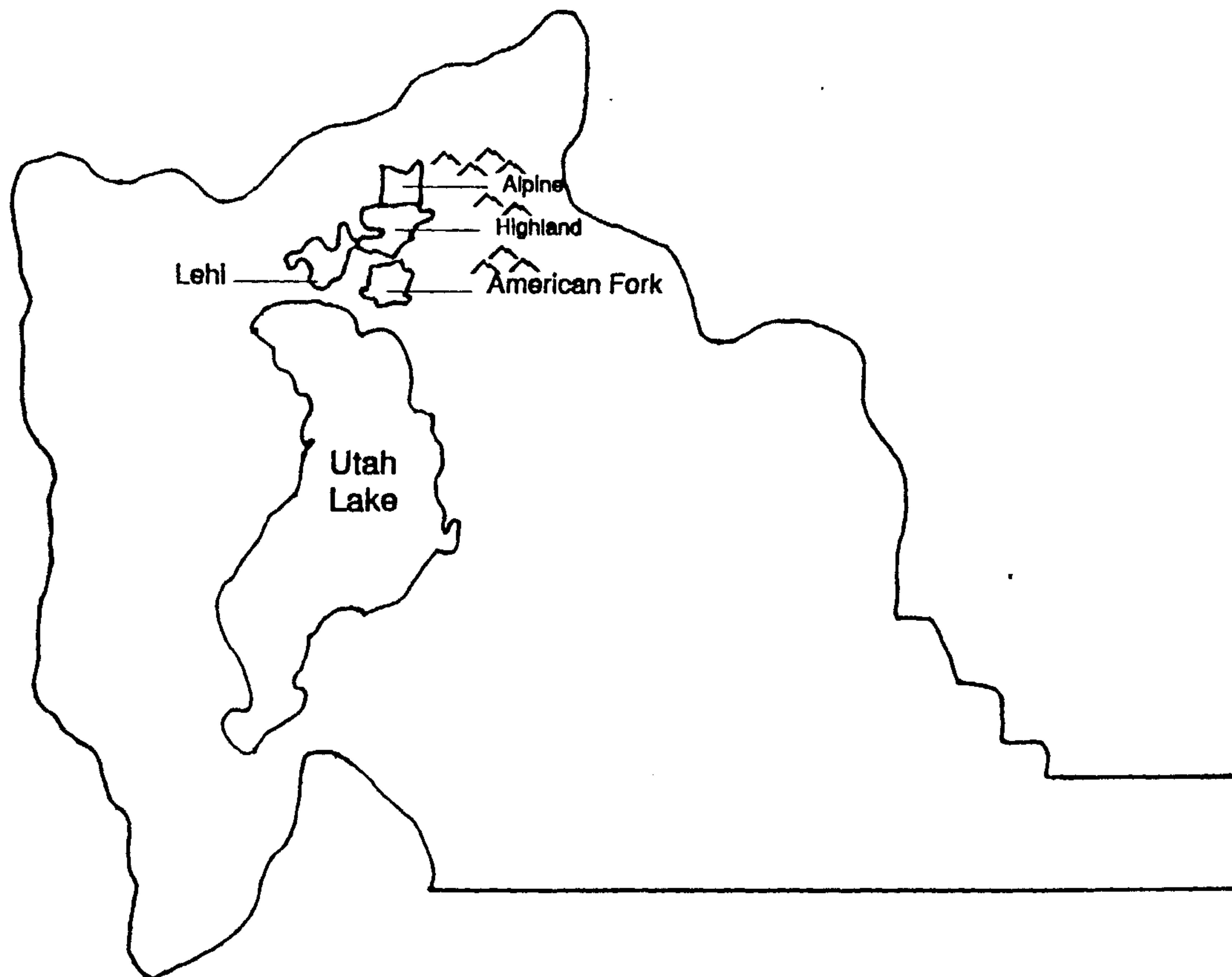
Highland comprised 3000 acres including the entire land sections one, two and three of Township five south, Range one east of Salt Lake Base and Meridian; also sections thirty-four, thirty-five and thirty-six, as well as the southern half of sections twenty-five, twenty-six, and twenty-seven of Township four south, Range one east of Salt Lake Meridian. This was a much larger area of land than the more common, closely confined Mormon village. Building lots in American Fork, Lehi, and Alpine were usually ten acres or less.⁵⁵ In Highland the original residents lived on farmsteads which averaged one hundred thirty-eight acres. This was a major difference which distinguished Highland from the nearby surrounding communities.

The first settlers came to the Bench in the 1870s, taking advantage of the public land laws now being enforced by the government's new Land Office in Salt Lake City. In accordance with the law, those applying for a public land had to prove residency on their property. In Utah, there was a certain degree of leniency in the enforcement of this provision, sometimes all that was required was nothing more than camping overnight on the property

⁵⁵Out of 419 taxable pieces of property listed, 242 were ten acres or less. (Utah County Assessment Rolls, 1878. Microfilm #300, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.)

MAP 2

Highland, Utah, and the Surrounding Communities
of Lehi, American Fork, and Alpine



Source: Drawn by Author from Township Atlas of the United States,
Jay Andriot, comp., (McLean, Virginia: Documents Index, Inc., 1990), p. 1020.

about once every six months.⁵⁶ The non-resident homesteader took advantage of the government's laxity by farming the land but not living on it.

Probably very few persons in Highland received title to their land earlier than the five years that would have been required to perfect a homestead. And usually they would wait longer than five years. For example, Jacob Beck and Stephen Moyle traveled to Salt Lake City and applied for a homestead on the same day, July 3, 1877.⁵⁷ Beck's homestead was not finalized until December 30, 1884, over seven years after he had filed, and almost four years after Moyle had received his final patent. John Pool moved on to his property in May 1873, he built a home the following spring, but his land certificate was not signed until 1883, one year before he left Highland and moved to California. The sometimes extended delay and the lengthy discrepancy between the waiting period for each homesteader is unexplainable.

Unlike the distinctive, highly organized Mormon village, Highland was a free-lance settlement. This community was not the result of a "central mind." The first families who settled on the Bench were pioneers among the pioneers. They were a vanguard of individual colonizers, who broke traditional Mormon settlement patterns by acting independently of the

⁵⁶Lawrence B. Lee, "The Homestead Act: Vision and Reality," p. 217.

⁵⁷Cora Beck Adamson, "History of Highland," photocopy in possession of author.

Church. Those who founded Highland did not receive a "call" from God through a prophet, like Brigham Young, to do so.

Not all of the first homesteaders on the Bench had intentions of establishing a place of residence. This group of settlers viewed the land not as a home, but as an investment, either as land speculation, or as a farming venture.⁵⁸ This chapter is an attempt, despite some limitations in the historical records, to identify and to differentiate the original homesteaders, who never lived in Highland, from the earliest residents, and to provide some background information on the non-residents.

The thirty-seven holders of the original land patents (see Illustration 1) were in some ways a diversified group. They came from varied backgrounds and experiences. Some were stalwarts in the Mormon Church, some were trying to leave the Church, and some had left the Church or never joined it. In other ways they shared some things in common. They were almost all farmers (see Appendix A). They were on the average young, close to the same age (see Appendix B). Practically all of them had migrated to Utah from a foreign country (see Appendix C). Some of their personality traits were similar, being assertive the most common. They were non-traditionalists, adventuresome, willing to take risks by not following the mainstream of the typical Mormon settlers.

⁵⁸Another requirement to obtain title under the provision of the Homestead Act was to farm at least 1/8 of the land. See: Lawrence B. Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," p. 29-30.

The Saints had always been taught by Brigham Young to not take more land than they could care for. The first "land law" of Utah was stated by President Young the day after he arrived in the Salt Lake valley: "No man should buy or sell land. Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes what he could till. He might till it as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it."⁵⁹ This was not a new policy. In Garden Grove, Iowa, he had said practically the same thing, but added, "and that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him."⁶⁰ It was impossible for one man with the equipment and the resources available in the 1870s, and 80s, to till, plant, and harvest large parcels of dry land. However, the first homesteaders of Highland, acting counter to Brigham's policy, aggressively acquired the land when it became available, hoping to someday make more than just a few acres produce.

Eighteen of the first thirty-seven patents in Highland were received before 1880 (see Table 1). This means, according to the five year rule, that the first homesteaders would have filed for title sometime in the 70s, just before or after Brigham Young's death in 1877. It is impossible to

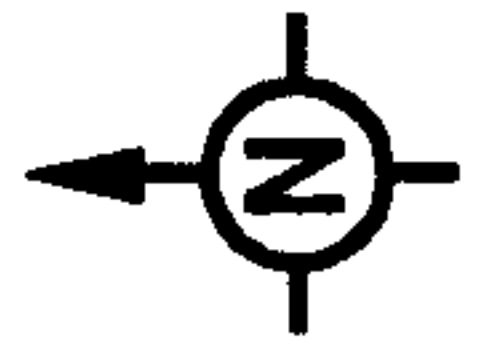
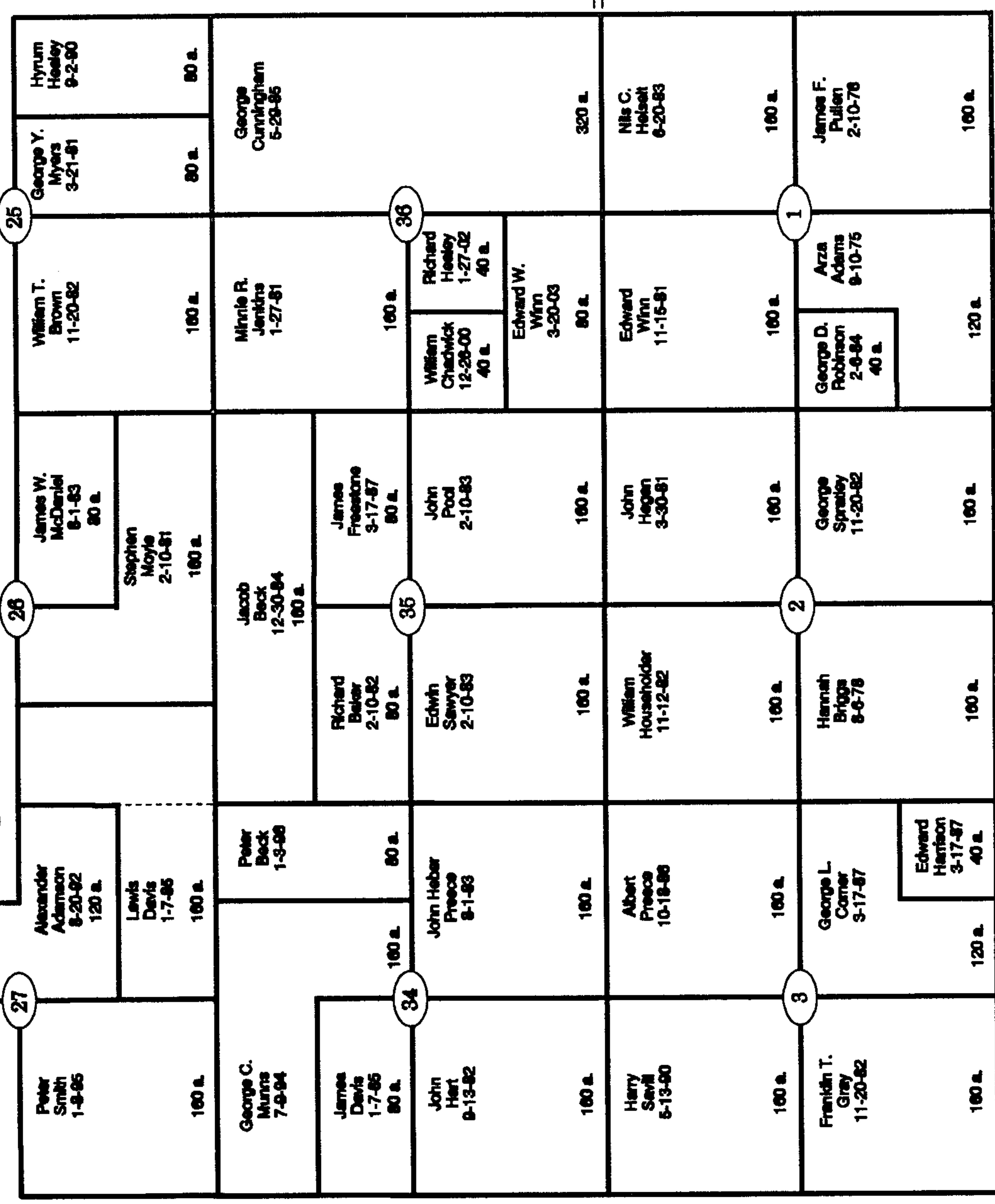
⁵⁹Wilford Woodruff's Journal, entry for July 25, 1847. Quoted in: B.H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History, 3:269.

⁶⁰History of Brigham Young, Ms., p.110. Quoted in: B.H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History, 3:55.

ILLUSTRATION #1 Original Homesteaders of Highland

Township S4 - Range 1E

Township S5 - Range 1E



Source: Homestead Plat Book, (Bureau of Land Management: Salt Lake City, Utah)

determine with any certainty who filed first and who began to farm the land the earliest.

TABLE 1

Number of Homestead Patents Received in Five Year Periods

1875 - 1879	3
1880 - 1884	25
1885 - 1889	7
1890 - 1894	4
1895 - 1899	1
1900 - 1905	3

Source: Homestead Plat Book, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, Utah
Utah County Assessment Rolls, Provo, Utah
U.S. Manuscript Census, 1880 & 1900

It is also difficult, using government records, to identify the first families who resided on the Bench. The Utah County tax roll of 1876 is the earliest document proving who was serious about not just living "off" the land, by farming or selling it, but who was intent in living "on" the land, by establishing residency. Another problem with the tax rolls, besides not being available until 1876, is that Highland was not identified as a separate community until 1895.⁶¹ Therefore, families who lived on the Bench before 1895 were listed within the towns of Alpine, or American Fork; furthermore, the Utah County assessors were not consistent, year by year,

⁶¹Utah County Assessment Rolls, Provo, Utah.

in their judgment of what property should be included in Alpine, or American Fork. For example, in 1876, even though John Pool lived on the Bench he was assessed in Alpine, but one year later in 1877 he was listed in American Fork, and he had not moved.

The U.S. 1880 manuscript census presents a similar handicap in making a determination of who was included in what community. In the census it appears that the boundary which divided Alpine from American Fork was State Highway U-92, American Fork Canyon Road. Everyone living north of the road was included in Alpine, and anyone south was considered a resident of American Fork. In the 1900 census Highland finally earned its own designation--"Highland Precinct." Being recognized as a separate entity makes the history of Highland more accessible to the historical researcher after the beginning of the twentieth century.

It is difficult to determine from the 1880 census where the residents of Highland began to be listed. It appears obvious that the census taker was working in a southern to northern direction, because residents on the Bench were identified last in the precinct of American Fork. Heads of households listed by the 1880 U.S. census, and also named as property owners in the abstract books of Utah County, in the order that they appeared in the census under American Fork, are as follows: Edward Winn, John Hegan, Peter Beck, John Pool, Minnie Jenkins, Jacob Beck, Edwin Sawyer, Heber Preece, Ann Preece, Harry Savill, John Hart, Thomas Gray,

James Pullen, and William Householder. Stephen Moyle, John Whiting (brother of William Brown), and George Myers are listed in Alpine, according to the census of 1880, but they were actually living on the Bench. These were the earliest residents of Highland--those who had not only invested in the land, but had invested their money and effort in building a home. In one or two instances it may have been only a summer home,⁶² but it was nevertheless considered their residency, either temporary or permanent. There are a few other original homesteaders of Highland who established residency on the Bench after 1880, such as: Peter Smith, Hyrum Healey, George C. Munns, and Edward W. Winn (son of Edward Winn).

Comparing the U.S. Census of 1880 and 1900, and the 1879 Utah County tax rolls with the original land patents recorded by the Bureau of Land Management, it appears that Arza Adams, George D. Robinson, Nils C. Heiselt, George Spratley, Hannah Briggs, George Comer, Edward Harrison, James Freestone, Richard Baker, George Cunningham, William Chadwick, Richard Healey, William T. Brown, James W. McDaniel, Alexander Adamson, James Davis, and Lewis Davis were the homesteading non-residents who received land patents on the Bench. They never resided on their property, but may have rented some of their land to others, or used it for farming and grazing. The 1880 Census identifies Adams, Spratley, Cunningham, and

⁶²There is evidence that some residents of Highland only lived there during the summer months. For example, in the "History of Rufus Boyd Stice," whose father became a resident of Highland in the early twentieth century, he writes, "We enjoyed living on the farm during the summers." (photocopy in possession of author.)

Adamson as residents of American Fork; Comer, Harrison, Briggs, and James Davis, were residents of Lehi; Brown, Freestone, and McDaniel resided in Alpine; Heiselt lived in Pleasant Grove; Baker and Lewis Davis were from Salt Lake City.

Sections 1-3

In section one, the southeast corner of Highland, five men are recorded as receiving original U.S. land patents: James T. Pullen, 160 acres in 1876; Arza Adams, 120 acres in 1875 (the earliest recorded in Highland); George D. Robinson, 40 acres in 1884; Edward Winn, 160 acres in 1881; and, Nils C. Heiselt, 160 acres in 1883. Edward Winn and James Pullen are the only two who established residency on their property.

Arza Adams was the first to homestead on the Bench, but he never lived there. A pioneer who had arrived in Utah in 1848, Arza was one of seven other men who obtained Brigham Young's blessing to settle American Fork in 1850. Shortly after settling there he began "to prosper," which resulted in the "hatred and envy of many neighbors." According to Adams, these ill feelings reached "sutch a pitch that they mocked me and entered my premices and don conciderable damage."⁶³ [sic]

Arza indicted several men in this act of "mobocracy," including American Fork's Bishop, Leonard E. Harrington, who Adams claimed was "elected bishop" because of his (Adams) influence. Arza felt betrayed.

⁶³Arza Adams, personal journal.

Even though he continued to live in American Fork, he "did not wish to associate with such rotten hearted mobocrats."⁶⁴ [sic]

A careful reading of the Adams journal leaves the impression that Arza may not have been treated fairly, but it appears that his views of property ownership were an aberration in comparison to the Mormon communal agreement of sharing water and land outside the village. Arza was very possessive of his property, which may have been why, as he put it, "they disfellowshipped [sic] me in this ward after chasing me from year to year cutting my hay and timber and turning their cattle in to my field and when I stand up for my rights they abuse me in public and in private and then withdraw fellowship from me..."⁶⁵

It was very difficult to live in a Mormon village and be possessive of any personal land holdings outside the village. Perhaps that was why Arza Adams was the first to obtain a homestead on the Bench in 1875. His desire for his own land could finally be secured with a government contract.

George D. Robinson lived in Salt Lake City in 1850, according to the U.S. Census. Ten years later (1860), he lived in Lake City,⁶⁶ with his wife, Sarah, and three sons. Little is known about George or his family. All of the family was born in England, except the youngest son, James. He

⁶⁴Ibid

⁶⁵Ibid

⁶⁶This was the original name of American Fork, Utah. The name was changed to avoid confusion with Salt Lake City.

was born in 1850, in Iowa. In that same year they came to Utah.

Questions go unanswered such as, why did he come to Utah County? Was his move here influenced by the Utah War?⁶⁷ Why did he purchase property in Highland? What was his relationship with the Mormon Church? Was his move theologically or economically motivated?

Nils C. Heiselt⁶⁸ maintained his residency in Pleasant Grove. He and his wife, Christina, were born in Denmark. She was five years older than Nils. In 1870, three sons were living at home: seventeen year old Andrew, nine year old Hans, and Hyrum, who was six. Sometime between the birth of Andrew and Hans, the Heiselts migrated from Denmark to Utah, arriving sometime before 1861.

According to the 1870 census, there was also a girl in the home named Annie. She was seventeen years old, the same age as Andrew.

⁶⁷The arrival of Johnston's Army in Utah had a direct effect not only on the establishment of Highland, but on many communities south of Salt Lake City. As one scholar puts it, ". . . the Utah War had a definite impact on the pattern of settlement in the Core. . . there was a substantial relocation associated with the war. In 1858 Salt Lake City and all settlements to the north were temporarily abandoned as Johnson's Army approached the territory from the east. This involved the movement of 25,000 to 30,000 people and required a major mobilization effort. These Mormon migrants settled mostly in temporary camps throughout the central and southern Utah settlements with the greatest concentrations in Utah Valley. Thousands of families with thousands of head of livestock spent the summer camped along the river bottoms or along the eastern shore of Utah Lake. After an amicable settlement with the U.S. Government, most of these temporary settlers returned to their homes in the north, but some decided to take up permanent residence in Utah Valley, thus inflating the already rapid growth of that region." (Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890. Ph.D. Diss. University of Nebraska, Lincoln, p. 157-158.)

⁶⁸The 1870 census spells the last name "Hisel," and the 1880 census spells it "Hielst," but the Plat Book at the Bureau of Land Management, and the Abstract Book at the Utah County recorders office are consistent with this spelling.

Normally the census taker would list the children in the chronological order of their birth, but Annie is strangely listed last, after Hyrum. If she was not Andrew's twin then she may have been Nils' plural wife, or close kin of the family. In the 1880 census Andrew and Annie were not living in the home, supporting the first supposition, that they were twins.⁶⁹

Nils was the only Highland homesteader from Pleasant Grove. The Heiselts probably lived in the northern part of the town because they were among the last names listed on the census in Pleasant Grove.⁷⁰ This location would put him closer to the Bench. Nils was a farmer, and he probably purchased his one hundred sixty acre homestead in Highland to increase his production potential. Turning our attention now to section two, there were four original property owners listed: George Spratley, Hannah Briggs, William Householder, and John Hegan. According to the records, both John Hegan and William Householder established residency on their property, but that was short lived. (Discussion of Hegan and Householder will occur in greater detail in Chapter Three.)

George Spratley was a devout Mormon who was strong-willed, determined, and independent to the point of being stubborn. After joining the Church he desired to follow the prophet's call to gather in Utah. Upon reaching Iowa, despite the pleading of George, his non-Mormon wife refused

⁶⁹U.S. manuscript census, 1870 and 1880.

⁷⁰This conjecture is based upon the assumption that the census taker is working in a south to north direction, as he did in American Fork, and this appears to be the case.

to go any further. So George left her behind.⁷¹ He moved to American Fork sometime in the early 1850s. In accordance with the counsel given by Church leaders because of Indian uprisings, in July and August of 1853 all of the cabins in American Fork were moved within a confined area in preparation to build a fort.⁷² George Spratley was the only man who refused to move into the prescribed location.⁷³ He was a gunsmith and claimed to be capable of protecting himself. Being one of the original homesteaders in Highland further proved his independent attitude.

Hannah Briggs was the first wife of Samuel Briggs, a Mormon polygamist in Lehi. The Briggs were among the earliest who filed and received homestead property on the Bench, northwest of Lehi. This is one of only two pieces of property in Highland for which original ownership appeared in the name of a woman. The statute of the Homestead Act "allowed a male of twenty-one years or a 'head of family,' to make homestead entry. The head of the family phraseology made it possible, according to General Land Office interpretation, for Mormon plural wives to enter plural homestead tracts."⁷⁴ Perhaps this was the case with the

⁷¹Earl Chadwick, personal communication with author, May 6, 1992. Apparently George did return to Iowa, in an attempt to urge his wife to make the journey to the Great Basin, but he was unpersuasive, and it is doubtful that he ever saw or heard from her again.

⁷²George F. Shelley, Early History of American Fork, (American Fork, Utah: American Fork City, 1945) p. 23-24.

⁷³Betty Spencer, personal communication with author, April 3, 1992, American Fork, Utah.

⁷⁴Lawrence B. Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," p. 33

Briggs property. If so, their decisiveness paid off, because one year after they received their patent, it was ruled illegal for plural wives to enter separate homestead applications.⁷⁵

The Briggs never lived on the property, but they were the first of several residents from Lehi who invested in land located on the Bench. In 1880, Samuel lived with both of his wives, Hannah and Emma, and four sons (all by Hannah) in Lehi. Samuel was three years younger than fifty-one year old Hannah when she obtained the homestead patent in 1878. Emma, Samuel's second wife, was twenty-two years younger than Hannah, young enough to be her own daughter. By 1900, Samuel and Hannah were apparently deceased and Emma remained in Lehi with her five children ⁷⁶, but by this time the Briggs had sold their property in Highland.

In section three, the southwest corner of Highland, five individuals claimed homesteads on the Bench. They were: Edward Harrison, George L. Comer, Franklin T. Gray, Harry Savill, and Albert Preece. When the 1880 census was taken, the only ones not living on their property were Edward Harrison and George L. Comer, whose property combined made up the southeast quarter of section 3. Harrison owned forty acres and Comer owned one hundred twenty.

Edward Harrison was a twenty-four year old farmer in 1880, living

⁷⁵Ibid, p. 34.

⁷⁶U.S. manuscript census, 1900.

in Lehi. He was married to twenty-eight year old Christina, who had been previously married to a Mr. Zimmerman. Edward quickly inherited three step-children: Heber L. Zimmerman, nine, John S. Zimmerman, seven, and Rosanna P. Zimmerman, age five.⁷⁷

By 1900 Edward had died. His widow, Christina was still living in Lehi with her son Heber, and two children fathered by Edward: Christina E., nineteen, and Edward Jr., seventeen.⁷⁸ Other than the census, there is no more information available on Harrison. Like the other non-resident homesteaders of Highland, Edward seized the opportunity to possess a large piece of ground on the Bench, hoping to increase his prosperity as a farmer. It seems probable that Harrison was an associate of George Comer, since their application for a homestead was finalized the same day, March 17, 1887. They also both lived in Lehi at the same time, and George was only one year older than Edward.

In 1880, George Lorenzo Comer was twenty-five years old, the oldest son in his family, and still living at home.⁷⁹ He was born into a prominent Mormon family on May 30, 1855, in Wales. His father, George Comer, had been a member of the Nauvoo Legion, and served ten missions

⁷⁷U.S. manuscript census, 1880.

⁷⁸U.S. manuscript census, 1900.

⁷⁹Ibid.

for the Church, two foreign and eight home missions.⁸⁰ George, the son, must have applied for his homestead patent in the early 1880s, because he received it in 1887. Sections 34-36

These three sections are the middle sections of Highland. Section thirty-four is on the west side, section thirty-six is on the east side and section thirty-five is the heart of Highland, right in the center.

Only one of the five men who received U.S. patents for land located in section thirty-four, did not establish residency--James Davis, who lived in Lehi. According to the Utah Territorial Census of 1856, James lived in Lake City (American Fork), but by 1860 he had moved to Lehi where he lived with his wife Elizabeth and a ten year old son named Nelson. Elizabeth and James were fifty-six, and both were originally from England. In 1870 he was still living in Lehi, but by 1880, five years before his patent was finalized, James was not reported on the census. In 1880, his age would have been seventy-six, and it seems likely that James had died before he officially received his "land certificate."

In section thirty-five, the heart of Highland, five property owners are named on the original homestead plat. They are as follows: John Pool, Edwin Sawyer, Richard Baker, Jacob Beck, and James Freestone. According to other sources, Pool, Sawyer, and Beck all maintained a residency on their

⁸⁰Andrew Jenson, L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia, 4 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901) 1:794.

property, either permanent or temporary. Richard Baker remains a mystery. There was a Richard Baker in Salt Lake City in 1880, but it cannot be proven without any doubt that he was the same person who homesteaded in Highland. He is not mentioned in any other census, or on any government, or Church records. His involvement in Highland remains a matter of speculation.

James Freestone was a polygamist who lived in Alpine. He was born in 1840 in England. When he was twenty-eight, he married Pauline Paulsen, who was seventeen. One year later he married seventeen year old Maria Lind. The 1870 census shows James living with both wives, and two baby boys--one year old, James, probably Pauline's son, and four month old Edward, Maria's son.

Perhaps the purchase of land in Highland was an attempt by James to diversify his family, by establishing another home for his second wife, Maria, and their child. However, if this was his motive, he failed to accomplish it. There is no evidence that any Freestones ever lived on James' property in Highland.

In 1880, James was still living with Pauline, who had blessed their home with five children, ranging between the ages of three to eleven. But Maria and her son Edward were gone. Perhaps they were in the Uintah Basin, near Vernal, Utah, where James had moved to be with his brother prior to 1880. When the census was taken, he had temporarily returned to

Alpine, but by 1883 he had sold all of his property and moved his family(ies?) to Gila, Arizona, to escape United States federal agents and the "polygamy problem."⁸¹

Section thirty-six presents several challenges in our attempt to describe original property owners. This was state property, designated as a school section, deeded to the state by the federal government. There were several individuals who claimed this property, but it appears that those who eventually received legal right to the property from Utah were George Cunningham, Edward W. Winn, Richard Healey, William Chadwick and Minnie R. Jenkins. Only one of these, Edward W. Winn, lived on his property. (Note: Minnie R. Jenkins was a resident of Highland, but she lived with her parents, John and Sarah Pool. There is no evidence that she lived on her homestead property.)

George Cunningham received title to three hundred twenty acres on the east side of Highland. This made him the largest property owner in Highland. George was born in Dysort, Fife, Scotland, to James and Elizabeth Nicolsen Cunningham. After Mormon missionaries baptized the family, they left Scotland to emigrate to Zion in 1856. They made a perilous journey across the plains with the James G. Willie handcart company. This was the fourth of five handcart companies which pushed and pulled their

⁸¹Builders of Alpine, 4 vols., (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952) 1:175-179.

way to the Great Basin in 1856. The leader of the fifth company was Captain Edward Martin. The Willie and Martin handcart companies are notorious in Mormon history because of their disastrous experience in being caught in an early snowstorm on the plains of Wyoming.⁸² In November, only a few weeks after their rescue and safe arrival to the Salt Lake Valley, they moved to Utah County.

The Cunninghams were warmly received in American Fork. Four months later, George's sister, Catherine, just two years older, became a plural wife to Arza Adams, one of American Fork's original settlers, and a Highland homesteader.

Another relationship these two new brothers-in-law shared was with Leonard E. Harrington, American Fork's first Mormon bishop and mayor⁸³ for twenty-nine years. Arza accused him of being party to the "mobocracy" that took his property, and George married one of the Bishop's wives, Mary Wrigley. As a fifteen year old girl she had been sealed to Harrington in 1857, but for unexplained reasons this marriage ended in

⁸²LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, Handcarts to Zion, (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1960), p. 289.

⁸³"Nineteenth-century Utah bishops were also the civic leaders in their communities." William G. Hartley, "Bishop, History of the Office," Encyclopedia of Mormonism, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992), 1:121.

Early Utah communities were strictly theocratic. The appointed bishop was also the mayor, and the judge of spiritual and temporal matters. This tradition, of necessity, began to change in the 1880s when most Mormon bishops were forced to go into hiding to avoid being arrested by federal officers enforcing the laws that made the practice of plural marriage illegal. (See also: Dale F. Beecher, "The Office of Bishop," Dialogue 15 [Winter 1982], p. 103-115.

divorce or annulment, allowing George to marry Mary in 1863. They enjoyed a long relationship, and became the parents of thirteen children.

George was one of the three men who has been given credit for naming Highland.⁸⁴ His farm on the Bench reminded him of his Scottish boyhood home. Cunningham's property in Highland was like a home away from home, but he never lived there. Despite his influence in naming Highland, he was never a resident, or considered as a founder of the community. His influence was felt more in American Fork, where he served as mayor for two years, 1891-1892. Although there is no direct evidence, it would seem likely that as a mayor of one community and as a property owner in a neighboring community, the relationship of these two communities would be strengthened.

The southwest quarter of section thirty-six was owned by William Chadwick, Richard Healey, and Edward W. Winn. Winn established a brief residency on his property. Chadwick and Healey were homesteaders who never lived in Highland; the latter was from Alpine, and the former from American Fork. Dick Healey had married Winn's sister Jane in February 1893. He was a sheep and cattle rancher.⁸⁵ He moved Jane to Alpine, where they raised their family, and he grazed his cows on his forty acres in

⁸⁴"Diary of George T. Mayer," Keith Adamson, Book of Remembrance, Highland, Utah. Alexander Adamson, and Peter Smith were other Scotsmen who also receive credit for the naming of Highland.

⁸⁵Builders of Alpine, 3:117.

Highland.⁸⁶

William Chadwick was born December 9, 1847. He was married in 1872. It is uncertain when he arrived in American Fork, but all of his children were born there. Later, his son, William John Chadwick, also purchased farm property in Highland and became the watermaster of Highland for a number of years even though he also maintained residence in American Fork.⁸⁷

Section 25-27 (south half)

These three sections are divided in half, the north half is within the present boundaries of Alpine, and the south half belongs to Highland. Section twenty-five is on the east side of Highland, nearest to the mouth of the American Fork Canyon. Section twenty-seven is the northwestern corner of Highland.

The southeast quarter of section twenty-five was split in equal halves; Hyrum Healey owned the east eighty acres, and George Yost Myers owned the west eighty acres. Both of these men not only acquired the property but established residency, and were very influential in Highland's history. Myers received his patent in 1881, while Healey's land certificate was not signed until 1890, even though he had lived there several years before that. Their background and their important contributions to the

⁸⁶Alta Adamson Nash, personal communication with author, April 17, 1992, American Fork, Utah.

⁸⁷Earl Chadwick, personal communication with author, May 6, 1992, American Fork, Utah.

establishment of Highland will be treated in Chapter Three.

The one hundred sixty acres making up the southwest quarter of section twenty-five was originally owned by William T. Brown, the adopted brother of George Myers' wife, Mary Ann Whiting. Although William Brown's name appears on the homestead patent, it was his adopted family who resided on the property. John Whiting, his adopted father, supposedly financed the purchase of this property. John Whiting was a mason and helped to build four homes on this property for his children: John Brigham Whiting, William Whiting, Sarah, Marvin, and Emma Martin.⁸⁸ William lived in Alpine for over thirty-five years, then he moved to American Fork in his later life.

The three hundred twenty acres in section twenty-six were homesteaded by three men: James W. McDaniel, Stephen Moyle, and Lewis Davis. Moyle is the only one of the three who made Highland his residence.

James W. McDaniel homesteaded eighty acres in the north half of the southeast quarter. His patent was signed on August 1, 1883, just a few months before his family left the area with his brother and family to assist in the settlement of a valley in Arizona known as the Little Colorado. This was an outmigration of Saints approved by the Church to colonize other valleys in the west following the traditional village style of group settlement.⁸⁹

⁸⁸Jesse Myers Adamson, "History of Mary Ann Whiting Myers," Keith Adamson, Book of Remembrance, Highland, Utah

⁸⁹Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 354.

McDaniel was born at Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, in 1846, the same year the Mormons fled from Nauvoo, Illinois. Six years later the family came to Utah. Shortly after their arrival, they moved to Utah County and settled in Alpine. James had a reputation of being rough and rowdy.⁹⁰ He was arrested in Alpine and fined \$15 for rowdiness, which was probably drunkenness, or fighting, or both.⁹¹ His brother-in-law was Porter Rockwell, the infamous Mormon roughian who lived in the neighboring community of Lehi. James and Porter had married sisters.

James was a successful sheep man who probably used his homestead in Highland to graze his flock. He had also been trained as a blacksmith. His experience, training, and tough nature were helpful in the settlement of Springville, Eagerville, and Alpine,⁹² Arizona. He also lived briefly in Bloomfield and Kirtland, New Mexico, where he was buried. He lived over one hundred years, dying in 1947.⁹³

Unfortunately little is known of Lewis Davis. He homesteaded one hundred sixty acres, eighty of which included the west half of the southwest quarter of section twenty-six, and eighty adjoining acres in section twenty-

⁹⁰Rulon McDaniel, personal communication with author, April 24, 1992, Alpine, Utah.

⁹¹Jenny Wild, Alpine Yesterdays: History of Alpine Utah, 1850-1980, (Salt Lake City: Blaine Hudson Printing, 1982), p. 329.

⁹²We can only speculate that James might have had some influence in naming this Arizona community after his Alpine home in Utah.

⁹³Rulon McDaniel, personal communication with author.

seven, the south half of the southeast quarter. Presumably, Lewis was somehow related to James Davis of Lehi, because they both received their land certificates on the same day, January 7, 1885.

The 1880 census identified a Lewis Davis who resided in Salt Lake City, with his older sister, Lydia, and a servant named "Hansen." Lewis was thirty-two, Lydia sixty. They were both artists.⁹⁴ It is difficult to imagine why an artist would want to own a dry farm of one hundred sixty acres, over twenty-five miles away. Perhaps, a brother (James) living closer to the farm convinced him it was a wise investment, or the brother took advantage of him by using his name in order to legally obtain more homestead property for himself.

Along with Davis, section twenty-seven was homesteaded by two Scotsmen, Alexander Adamson and Peter Smith. Adamson owned one hundred twenty acres, eighty in the southeast quarter and forty in the northeast quarter. In 1900, Smith was a resident of Highland. His farm included the entire southwest quarter, one hundred sixty acres.

Adamson was born January 23, 1837 in Boreland, Fifeshire, Scotland. He married a Scottish lassie, Mary Hutchison, on April 12, 1861. One month later "they embarked on a long journey to a new land in the Rocky Mountains." After arriving in Salt Lake City during the fall of 1861, they went to American Fork and stayed with Mary's family. In the spring of

⁹⁴U.S. manuscript census, 1880.

1862 Alexander and Mary, who was pregnant with their first child, moved seventy miles south to Moroni, Sanpete County. It was here that Alexander learned to be a farmer and Indian fighter; he was a sergeant in the Black Hawk War. Tired of fighting with the Indians and not succeeding as a farmer, he moved with Mary and their three young children back to American Fork in 1867.⁹⁵

He went to work as a miner in American Fork Canyon, an occupation he learned in Scotland. In conformity with the village style of settlement, Alexander built his home in American Fork, but he homesteaded a farm on the Bench, where he kept his animals and attempted to grow rye. Because the area surrounding his farm reminded Alexander of his beloved homeland, Scotland, he affectionately referred to the area as the Highlands.⁹⁶

Although Alexander never lived in Highland himself (he died at his home in American Fork, January 25, 1913), five of his ten children did reside there after they were married. The Adamson clan became an integral part of Highland's history in the twentieth century. The family and acquaintances of Alexander, together with other Scottish immigrants who

⁹⁵"History of Alexander Adamson," V. Keith Adamson, Book of Remembrance, Highland, Utah.

⁹⁶V. Keith Adamson, interviewed by author, 30 March 1989, Highland, Utah, tape recording.

had moved into the area, continued to perpetuate the name of Highland.⁹⁷ It was a name that seemed to stick. It can be argued that having a specific name proved to be very important in the establishment of Highland, for without it the Bench may have been easily absorbed into nearby communities, as their boundaries became progressively enlarged. Highland was an appropriate name that provided the early settlers with a sense of identity and pride in their new home.

Conclusion

With the establishment of the Land Office in Salt Lake City in 1869, the federal government took control of most of the property in the Great Basin away from the Church. Saints and Gentiles almost instantly experienced greater freedom to break away from the nucleated Mormon villages. Individual enterprise became more of a possibility and eventually superseded the communal order in Utah. As long as the population continued to increase rapidly and agriculture remained the dominant choice of occupation, it was only a matter of time before all farm land, located near any irrigation water would be claimed by new homesteaders. Since Highland was located near three major sources of water (American Fork River, Dry Creek, and Bull River) this was a pocket of property located in the western foothills of the Wasatch Mountains that became very appealing to

⁹⁷As previously mentioned, George Cunningham, another Scottish immigrant, was also fond of referring to the Bench as "Highland," "History of Mary Ann Myers" TMs [photocopy], Book of Remembrance, V. Keith Adamson, Highland, Utah. And Peter Smith was another Highland homesteader from Scotland, who probably assisted in the perpetuation of the name as well.

the independent farming capitalist.

Seventeen of the thirty-seven original homesteaders on the Bench viewed their property not as a place to live, but as a farming venture, or land speculation. All but two maintained their residency in bordering communities. Six lived in American Fork, four were from Lehi, four resided in Alpine, one in Pleasant Grove, and the other two occupied a home in Salt Lake City. According to the records these seventeen appear generally to have enjoyed success and acceptance in their respective communities. The non-residing homesteaders were able to exercise some influence in the establishment of Highland. They helped to name it, roads were developed, and virgin land was broken, but because they continued to live in the surrounding Mormon villages, it is unlikely, as we shall see in the following chapter, that they were willing to enter the fray with border towns to obtain the necessary water to make their farms on the Bench very productive and to establish Highland as a place to live, not just a place to farm. The seventeen original, non-residing homesteaders were independent and not afraid of risks, but the other twenty original homesteaders who not only owned their land but lived on it, were willing to risk more than just money-- their reputations, their membership in the Church, and their lives, were all placed on the line in order to establish Highland as their home.

CHAPTER 3

ORIGINAL HIGHLAND RESIDENTS

They have been told that they had no right to settle between us and the Mountains and take our water, but they seem to think that they have a right to settle where they please, no matter at whose expen[s]e. You know exactly how to devise a plan to remedy this evil . . . But if allowed to increase, their settlement must certainly cut us short of the water of Dry Creek, and . . . we are bound as a settlement to be destroyed. I therefore submit the matter into your hands to do as seemeth unto your good.⁹⁸

This was the emotional appeal of Bishop David Evans of Lehi to President Brigham Young in regard to new settlers who were building homes outside the already colonized nucleated villages. There is no record of any response made by President Young, but Bishop Evans obviously believed that Brigham would exercise his power to stop such settlements, and "evil" practices.

It was an aggressive act for anyone file for public land located on the Bench. To live on public land with the intent to make a living off the land by using water from nearby irrigation ditches, was viewed by many in the neighboring villages as an act of aggression. Owning property did not

⁹⁸David Evans, Journal History, February 5, 1852, 4. Quoted in: Richard S. Van Wagoner, Lehi, Portraits of a Utah Town, (Lehi, Utah: Lehi City Corp., 1990) 9. 47.

guarantee water rights, and without irrigation water it was believed that nothing could grow in such an arid climate. Some grain could be raised using the dry farming method, and a few of the original homesteaders, such as Alexander Adamson, attempted to do so with limited success.⁹⁹

Because the earliest residents desperately needed water, they either farmed near an already functioning irrigation ditch, and enlarged it, or they built ditches of their own. But in order to fill these new ditches with water they had to take water from other major sources, such as the American Fork River, Dry Creek, or Bull River. This water, however, had already been claimed by the residents of Lehi, American Fork, or Alpine.

It was rather presumptuous for Highland residents to think that nobody would notice or care if they took a little water which did not belong to them. The villagers downstream, especially those from Lehi, were furious that these new settlers were stealing their water, their fountain of life. Typical of most early Mormons this was more than a secular issue, it was also a religious one. That explains why Lehi Church leaders often preached against the homesteaders on the Bench from the pulpit, proclaiming them to be "horse thieves and apostates."¹⁰⁰

You could not live in Highland and stay weak or timid. If the land

⁹⁹Stephen F. Beck, "History of Highland," Book of Remembrance, Ruby Buhler, Highland, Utah, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰George C. Munns, "History of Highland," Highland Branch Church Records, L.D.S. Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm, [photocopy in possession of author, Highland, Utah].

on the Bench was going to produce anything besides rocks, then the residents were forced to either fight for water, or locate new sources. They ended up doing both. The fight was a costly one, requiring large amounts of time and effort, and some money. Certain residents were willing to even sacrifice their relationship with the Mormon Church. Nobody came out of the fray with fewer enemies than when they entered it. The cost was too heavy for many, and they simply chose to leave the area, deciding that a home on the dry windswept Bench was not worth the fight.

Out of the seventeen original heads of households residing in Highland in 1880, only six continued to live there in 1900: Edward Winn, George Myers, John Whiting, Stephen Moyle, and Peter and Jacob Beck.¹⁰¹ These six survived the twenty year battle to establish Highland as a community which expanded into the twentieth century. Other resident homesteaders of Highland, according to the 1880 census, who either moved or died before 1900 are, as follows: Franklin Gray, John Hart, Hyrum Healey, John Hegan, William Householder, John Pool, Ann Preece, Heber Preece, James Pullen, Harry Savill, and Edwin Sawyer. There were probably other early settlers on the Bench, but the scope of this chapter is to portray, with some historical background, the original homesteaders who resided in Highland, according to the section of land they lived on. The

¹⁰¹I am convinced that Hyrum Healey would have been on the 1900 census if he had not died just a few years before. Despite his premature death, Healey should also be included as a survivor, and persister.

chapter begins with residents living in sections 1-3, the southern part of Highland, and will proceed in a northerly direction, covering sections 34-36, and the south half of the far north sections 25-27 (see illustration #1).

Sections 1-3

Becoming a farmer in Highland was quite a change for a man trained as a boiler maker, appointed superintendent of construction in the shipyards near London, and who later lived in the West Indies on the island of Bermuda for two years while constructing a large floating dock. Edward Winn was an outsider when he came to Highland sometime in 1875. He and his wife, Mary Ann Trinnaman, were born in England. They were baptized members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, September 7, 1865, five years after their marriage. In 1868 Edward left his wife and three children, Mary Ann, Edward Jr., and Elizabeth to travel to New York. Six months later his family joined him. Edward purchased a grocery store in New York, which provided the Winns with enough income to purchase their fare on a transcontinental train bound for Salt Lake City, where they arrived in 1871. After living in Salt Lake City for over three years, the family, now consisting of five children, temporarily moved to Lehi. By the fall of 1875 the Winns resided in Highland, where their sixth child, Jane Armelia, was born on September 30th of that year.¹⁰²

¹⁰²"Biography of Edward Winn," Winn Carlisle, Murray, Utah, photocopy in possession of author, Highland, Utah.

The move to Highland presented many hardships for the family. Edward and Mary Ann were very determined to make this place their home. Their hard work and resolute determination kept them in Highland through the first decade of the twentieth century. Edward had never been a farmer, and Highland's lack of water and rocky soil made his attempt even more difficult than it would have been elsewhere. His discouragement in farming was sometimes abated when he left the farm to work in the mines of American Fork Canyon. Mining, however, took him away from his family and presented him with some personal danger; this was evidenced by his breaking two legs when thrown from a horse while being chased by a mountain lion. Edward also never forgot the tragedy of the snowslide which killed the neighbor boy, John Pool Jr., and resulted in the amputation of another man's frozen feet.¹⁰³

Mary Ann gave birth to five other children while living in Highland. It was no doubt burdensome to raise such a large family in a two room wooden cabin located on the Bench. With help from the children she tried to maintain the farm in Edward's absence, but he was always missed.

The family was inflicted with death in 1893. In less than two weeks diphtheria killed three of the Winn children. All of the children still living at home became ill. James Henry, sixteen years old died first on

¹⁰³Ibid.

February 10, 1893. Exactly one week later Ada Bell passed away at the age of eleven. Finally Gala Gladys, seven years old, died on the 19th of February. All three children were buried in American Fork. Ethyl, age four, seemed to have the disease worse than the others, but she survived the terrible ordeal. Mary Ann had given the three children who died turpentine as a medicine in hopes of curing the illness. When the children swallowed it they would clutch their throats and scream in pain. Mary Ann had relinquished any hope of saving little Ethyl, and she could not bear forcing her dying child to drink the turpentine. But Ethyl survived, and the others died. Perhaps Mary Ann's grief was multiplied by wondering if the treatment she had administered to the children had any part in their death.¹⁰⁴

Mary Ann and Edward's oldest daughter, Mary Ann, had married Robert Jones from Alpine in 1879. After the diphtheria epidemic of 1893 had decimated the Winn home, it struck the Jones's, killing three of their four children in June. Mary Ann, mother, and Mary Ann, daughter, became extremely close in mourning together their loss.¹⁰⁵

In 1910 "Grandma" and "Grandpa" Winn, as the neighbors called them,¹⁰⁶ sold their farm and left their home of thirty-five years in Highland.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Alta Adamson Nash, interviewed by author, March 28, 1990, American Fork, Utah, tape recording.

They moved to American Fork to retire from all of the hard work on the farm, and to live out their days in peace. Six months after the move Edward died at the age of 70. Mary lived to be 87 before she passed away in the home of her daughter, Ethyl.¹⁰⁷

Edward and Mary Ann Winn had come to Highland as strangers, and left as survivors. No men nor elements had forced them to leave, they simply walked away after selling their property. They had endured their hardships on the Bench, and had weathered the storm. They were among the elite few who had first established Highland and then had stuck it out nearly to the end of their life. The Winns are still fondly remembered for their kindness and generosity. They were very successful in growing grapes and melons which they always shared with their neighbors.¹⁰⁸

There is no evidence that the Winns came to Highland as an act of disassociation from the Church, but it appears that because of their late appearance in Utah, it may have been difficult to obtain the amount of property they desired in the small, segregated Mormon villages. They became aberrant settlers when the Homestead Act was implemented in Utah, providing families new to the area with the chance of making it on their own. Edward, Mary Ann and the family chose to take advantage of the opportunity, made available by the government, and not to participate

¹⁰⁷"Biography of Edward Winn."

¹⁰⁸Alta Adamson Nash interview.

actively in the L.D.S. Church. There is no report of their involvement in the records of the Highland Branch or Ward. Some of their children were not baptized into the Mormon faith until several years after the appointed age of eight. For example, the oldest son, Edward William Winn, was not baptized until he was 50 years old. And the fifth child, George, was never baptized before his death. Only three of the seven children who married were baptized into the Church before their marriage. Though the Winns had accepted the gospel taught by the Mormons, and had made great sacrifice in following the counsel of Mormon leadership to migrate to Zion, they never became institutionalized members of the Church. While not wanting to be severed from the Church, it appears they wanted little to do with it.

If the Winns were even lukewarm toward the Church before coming to Highland the relationship became a cold one because of their conflict with Lehi residents over water. Ancestors still recall the family folklore of Grandma Winn sitting on the headgate in their ditch, armed with a shotgun in order to stop Lehi's Stake President from stealing their water.¹⁰⁹ One incident, which appears to be reliable, was reported in the Highland Church records by George C. Munns, as follows:

The people of Lehi guarded the ditch bank with armed men some of them very threat[en]ing in their behaviour. . . . two men guarding the ditch caught Mrs. Mary Ann Winn and her son Edward W. Winn using water to irrigate with. The boy was out in the grain, and Mrs. Winn standing by the gap in the ditch bank with a good big stream of water

¹⁰⁹Winn Carlisle, personal communication with author, April 7, 1992, Murray, Utah.

flowing unto the grain. They told her to stand back and they commenced to through [throw] gravel and dirt into the gap. Mrs. Winn made good use of the hoe that she had in her hands by pulling the gravel out, with the help of the water, as fast as these two big, selfish fellows could through [throw] it in. At last one of them was about to push her away, when as quick as a thought she thrust her hand into her bosom quickly fetching out a big ugly look[ing] knife. There was blood in her eye and had the man laid a hand upon her that would have been [?] [?]. The two fellows had to leave her and her son in possion [possession] of the water.¹¹⁰ [sic, modern punctuation added]

Unlike Mary Ann, not every resident had to fight to live on the Bench. James Pullen owned one hundred sixty acres in the southeast corner of Highland, and there is no record that he ever had a conflict over the land or water. His peace on the Bench was preserved for three reasons. First, his property was south of Lehi's ditches. The source of his water is unknown, but it did not effect the source of Lehi's water. Second, he was only a temporary resident of Highland, probably living there only periodically in the summers. Because he resided in American Fork most of the year, he was not perceived as a maverick. Third, he was in the mainstream of Mormonism. Faithful in following the doctrines and leaders of the Church, he had more than one wife. James Pullen is the only confirmed Mormon polygamist that ever lived in Highland.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰George C. Munns, "History of Highland."

¹¹¹There was another polygamist family who briefly lived in Highland after the nineteenth century, about 1930, but they were Fundamentalists who had been excommunicated from the Mormon Church. According to Keith Adamson's recollection their name was Barlow.

This fact is further evidence that Highland is a unique Mormon community. Utah towns established before the twentieth century who only had one practicing polygamist would have been extremely rare.

Because his father died when he was only three months old, James Pullen¹¹² was forced to learn self-reliance and responsibility at an early age. Four years after being baptized a Mormon, James migrated to America from England in 1844; he was seventeen years old. He lived in Nauvoo and became acquainted with the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, before Smith was shot to death five months later.

James was hurriedly married to Alice Moon on the same day that the first group of Saints, led by Brigham Young, fled Nauvoo, February 4, 1846. Pullen was a member of the Nauvoo Legion which futilely tried to defend the Mormon city. Alice and he were among the last to give up hope and leave beautiful Nauvoo. They moved first to Alton, Illinois in 1848, where they lived for a few years. Their first two children were born in Alton. They named the first, James Franklin, and the second, Joseph Henry. Another son and a daughter were born into the family before they migrated from Council Bluffs, Iowa to Salt Lake City, in 1856, where they lived for two years. Because of the Utah War, James, with his family, journeyed south and resided in Payson. They then moved back to Salt Lake City and they also lived briefly in Farmington. Finally in 1864, James and Alice, with their five children, permanently moved to American Fork.¹¹³

¹¹²All the records spell the name 'Pullen,' but it is eventually changed to 'Pulley.' The cause for the change, or correction, is not completely clear.

¹¹³Maria Pullen Casey, "History of James Pullen," manuscript [photocopy] in possession of author, Highland, Utah.

When public land became available after 1869, James first bought fifty acres of bottom farm land south of American Fork. Shortly after this purchase Brigham Young visited the area, and James, who had been one of Brigham's bodyguards from 1856-1858, made an inquiry to Young as to where the most valuable property would be located. Brigham answered James by telling him that land on higher elevations would someday be the most valuable. James thought, "Well, it won't hurt to have some in both places." So, he acquired one hundred sixty acres "on the Bench,"¹¹⁴ but the homestead patent actually appears in the name of his oldest son, James Franklin Pullen, who also resided in American Fork, with his wife Sarah. The application was signed and finalized February 10, 1876.¹¹⁵

According to the 1880 census, James Sr. lived on the Bench with his polygamous wife Lydia, and their three young children. James had married Lydia, who was from Farmington, in 1874. For three and a half years, James, Alice and Lydia shared a polygamous relationship. Alice died in 1877 at the age of fifty-five. James was only five years older than Alice, but he was thirty-one years older than Lydia. She would bear him thirteen children. One of Lydia's grandchildren still remembers his grandmother mentioning the jealousy that Alice displayed towards her because of her

¹¹⁴Ibid

¹¹⁵Homestead Plat Book, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, Utah.

younger age.¹¹⁶

The Pullen residence on the Bench was probably temporary because James did live in American Fork, where he built three homes on the same property. The last house built before the turn of the century was one of the most beautiful red brick homes in the county. People traveled miles to see the Pullen home which today (1992) is vacant, but still standing (located at 455 South 500 East, American Fork).¹¹⁷

In June of 1880 James and his family lived in Highland, next door to his older brother, William, and his family. All three of James's and Lydia's children had the measles, and four of William's seven children also suffered from the disease.¹¹⁸ Perhaps their decision to temporarily reside in Highland was a self-imposed quarantine, or a move to speed the healing process.

In June 1900 James and Lydia were living in American Fork with seven of their thirteen children. Their youngest child, Lydia Maria, was eleven months old, James was seventy-seven, and Lydia forty-six. Maria was only seven when James died at the age of eighty-three, in 1906, but she later recalled a couple of experiences with her elderly father. She could remember his long prayers, and thought it was humorous when he prayed

¹¹⁶Clifford Pulley, personal communication with author, May 23, 1992, Highland, Utah.

¹¹⁷Maria Pullen Casey, "History of James Pullen."

¹¹⁸U.S. manuscript census, 1880.

for so long in the mornings when the older children were anxious to go to school. Maria's memory never dimmed on her first visit to a Mormon children's primary meeting, because her older father went with her. She also recalled, "One Sunday morning as I was ready to leave for Sunday School I addressed him as 'Dad, how do I look?' I promptly got told that little girls should call their parents, mother and father." James was a strict, religious "disciplinarian." On another occasion one of his sons later reported that when his father heard him curse James almost chased him off the property.¹¹⁹

Lydia Esther Hall Pullen followed James in death thirty years later, January 6, 1936. For the last several years before her death, Noah Pulley, her son and his family, resided with her in the beautiful, red brick home.

John Hegan was one of the earliest residents to receive his homestead papers, which were signed March 30, 1881. Sometime before 1876 he had built a home and was living on his property with his wife, Caroline, and their daughter Maggie. When the census was taken, June 17, 1880, John was thirty-two, Caroline was thirty, and Maggie was eight. John's parents were from New York, but he had been born in Iowa. The year of his birth was 1847 or 48, the same period of time that Mormons fled Illinois and were located in camps all across the state of Iowa. It is assumed that the Hegan family were members of the Church. These were trying

¹¹⁹Maria Pullen Casey, "History of James Pullen."

years for the Saints, and we can only imagine the travail of John's mother in bringing an infant into such poor conditions.

Caroline was from Prussia and her parents had also been born there. The story of how she came to Utah would be an interesting one, but unfortunately, the details are unknown. Other than for the 1880 census, government and Church records are silent about the background of this family. Caroline was likely affiliated with Mormonism, and that is probably why she came to Utah.

The Hegans and Winns were neighbors, and the occupation of John and Edward, according to the 1880 census, was "Farmer and Miner." They were likely partners in the mining industry in American Fork Canyon. It was reported in an early history that one day while "Mr. John Hegan and Mr. E. Winn were up in American Fork Canyon [hustling?] a grub stake as they call it . . . a certain school teacher of Lehi, having caught Mrs. John Hegan [stealing water], used very indecent language to her after having shut of [off] the water from her."¹²⁰ In her husband's absence, Caroline Hegan, like Mary Ann Winn, felt justified in taking water which did not belong to her.

These two neighbors became close friends as they shared adversity in residing on the Bench. Their friendship, however, was temporary, since the Hegans probably moved before the little red schoolhouse was built on

¹²⁰George C. Munns, "History of Highland."

their property in 1888. By 1900, they had not only departed from Highland, but possibly the state, since they were not listed anywhere on the Utah census. Did they, like other original Highland residents, such as, John and Sarah Pool, leave the state because they were weary of fighting Mormon villagers? Hegan was listed as one of the defendants in the law suit over water, "Ellingson v. Poole and others."¹²¹

Another "Miner and Farmer"¹²² residing in Highland was William Householder. Born in Pennsylvania in 1828, he was married to Susanah, who had also been born in Pennsylvania just two years later. In 1880 they lived with four of their children: Alfred 24, Sarah 20, John 16, and a six year old daughter. The last three children were born in Utah, meaning that William and Susanah had migrated westward sometime before 1860, but they cannot be found on any census in Utah before or after 1880.

In 1856, Joseph R. and Mary Gray resided in Union Fort, their oldest son was Franklin Thomas Gray, four years old. The family had migrated to Utah from England just a few years before. By 1860 the Grays had moved to Lehi, perhaps the move was influenced by the massive migration caused by the Utah War, this was the case with many who moved to Utah County in the late 50s and early 60s. The family became long-time, influential members of that community.

¹²¹This law suit is mentioned in the case "Lehi Irrigation Co. v. Moyle and others," Pacific Reporter, (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1886) vol 9, p. 871-880.

¹²²U.S. manuscript census, 1880.

In his early twenties, Thomas married Mary J.. In 1880 they resided on the Bench with four children: Elizabeth, 8, Franklin, 6, James, 4, and baby Joseph, 5 months old. This is the only family from Lehi who homesteaded in Highland and lived on their property. It is uncertain how long they resided in their home on the Bench, but before 1900 they moved back to Lehi. For whatever reasons, Thomas and Mary decided that life was easier in the older established village than in a new aberrational settlement. Perhaps they felt caught in the middle of the conflict between Lehi and Highland residents over water.

Harry Savill, his wife Evaline¹²³ and their one year old daughter, Carey, resided in Highland in 1880. Harry was twenty-three, and Evaline was twenty. Harry was born in England, Evaline in Utah. There were several Savills living in Salt Lake City, and Harry was likely related. He probably came to Highland from Salt Lake City shortly after his marriage.

In 1896, according to the Abstract Book of Utah County, Harry transferred the property to Evaline. And later in the same year Evaline sold the property to John Van Steeter. Did the Savills reside on the property until 1896? Did they live there year round, or like others live there only in the summer? Why did Harry gift the property to Evaline? What was their relationship; were they separated, divorced? Was Harry dying or just putting

¹²³This is how her name is spelled in the federal census, but in the Utah County Abstract Book, her name is spelled, "Avelina."

his estate in order? Where did they go? Were there more children? What affiliation existed between the Savills and Lehi, and other Highland residents? Harry, Evaline, and Carey can not be located on the 1900 census. Unfortunately, their history and contribution in Highland can not receive the attention which they deserve, because of the lack of information available on these obscure, original homesteading residents.

Sections 34-36

John and Sarah Ann Thirkell Pool were outsiders. They came to Highland from Salt Lake City in 1874 with their nine children. This was a major move for them, probably a move to dissociate themselves to some degree from the Mormon Church. They were both born in England and emigrated to America because of the call of the Mormon prophets for the Saints to gather in Zion. The family of John Pool was among the first families to immigrate to Nauvoo in 1840. The Thirkell family migrated from England to New Orleans, then up the Mississippi River to Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1853. Both families came across the plains and settled in Grantsville, Tooele County, Utah, where they were neighbors. A romance began between Sarah Ann Thirkell and John Pool which resulted in marriage on June 25, 1854.¹²⁴ For the next twenty years (1854-1874) John and Sarah lived in Ogden, Wellsville and Richmond, where Sarah's parents had

¹²⁴This is John's second marriage. He had married a young Mormon girl while living in St. Louis, but the relationship died coming across the plains. Shortly after arriving in Utah they were divorced. She complained that John and his father were "bossy," while John was disgusted with her unwillingness to attend to her wifely duties.

moved, and then in Salt Lake City before they moved to Highland.

According to family tradition, John was asked while residing in Cache Valley to participate in the practice of plural marriage. He and Sarah vehemently refused, which resulted in some ostracism from the Church and community. This was not the first negative experience which Sarah Ann had encountered with polygamy. When Sarah was sixteen years old, the Thirkell family had decided to migrate to Zion. They boarded the ship the night before it was to set sail for America. That night, after the rest of the children had fallen to sleep, Sarah witnessed her mother weeping because she had just learned that Mormons in Utah practiced plural marriage. Mary Thirkell was so upset with this new information that she threatened to jump ship with all of her children and stay in England, but "before they slept that night John knelt by Mary's chair and begged her to stay. He promised her that he would never practice plural marriage nor sanction any of his children living it; a promise that he faithfully kept until his death."¹²⁵ And Sarah continued to keep the promise after his death.

Additional evidence that John and Sarah desired to break away from the Church is provided by a journal kept by the Pools¹²⁶ after they had moved

¹²⁵Sarah Ann Pool, Pool Family Journal, AMs, Ann Pool, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹²⁶No authorship is claimed in the journal but it becomes obvious reading it that Sarah and especially her daughter, Eva, are the principal writers in this important historical document. It is not surprising that the journal is impressively written. Sarah had been well educated in England before migrating to America. She had received some training as an English teacher, and had, no doubt, taught her children.

from Highland to Santa Rosa, California. In a journal entry dated Sunday, September 14, 1884, they describe coming to a house with beautiful vineyards, near Placerville, California. Sarah sent her youngest son Roy to the house with five cents to pay for some grapes he had eaten, and in hope of purchasing more. Then the journal describes what happened next, "The man that lives here came to Salt Lake City with Johnson's Army. He asked Chauncy [another son] where we were from.

Chauncy replied, 'Utah'.

'Are you Mor-mons?'

'No.'

'All right, go to the orchard and get all the fruit you can eat and take the folks some.' ¹²⁷

This experience documents the family's determination to deny their affiliation with the Mormon Church.

In the back of the old journal these words are written, "John and Sarah Ann Pool were each the only members of their family that did not believe in Mormonism, and they refused to raise their family in that faith having many clashes with the Church officials, after they openly rebelled."¹²⁸ Besides their refusal to practice plural marriage we do not specifically know what other "clashes" John and Sarah Ann Pool might have

¹²⁷Eva Pool, Pool Family Journal.

¹²⁸The author of this last section of the journal is unknown, but it seems to be written sometime after Sarah and Eva's entries.

had with the Church, but we can assume that their move to Highland if not a conscious act, was a subconscious one to separate themselves from the Church. Their move to an isolated homestead in 1874 was another independent act of autonomy, counter to the counsel of the Church hierarchy to locate within the theocratic Mormon villages.

Unfortunately, the "clashes" which the Pools had been engaged in before their move to Highland, did not end after their move. John and Sarah Ann took out a patent on 160 acres of farm land in the southeast quarter of Section thirty-five, which was divided almost in half by the Lehi ditch. This seven mile ditch had been dug with some difficulty by early settlers from the nearby town of Lehi in 1851. The ditch carried water west from the American Fork river across the bench of Highland to the rich, bottom farm land of Lehi. John Pool, along with other Highland residents, enlarged the ditch and used some of the water from it. This action resulted in a law suit and a bitter fight with two hundred residents of Lehi.¹²⁹ Of course, without water the land was useless. So the fight for water was a fight for survival, and Pool was a fighter. George Sutherland¹³⁰ was the attorney

¹²⁹Hamilton Gardner, Lehi Centennial History, 1850-1950 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1953), 145. This case, "Ellingson v. Poole," is referred to in the "Lehi Irrigation Co v. Moyle" case, See: Pacific Reporter, vol. 9, p. 879-880.

¹³⁰This was probably the same George Sutherland that served in the U.S. Supreme Court, although it may have been his father, Alexander George Sutherland. "Sutherland's name was originally the same as his father, but to avoid confusion he dropped the 'Alexander'." The two of them did work together in a law practice in Provo, Utah, from 1883 to 1889. Long after Justice Sutherland had moved away from Utah he criticized Brigham Young's tight control of the

selected to represent Highland's interest. "People wondered lots of times if Highland was right in winning the law suit and getting the much needed water for their dry land or if they just had the best lawyer in the State."¹³¹

This conflict with Lehi residents and Mormon leaders must have convinced John and Sarah that the only way they could really be independent from the Church and its people was not only to live outside the village, but to leave the state. Referring again to the Pool journal we read, "By 1884 there was so many gentiles in Utah that John considered it safe to leave the country and took his family, consisting of Chauncy, Eva, George, Roy and his wife, and went by wagon team to California."¹³² Thus on July 26, 1884 at 3:00 p.m. the Pools left Highland, having sold their land for \$1,000.¹³³ One son, William, stayed in Highland and married his sweetheart from American Fork, Ruth Mercer. Two months later on October 2, 1884, the family arrived in Santa Rosa and purchased 40 acres paying

water supply which "made large holdings of land unprofitable." (p.25) It also seems reasonable that John Pool would select the Sutherlands to represent him since they were also outside the Church. George Sr. had renounced his faith in Mormonism around 1869, after joining the Church in England in 1862. George, Jr. was a baptized member and a deacon, but inactive.. See: Joel Francis Paschal, Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man Against the State (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

¹³¹Stephen F. Beck, "History of Highland," p. 1.

¹³²Pool Family Journal. It is unclear why "John considered it safe" to finally leave Utah. Perhaps in the heat of the battle over water, John had received threats which he did not believe were completely idle.

¹³³Abstract Book, Office of the Recorder, Utah County, Utah.

\$70 an acre, with \$300 as a down payment.¹³⁴

Before their departure for Santa Rosa, Sarah had given birth to four children while residing in Highland. This had increased the total number of Pool children to thirteen, but only four of those made the journey to California. John and Sarah would not just remember Highland for the fight over water, which they had won, but also for fighting for the survival of their children which they lost. Ill-fatedly, five of their children died and were buried in Highland.¹³⁵ Three died within eight days of each other. John and Sarah did not have time to finish grieving the loss of one child before another passed away. Four year old Myron was the first to die on February 24, 1879, then six year old Arthur took his last breath only three days later, and finally, two year old Clarence on March 3, 1879, suffocated to death from diphtheria just like his two older brothers who had preceded him. Only one year later, in January 1880, Sarah gave birth to another baby boy which they named Ernest, and just six days after his birth he died. The fifth child to be buried in Highland was the oldest son in the family, named after his father, John. He was tragically killed by a snowslide while sleeping in a cabin located up American Fork Canyon near the Pittsburg Mine where he was employed against his mother's wishes. In tribute to her oldest son

¹³⁴Pool Family Journal.

¹³⁵These are the only known graves in Highland. Other families residing on the Bench would bury their loved ones who died in the cemeteries of Alpine, or American Fork. Is this further proof that the Pools desired seclusion from the Mormons and their villages?

Sarah submitted an article to the Deseret News describing the fatal incident, and praising her son, John Jr., who was "a young man of strict moral character."¹³⁶

The Pools probably built the first home in Highland, and their family accounted for the first birth and the first death in Highland. Some of the earliest historical documents written in Highland claim that "John Pool was the first man" to build a home in Highland.¹³⁷ This is probably accurate, but we cannot be sure if the early settlers' definition of Highland included all of the sections previously described. The boundaries of Highland appear to be more confined in the early records than the city limits of the present. Therefore, the Pool home was the first in Highland, as they perceived in their mind what property Highland consisted of in the 1870's, and presumably the first home on the Bench. However, it is impossible to determine without any doubt who was actually the first to establish permanent residency in the area because of missing records and the free-lance style of settlement taking place.

When the Pools left Highland they thought they would never return, but following another disaster which struck the family while living in California, they came back to Utah. Eva was crushed to death by a train near their home in Santa Rosa. The family thought it might be best to leave

¹³⁶Deseret Evening News, January 21, 1881, p. 4, microfilm.

¹³⁷George C. Munns, "History of Highland."

the area in order to forget this haunting incident. So in 1896 they moved back to Salt Lake City, and two years later John died. Sarah, still outside the faith of Mormonism, helped to organize the Unitarian Church in Salt Lake City before she passed away in 1917.

Regrettably little is known about the Edwin Sawyer family. They acquired a homestead directly west of the Pool property. He was an outsider who probably lived in Salt Lake City during the winter and moved to Highland in order to farm his land in the summer. The census taker found him at home in Highland with his wife, Catherine, and their ten year old son, Edwin Jr., in June of 1880. At the age of fifty-four, Edwin Sr. was the second oldest resident homesteader of Highland (only James Pullen was older). His occupation, according to the census, was farming, and Catherine, his wife, was listed as "keeping house."¹³⁸

Comparing the 1876 and 1877 Utah County tax rolls, it appears that Edwin Sawyer was homesteading land on the Bench in 1876, but apparently did not build on his farm until 1877. On the 1877 tax rolls, following the evaluation of Sawyer's property, "Salt Lake City" is written in the column labeled "Comments." This must mean that Sawyer's primary residence was still in Salt Lake City. The 1878 tax records show that the Sawyers lived in an above-average home appraised at \$350, owned two horses, and possessed a vehicle (horse drawn wagon) worth \$25. The total

¹³⁸U.S. manuscript census, 1880.

value of his assessed property in Highland totaled \$450. There was no furniture of any value in his home. With double residency divided between Salt Lake City and Highland, furniture was a luxury they probably could not afford in their farm home on the Bench.¹³⁹

Being from Salt Lake City, this part-time resident was an outsider to Highland when he moved to Utah County to scratch out a living in the summer months on the Bench. He had migrated to the United States from England, where he was born in 1826. He served for three months as a "Post Boy," in the United States Infantry in 1861.¹⁴⁰ Probably not married before he came to Utah, he met and married his wife Catherine, who had migrated to Utah in 1860, from South Africa. Edwin and Catherine had one son, Edwin,¹⁴¹ who was born in 1870, and was living with them in the summer of 1880. According to the 1900 census, Catherine had given birth to three children who were still living. In 1900, she was living with one of them, Agnes Knox, apparently a widow who worked as a wash woman to provide a living for her two children: Catherine, and Edwin. Agnes had been born in 1865, and at the age of forty-five was also taking care of her mother, age seventy-seven. Edwin senior, had evidently died. Nothing is known about the third child.

¹³⁹Utah County Assessment Rolls.

¹⁴⁰Military Veteran Census, 1870.

¹⁴¹The 1900 census listed his name as Edward, but the 1880 census gave his name as Edwin. In the Church membership records he was also known as Edwin.

Any mark that the Sawyers left on Highland was a quiet one. They were involved in the water wars with Lehi. Edwin was one of the defendants in the law suite, "Ellingson v. Poole and others." Sawyers were neighbors to John and Sarah Pool, as well as Jacob and Elizabeth Beck, but the record is silent regarding their experiences, interactions, and influence on the Bench. We do know that they were among the first to live in Highland, and in their case this was influence enough.

In the southwest corner of section thirty-four, one hundred sixty acres were homesteaded by John Hart. The 1880 census provides our only source of information on Mr. Hart. When the census was taken he was living with his wife, Mary J., and a nephew, Edwin F.. In 1880 John was fifty years old, his wife was eight years younger, and Edwin was nineteen. All three were born in England. John had two occupations, "farmer and doctor."¹⁴² Because of his age, experience and training, he could have been an important asset to the establishment of Highland, but the record is silent about any of his contributions. The family left Highland and possibly the State before the turn of the century, or death may have occurred. They do not appear on any Utah census after 1880. They were probably Mormon converts, although this is uncertain. They likely migrated to Utah after 1870 since they are not on any census before 1880. Their sudden appearance and quick absence will, for now, remain a mystery.

¹⁴²U.S. manuscript census, 1880.

John Heber Preece was the oldest son of John Preece, a devout Latter-day Saint, and Elizabeth Jenkins Preece, John's first wife. John Heber acquired a homestead in Highland of one hundred sixty acres on August 1, 1883. At the time of the census, June 1880, he was residing on the property, as a bachelor farmer. We don't know with any certainty if his farm in Highland was a permanent residence, or merely a summer home. Whichever it may have been he was not there for long. Before 1889 he had married Isadora Jameson and they were living in Provo where their first son, Alma, was born.¹⁴³

Albert Preece, a half-brother to John Heber, did not receive his patent until 1886, even though his mother and two younger brothers were residing on the property in 1880. His mother, Ann Overent Preece, was or had been the plural wife of John Preece. Although the homestead patent appeared in Albert's name, he was not living in Highland when the 1880 census was taken. Ann was living there with two of her other sons, Nephi, twenty-one years old, and Joseph, age eleven. We cannot account for the absence of Albert. He was twenty-two years old when the census was taken. Why was Ann living with her sons? Was this a summer home, or a second home for Albert's father, John? Were Ann and John still married or were they separated or divorced? These questions remain unanswered.

Minnie R. Jenkins was the widow of John A. Jenkins, who had

¹⁴³Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, 4:653.

been crushed to death between a hay wagon and fence post. She was born a twin on September 7, 1857, to John and Sarah Pool in Ogden, Utah. Minnie married Jenkins on her birthday in 1878. Exactly one year and eighteen days later John died, leaving Minnie six months pregnant with a baby boy whom she named after his father, John A. Jenkins.

When the 1880 census was taken Minnie with six month old John was living with her parents in Highland. Less than one year later she received a land patent for the northwest quarter of section thirty-six, totaling one hundred sixty acres. There is no evidence that she lived on her homestead, and it cannot be determined how long she stayed with her parents in Highland. Minnie probably moved to Salt Lake City shortly after her second marriage to Daniel M. Torpey on New Year's Day 1889; he was employed there as a postal clerk. In 1900, Daniel, Minnie, and John Jr. lived on West Temple Street, next door neighbors to George and Mary Raybould. Mary was Minnie's twin sister. In April 1924, Minnie married her third husband, George Raybould, almost two years after the death of Mary, and shortly after the death of Daniel. George died in 1929, and Minnie lived to be seventy-eight years old before she died in Salt Lake City.

The Becks and Healeys were two prominent families who had earlier settled in Alpine. In 1878 Elizabeth Healey, twenty, and Jacob Beck, thirty, met at the sawmill in American Fork Canyon. She was working as a cook and he was hauling ore from one of the mines located there. They were

married on October 2, 1878, after a short courtship.¹⁴⁴ More than a year earlier Jacob had the foresight to acquire 160 acres on the Highland Bench for \$200. After Jacob and Elizabeth's marriage, they lived in a two room adobe home which had been built on the 160 acres by Jacob's father, Stephen Beck, a carpenter, and his uncle Frederick, a mason. This small two room home eventually grew into a beautiful, spacious ten room home where Elizabeth would give birth to their fifteen children, and entertain many guests.¹⁴⁵

A few years after their marriage, the Becks purchased eighty additional acres, making their ranch a total of 240 acres. Of all the first settlers in Highland, Jacob became the most successful capitalist. He was the first in Highland to make the land more than pay for itself. His cattle ranch, orchard, and crops were considered to be among the best in the state of Utah. Students came from the Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, 115 miles away, to see and study Jacob's methods. Many believed that Jacob possessed more cattle than anyone in Utah County. The feed required to maintain Beck's cattle, provided a ready market for other farmers in Highland. Because of this, the Beck Ranch saved many in Highland from financial ruin.¹⁴⁶ In an early biographical history of the state of Utah,

¹⁴⁴Betha S. Ingram, ed., The James and John Healey Family History (Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1963), p. 121.

¹⁴⁵Beck, "History of Highland," p. 2.

¹⁴⁶Ingram, Healey Family History, P. 122.

Jacob's success after moving to Highland is described in the following words:

He at once began to develop and improve the land, which was at that time a wilderness of sagebrush, and he has converted it into a tract of rich fertility. He has excellent building upon the place, his fields are well fenced and everything about his farm is indicative of his progressive spirit and practical methods. His success is the direct result of his efforts.¹⁴⁷

Life for the Becks in Highland was not without its hardships. Two sons and four daughters died here. Jacob Raymond, the first boy born in the family, died one month after his birth in 1883; ten years later, Martha, the tenth child, also died shortly after her birth; and two daughters died within five days of each other during the diphtheria epidemic of 1894; Alice Maude, age 11, and Vera Beck, age 5. No funerals could be held because of the fear of the epidemic. The children were buried without the opportunity for loved ones, neighbors, and friends, to extend their last respects. The fourteenth child, Daniel Lyman Beck, died two months after his birth. All six children were buried in Alpine. Other children nearly died in the diphtheria epidemic, but, according to the family, were only kept alive by the father continually throwing them up in the air to keep them breathing.¹⁴⁸

The winters were extremely harsh on the Bench. The frequent fierce winds caused a little snow to seem like a blizzard and drift in great depths. Jacob's home became a refuge for travelers who were caught in a storm on

¹⁴⁷Utah Since Statehood (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1919), vol. II, p. 795.

¹⁴⁸Ingram, Healey Family History, p. 125.

the Bench. Jacob's son later recalled one morning that his father looked out "...the window and saw something up the road. On investigating, a family had been caught in the storm and had turned the wagon box upside down and crawled under for protection, where the storm had raged over them all night. He took them to his home and gave them some breakfast. And after the storm subsided the family gratefully went on their way."¹⁴⁹

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of the role Jacob and Elizabeth Beck played in the settlement of Highland. Not only did their success indirectly encourage others to settle in Highland, but without his foresight and finances, Highland may not have obtained enough water to support the people who lived there. Early in the twentieth century the Provo Reservoir Company built a reservoir with a canal, and was selling some of the water. While others in Highland purchased ten to thirty shares of the water, Jacob purchased two hundred shares, representing a \$14,000 financial obligation. When some people expressed their doubt of Jacob's ability to pay that much money he responded by saying, "I am not concerned so much about the cost, as I am the need of water for the Bench. I want to change the color of my farm."¹⁵⁰ Although this investment seemed incredible, almost ridiculous to many, it characterized Jacob Beck's life--he was a generous provider for his family and an important contributor

¹⁴⁹Beck, "History of Highland," p. 4.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 3.

to his community because he was willing to take risks and move outside the village, and the mainstream.

A brother of Jacob Beck, two years younger, also homesteaded in Highland, Peter Beck. Peter was born in 1849. He migrated to Utah with his family from Denmark in 1862. Upon their arrival in Zion, the family moved to Alpine after a short stay in Salt Lake City. His father, Stephen, was a carpenter by trade, and like Jacob he helped Peter build a home on the Bench in the following decade. In the early 70s Peter married his wife Isadore. Their first child, Peter, was born in 1875. Two more children are born in 1877 and 1879. Sometime between 1880 and 1886, Isadore dies. The record is silent in providing any details.

In 1886, Peter married his second wife, Maggie, who is seventeen years younger than Peter. They have eight children, seven who were alive in 1900. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the family left Highland, and never returned.

George C. Munns moved to Highland sometime shortly after 1880 with his wife Ann. George takes an active part in the community and Church. He was the first constable of Highland, and the first Church clerk. Seven children were born to George and Ann in Highland, according to Church records which were written by him. He also wrote the earliest history of Highland, being "appointed by the priesthood" as the clerk to do so. Although his writing is quite clear and fluent, he lacks confidence in his

ability. In a "Preface" to his short history, he writes, "I trust that those who may have occasion to search these records will be very lenient in their criticism . I have no education, I have never been to school a week in my life."¹⁵¹

George with his family abandoned Highland in 1900 or shortly before. The last identifiable entry in the records of the Church, written by George was dated July 10, 1898, he recorded the birth of his own daughter, Elsie Elmira. The Munns do not appear on any census in Utah. Any detail about their life before they moved to Highland, while they lived there, or where they went is strangely missing. Early Highland and this author is indebted to George for his important historical contributions, but with regret there is too little that we know about the history of Highland's first historian.

Sections 25-27

Hyrum Healey never grew tired of telling his children about his journey from England to Utah in 1862, when he was a boy, ten years old. His parents, John and Mary Hemingway Healey, obedient to the "call" to gather to Zion--Utah, decided it would be best for the family to split up in order to make the trip. Mary took the three oldest children, which included Hyrum, and a new baby, Elizabeth Ann. John stayed in England with the second youngest child to continue to earn money for the Perpetual Immigration Fund. In his later life, Hyrum's children would sit on his knee,

¹⁵¹George C. Munns, "History of Highland."

and listen to their father relate to them in words and song his adventures on the Atlantic Ocean, riding the train from New York, to Florence, Nebraska, and the final trek of walking across the plains to Salt Lake City. His memory of the legions of soldiers traveling by train to fight in the Civil War, his heart breaking when he lost one of his mother's shoes while crossing a river, forcing her to walk barefoot, and the tragedy of watching his nine month old sister, Elizabeth, wrapped in a teamster's shirt and buried somewhere on the plains of Wyoming, were all stories that Hyrum's children never tired of hearing.¹⁵²

When the Healeys arrived in Utah, they moved to Alpine, where John's brother, James, had settled. Their first home was in the old town hall, then later they lived in a dugout cave where the cemetery was later located. Within a year Mary and the children were reunited with their father and brother who had arrived safely from England.¹⁵³

Hyrum as a young man worked in a smelting plant located near Cedar Valley. It was here that he became acquainted with a new friend, William F. Carson, the son of Bishop John Carson from Fairfield. One day while visiting their home he met Elvira Carson, William's sister. After a short courtship they were married in the Endowment House, January 25, 1875.

Even before Hyrum was married he had filed for a homestead on the

¹⁵²Ingram, Healey Family History, p. 413-415.

¹⁵³Ibid.

Bench. His property included eighty acres located in the northeast corner of Highland, nearest to the mouth of the American Fork Canyon. He built a two room log cabin with a summer kitchen. He worked hard to clear his land of the tall sagebrush before planting fruit trees, ground cherries, choke cherries, service berries, potatoes, wheat and oats.¹⁵⁴

July 4, 1877, was a double celebration for the Healeys. Not only was it Independence Day, but Elvira gave birth to their first child, whom they named Elvira Perdita. The happiness this child brought into their small home was short-lived. She died April 5, 1878, after a short illness. Hyrum and Elvira received some solace from the tragedy when they went for a walk east of their home toward the canyon. As they walked along a path running parallel to a stream of water, Elvira suddenly saw the spirit of a child dancing just above the water. The Healeys always believed this was a vision, heaven sent, to tell them that their child was happy, and not to mourn for her.

In the next nine years Elvira gave birth to four more children: Hyrum Carson, Minnie Ann, John Franklin, and William Matthew. The greatest trial of Hyrum's life occurred on May 24, 1886, when his sweetheart Elvira died from complications in giving birth to their baby boy, William, nine days after his delivery. She was just thirty-four years old. Only the oldest son, Carson, would have any memories of his mother.

¹⁵⁴"Hyrum Healey," Builders of Alpine, 2:147-150.

Minnie, who was four years old when her mother died, had to rely on what little information friends and family shared with her from time to time, in order to know what her mother was like. Minnie also treasured a few relics in an old trunk which provided her with some knowledge of her mother. She later wrote,

So I do not remember her, and have drawn my impressions of her from the precious things I found in her trunk . . . In my mother's trunk I found many things that told me the kind of person she was, a little half-finished white stocking she was knitting for her new baby--quilt blocks sewn with small dainty stitches. There was a lovely fur cape and pieces of dainty handwork. This trunk of her possessions was my dearest treasure. It was sacred to me and all I had to remember her by.¹⁵⁵

Hyrum felt it was in the best interest of the children to farm them out. His mother, Mary Healey, took the new baby in her home, and "supervised the welfare of the other children."¹⁵⁶ The three older children were spread out among Hyrum's three married sisters who lived in Utah County. In the summer time the children would be reunited with their father, and helped him take care of the farm in Highland.

Five years after the death of Elvira, Hyrum married Mary Read Healey from Salt Lake City. The children called their new mother, "Aunt Polly." According to John Franklin's side of the family, Aunt Polly "was very strict and not very fond of children. She was a good wife [to Hyrum]

¹⁵⁵Minnie Gibson, "Elvira Carson Healey," Healey Family History, Ed., Betha S. Ingram, p. 417-418.

¹⁵⁶Ibid, p. 425.

but did not bring much happiness into the lives of [his] children."¹⁵⁷ Mary did not give birth to any children of her own.

The Mormon Church organized the residents of Highland into their own ecclesiastical congregation, known as a "Branch," on March 13, 1892. Samuel A. Eastman was appointed as the presiding elder. Seventeen months later it was decided that the Branch should be reorganized.

Accordingly, on Sunday, August 13, 1893, David John and Edward Partridge of the Stake Presidency, Bishop T. R. Cutler of Lehi, Bishop Marsh and Counselor Carlisle of Alpine, Counselor George Cunningham and William S. Robinson of the High Council American Fork, visited us for the purpose of reorganization. After interesting talks from the Brethren present, the people were asked to suggest the names of the brethren whom they would like to preside. Samuel A. Eastman, Richey Harkness, and Hyrum Healey were suggested, and then it was left to the authorities present to make the selection. Hyrum Healey was chosen and sustained.¹⁵⁸ [modern punctuation added]

To be one of the three selected for consideration by his fellow-residents, and then be chosen by authorities representing the Church, speaks highly of Hyrum Healey. Popular enough among his peers, yet trusted by his religious leaders was a great compliment to this faithful man. Somehow Hyrum had been able to farm on the Bench while avoiding the fight with other community's ecclesiastical leaders.

One day in the Fall of 1893, while acting in his duties as Highland's

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸"From the Highlands," A letter written to the editor of the Evening Dispatch. Although the author is unknown, oldtimers credit either Stephen Moyle or James Brown as author; date written is also unknown, but it appears to have been written shortly after August 13, 1893. Photocopy in possession of author, Highland, Utah.

presiding elder, he was delivering a load of hay to American Fork, which had been paid to the Church as tithing. Suddenly, on a rough, slanting road, something caused the horses to lurch forward, and Hyrum fell off the wagon. From then until his death in the following Spring, April 27, 1896, he suffered terribly from severe headaches and a stiff neck. Reed Smoot, a prominent Mormon Church leader spoke at his funeral.

Aunt Polly, one year later, left the children and the farm and moved back to Salt Lake City. Recollecting this time of her life, Hyrum's daughter, Minnie, wrote, "Realizing I had lost my best friends, I went to live with an aunt at Provo bench [Orem] where I attended the Spencer School." Carson, sixteen years old, and twelve year old Frank, stayed on the farm and tried to make a living. After working hard for three years they gave up and went their separate ways. Carson went to Salt Lake City and worked his way through the L.D.S. Business College, and John Franklin went to live with his grandmother Carson who had moved to the Provo Bench.¹⁵⁹

Other outsiders who made Highland their home included the Whiting clan. On July 1, 1844, John Whiting married Ann Pinfold at the Parish Church in North Hampshire, England. John was a mason, and Ann a lacemaker. It is uncertain why, after the birth of four children, two of which died shortly after birth, they decided to migrate to America. It is equally unclear how they became associated with the Mormons. There is no record

¹⁵⁹Ingram, The Healey Family History, p. 420-427.

of their baptism into the Church until after they were dead and their ancestors were baptized as proxy for them in 1930.¹⁶⁰ After spending some time in St. Louis where another son was born, whom they named John, the family made the journey to Salt Lake City where they arrived in 1854. Ancestors boast that John was good friends with the Walker brothers, well-known apostate merchants, who were very successful in Utah. The Walkers chose John Whiting, the accomplished brickmason, to build their store located on Main Street in Salt Lake City.¹⁶¹

Ann gave birth to a baby girl in 1856 named Mary Ann; in 1862 another daughter they named Marcia was born. Sadness struck the Whitings in 1864 when a son named James died shortly after birth, and in 1866 another newborn died, this time a girl named Louisa. The Whitings were a generous family--not long after their arrival in Salt Lake City they adopted an eleven year old boy, William Brown. Two years earlier his parents, along with three of their children, had died of cholera while crossing the plains in 1862. William and two younger brothers survived this ordeal, and were all adopted by separate families. John Whiting had known William's father who was also a brickmason.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believe that religious ordinances of the Church can be performed for the dead. These ordinances, such as baptism are performed in an L.D.S. Temple, vicariously by someone living.

¹⁶¹Jessie Myers Adamson, "Mary Ann Whiting Myers," photocopy in possession of author, Highland, Utah.

¹⁶²"Life Sketch of William T. Brown," Builders of Alpine, 1:128.

It was possibly through William's influence that the Whiting family became associated with the history of Highland. In 1858 as Johnston's army approached Utah the people in Salt Lake City and all points north, were strongly encouraged by the Mormon hierarchy to flee to Utah County, and other places south, for safety, and to discourage Johnston's Army from staying in Utah.¹⁶³ The Whiting family moved south temporarily to Mountainville (now known as Alpine, Utah). William's aunt (his father's sister) was married to the bishop of this small village, and they had adopted William's younger brother Samuel. It seemed the best place for William and his adoptive family to go. While temporarily located in Alpine they must have become impressed with the potential of the Bench to provide them with not only the necessities of life but even some of the luxuries. William always remembered the grass that covered the Bench and the wild game that was so plentiful. In one day William and a friend killed fourteen deer near the Bench just outside of Alpine.¹⁶⁴

It was in William Brown's name that John Whiting acquired one hundred sixty acres in the southwest quarter of section twenty-five, just one mile south of Alpine. Directly east of this parcel of land a homestead of eighty acres was applied for in the name of George Myers. George was John Whiting's son-in-law, having married his daughter, Mary Ann. The

¹⁶³Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 182-188.

¹⁶⁴Builders of Alpine, 1:130.

Myers and Whitings had been neighbors in Salt Lake City. George (named after his father) and Mary Ann (named after her mother) were childhood sweethearts. They consummated their love in 1871 by marriage. She was fifteen years old, and he was nineteen. They made their first home in Salt Lake City where Mary Ann gave birth to a baby boy whom they named John Whiting Myers, no doubt named after his grandfather.

While waiting for their home to be built in Highland, the Myers moved to Alpine. Perhaps this decision may have been based on Mary Ann's memory of when her family lived there during the Utah War when she was two years old.

The Myers were not affiliated with the Church, they were outsiders. Mary Ann's family were not members and George's mother, Ann Yost Myers, had left the Church and divorced his father when he began to practice plural marriage. Young George's father, George Mayer,¹⁶⁵ had been a successful Mormon missionary in Switzerland. He arrived home from his mission in 1855 to his wife and five children still living at home. The following spring the family was shocked to hear their father be called on another mission by Brigham Young over the pulpit during a Church conference, to help colonize Las Vegas. Ann did not want to leave the Salt Lake valley to go to a more barren desert than they already lived in.

¹⁶⁵It is difficult to make an accurate judgement as to why the two different spellings of the name. Ann Yost Myers claimed this was not the last name of her husband, George, when she married him in 1828, but when George married Maria Cable, a second wife in 1856, Ann claims George changed his name to Mayer.

George had been counseled to marry a plural wife. He was fifty-one when he married sixteen year old Maria Cable. One year later the Las Vegas mission had failed and George returned with Maria to Salt Lake City. He paid a visit to his first wife, Ann, who refused to let him enter the home.¹⁶⁶

Born March 7, 1852, George Yost Myers was the youngest of nine children. He was four years old when his father decided to leave the family to go with his new wife to Las Vegas. His memory may have been clouded because of his young age, but it was kept fresh by the bitterness of Ann and other family members. Diantha Myers, George's sister who was four years older, held a grudge towards her father and the Mormon Church for the remainder of her life. Nieces and nephews while visiting Diantha in Salt Lake City can still recall her refusing to let them shop at Z.C.M.I., because it was owned by the Church. They were told to spend their money at Walkers, the Gentile store.¹⁶⁷

Although George did not openly express any animosity towards the Church, he was not baptized in his youth. He married a non-member and had no affiliation with the Church until after his first wife died. Outside of the Salt Lake Valley there were not many places in Utah where a non-Mormon could settle and flourish. It was a difficult task for someone

¹⁶⁶"Diary of George T. Mayer," Keith Adamson, Book of Remembrance, Highland Utah.

¹⁶⁷Keith Adamson and Alta Adamson Nash, Personal communication with author, February 24, 1992, American Fork, Utah.

outside the Church, to move into a Mormon village and prosper. But Highland was a place that provided great hope for outsiders like George Myers and his in-laws, the Whitings.

George, therefore grew up without a father and without the Church. He was forced to learn at an early age how to work hard and become independent. He filed for land in Highland as early as 1869, when he was only seventeen years of age. Sometime around 1876, and shortly after his marriage to Mary Ann Whiting, George left Salt Lake City and with the help of his father-in-law, John Whiting, built a home in Highland. He worked in Cottonwood Canyon as a miner until he could make a living from his farm.¹⁶⁸ George's prominence in Highland was recognized in June of 1893 when he was appointed registrar of the new Highland voting district. That same year a school district was organized in Highland with George appointed as president of the board of trustees. George was a leader in the political and educational affairs of his new community.

During the following year, 1894, a virulent calamity fell upon the Myers' home. Within two weeks in May, George lost his wife and three of his nine children in a diphtheria epidemic. The surviving children were broken-hearted. They were uncertain if they could make it in this life without a mother and their three siblings. They passed on to their children

¹⁶⁸Beck, "History of Highland," p. 4.

the unforgettable memory that was always vivid in their mind--seeing the constable, George C. Munns, arrive at their home, then with the help of their father, they placed their loved ones into four homemade wooden caskets. The caskets were nailed shut, and carried to the wagon. The children then placed on their mother's casket a homemade, yellow-flowered wreath. Munns climbed up into the wagon and began to drive off. The memory of the children suddenly intensified when they saw the yellow wreath bounce off the pine box and fall on the bumpy dirt road as the horse-drawn-wagon drove out of their sight. Their grief was so overwhelming that they could hardly take another breath.¹⁶⁹

In June of 1895, George married his second wife, Mary Lee Wilson. She had migrated to Highland from South Carolina with her family and the Bolin family in 1892, after they had joined the Mormon Church. Mary was twenty-one and George was forty-two. Even though Mary became like a mother to the remaining children in the home, they always referred to her as "Aunt Mary." Because of Mary's influence, George was baptized into the Mormon Church with three of his older children, on July 22, 1899, in Utah Lake. Mary was rebaptized the same day to symbolize a new beginning with her husband, and in anticipation of an additional blessing, since she had

¹⁶⁹V. Keith Adamson, interviewed by author, January 17, 1990, Highland, Utah, tape recording.

been in ill health since the birth of her second child.¹⁷⁰

George played a key role in the construction of the Silver Lake Reservoir in American Fork Canyon around the turn of the century. This became a new major source of water for Highland. Mary Lee and George Myers were the first settlers to raise all of their children through adulthood and live out the remainder of their lives in Highland. Their love and loyalty for Highland was an important reason why Highland maintained a separate identity from the surrounding communities. Shortly after George was baptized into the Church, a meeting was held to decide if the Highland Branch should continue, or if the people in the area should be allowed to attend church in Alpine, American Fork or Lehi, whichever they were closest to. While other people, including Jacob Beck, wanted to attend church in Alpine and other local communities, George Myers is on record as arguing in favor of meeting as a separate congregation in the schoolhouse. He convinced others to agree and it was decided to continue the Highland Branch.¹⁷¹ Perhaps no other Highland homesteader had a greater sense of community than George Y. Myers.

Included in the first Mormon handcart company of 1856 was the John Moyle family. John was 48, his wife, Philippi, was 40. They survived

¹⁷⁰"History of Mary Lee Myers," V. Keith Adamson, Book of Remembrance, Highland, Utah.

¹⁷¹"Highland Branch Records" [microfilm #25586]. L.D.S. Church Records, Genealogy Dept., Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

the long journey pushing and pulling their carts with five of their children: Elizabeth (19), Stephen (15), Henry (12), Alfred (9), and John (5).¹⁷² An older brother, James, who had preceded the family to Utah could hardly recognize them because "they were so thin and emaciated thru lack of sufficient food."¹⁷³

Two years later in 1858 they moved to Alpine. This may have been in conjunction with the Utah War and the general move south by direction of Church leaders, in the spring of that year. Despite the hardship that this move caused the Saints, it also created economic opportunity for many of them. For example, Stephen Moyle, now seventeen, received employment to help build the barracks for Johnston's Army at Camp Floyd.

Stephen then went to work for a livestock company in Utah, driving cattle to Oregon. The northwest captured Moyle's affection. He spent twelve years in Oregon, Washington, and California mostly working as a mason. He was proud to assist in the construction of the San Quentin prison near San Francisco.

Throughout the twelve years that Stephen was away, John and Philippi desperately tried to contact their son through advertisements in northwestern newspapers. They eventually gave up fearing Stephen was dead. They didn't know how lucky he was to be alive. In the early sixties,

¹⁷²LeRoy R. Hafen, Handcarts to Zion, p. 279.

¹⁷³Builders of Alpine, 2:86.

while working in the logging industry floating logs down the Columbia River, Moyle and two other companions were sleeping in a tent when Indians attacked their camp. Several men were killed including the two men lying on either side of Stephen. Later that night he swam across the Columbia River, a major feat of physical endurance, to escape. When he reached the other side he fell to the ground unconscious from exhaustion. Hours later some loggers found him naked, and provided him with some burlap sacks which he wore for several days before he could obtain some clothing.¹⁷⁴

The Moyles finally received a letter from Stephen in November 1867. James,¹⁷⁵ in a letter dated December 1, 1867, tried to encourage Stephen to return home. He wrote,

I suppose you have heard of Sister Elizabeth's death, also her two children. Henry is married and we expect to dance at Alfred's wedding very soon, so that if you wish to participate in the same you will have to take the stage and come at once. John is not married yet neither is Joseph. But unless you come home pretty soon the chances are that they will all get the start of you . . . we were very glad to learn that you were still living . . . we thought you must be dead. Mother mourned a great deal for you, so if we should be fortunate enough to see you again you will appear almost like one resurrected.¹⁷⁶

It was in 1870 when this resurrection occurred for the Moyles. When Stephen, now 30 years old, returned to Alpine, he approached his

¹⁷⁴Jenny Wild, "History of Steven Moyle," unpublished manuscript, Jenny Wild, Alpine, Utah, photocopy in possession of author, Highland, Utah.

¹⁷⁵This is the grandfather of Henry D. Moyle, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and a counselor to David O. McKay, Ninth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

¹⁷⁶Builders of Alpine, 2:87.

mother and asked for directions to a certain place. She was cordial, but did not recognize him. He dejectedly walked away. After going only a short distance he returned to his mother's presence. She inquired who he was. He responded, "Don't you know me mother? I'm Stephen, your son."¹⁷⁷ Words are insufficient to describe the emotions this mother and son must have felt during this momentous reunion.

On January 9, 1871, Stephen married Mary Ann Kelly, who was 21, nine years younger than Stephen. According to the earliest Highland records, the Moyles were the second family to move to Highland in the spring of 1874.¹⁷⁸ They were the first residents of Highland who came from one of the surrounding communities, moving only a few miles away from their home in Alpine. Even though the Moyles are considered locals, Stephen was practically an outsider, having been away from Utah and his family for so many years. He had no doubt observed how colonizers outside of the Great Basin settled with their families on isolated farmsteads. Therefore, it did not seem untraditional to Stephen to establish residency on the Bench outside the village.

They built a home near Dry Creek located in the south half of section twenty-six. On May 16, 1874, Stephen, with some help from family and friends in Alpine, started to dig the first irrigation ditches in Highland for

¹⁷⁷Jenny Wild, "History of Stephen Moyle."

¹⁷⁸George C. Munns, "History of Highland."

residents of Highland. That same spring Stephen cleared seventeen acres of land and planted wheat, corn, and potatoes.¹⁷⁹

Through his hard work and resourcefulness Stephen made a living as a farmer. In 1876 the Moyles' property and home were valued at \$300. They owned no animals, nor a vehicle, but they did own \$210 of "taxable property not enumerated."¹⁸⁰ This property may have been farm equipment, or valuable personal items.

By 1878, his property and home had appreciated to \$450. They owned six head of cattle, two horses, and one swine, all valued at \$235. They had apparently purchased the most expensive vehicle (horse buggy, or wagon) on the Bench valued at \$100. Total taxable value of property in 1878 was \$860.¹⁸¹ Stephen Moyle was the richest man in Highland that year, based upon his reported, taxable property.

But no amount of money or property could have consoled Stephen the following year when his wife, Mary Ann, died just two weeks after their eighth wedding anniversary, on January 24, 1879. The cause of her death was unknown. Mary Ann had given birth to three sons: William John, Stephen Edward, and Lionel. The two youngest, Stephen and Lionel, must have preceded their mother in death or died soon after, because they are not

¹⁷⁹Ibid.

¹⁸⁰Utah County Assessment Rolls, 1876.

¹⁸¹Utah County Assessment Rolls, 1878.

listed in the 1880 census.

One year later Stephen married Alice Greenwood Moyle. She was the widow of Alfred Moyle, Stephen's younger brother. Alice was an "expert seamstress," who had successfully supported herself since Alfred's death and financially helped her two brothers serve missions for the Church.

Stephen with his three sons apparently moved to Alpine where Alice had been living. Sometime in the 1880s the family moved back to Stephen's farm. A new home was built on the north side of Dry Creek on the brow of the hill. The first home had burnt down. Stephen gave eight acres of his property to the county for the purpose of building a road. After the road had been surveyed and construction began it became obvious that the road was going to go right through Stephen's house. The county wanted Moyle to move the house, which he refused to do. Oldtimers still humorously remember the jog in the road to go around the home of Stephen Moyle.¹⁸² Later, when modern improvements were made on the road, the home was moved, supposedly at government expense.

Alice gave birth to eight children, six girls and two boys, the oldest of whom they named after his father. Stephen, Alice Cordelia, Phillipa Barbara, Mary Lovella and Edna Myrtle were all born in Alpine. Edward was the last child to be born there on April 25, 1887. The family felt great appreciation for this new, long-awaited son, but when he was ten months

¹⁸²Cora Beck Adamson, "History of Highland."

old he became very ill and died a short time later. Alice was pregnant at the time of Edward's death, and on September 8, 1888, another daughter blessed their home. She was the first child in their family to be born in Highland. Six years later Velma Elizabeth was born March 21, 1894, the baby of the family.¹⁸³ At the age of two, Velma was pushing a doll carriage across a wooden bridge on the Bull River, when suddenly she slipped into the river and was swept downstream.¹⁸⁴ Her tragic death was not soon forgotten by Highland residents, explaining why some parents forbade their children from going near the river at certain times of the year.¹⁸⁵

Stephen Moyle was tough and very independent. He did not fear fighting for what he believed was legally his, even if it cost him his membership in the Mormon Church. Lehi, Alpine, and American Fork were all under the same Church jurisdiction, the Utah Stake. Stephen had come in conflict with Lehi City over water rights. It was a bitter battle, and the Church was not a neutral party. Bishop Evans of Lehi and Bishop McCullough were united against Moyle and other Highland residents. These Bishops and "other preachers of the two cities," used Church pulpits to

¹⁸³Stephen Moyle Family Group Sheet, Book of Remembrance, May Morgan (a granddaughter), Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁸⁴Evelyn Jensen, personal communication with author, May 19, 1992, American Fork, Utah.

¹⁸⁵Alta Adamson Nash, personal communication with author, May 19, 1991, American Fork, Utah.

preach against the "horse thieves and apostates, as they chose to call the first settlers of the Highland Precinct who had moved out of the forts and taken government land in this Highland country."¹⁸⁶

The Stake High Council became involved in this conflict making a judgment against Stephen Moyle and disfellowshipped him from the Church. His ancestors continue to quote his disconcerted, but firm reaction, "They can cut me off from my Church, but they can't cut me off from my God."¹⁸⁷ A law suit was filed, and Stephen finally won the case after it had gone to the territorial Supreme Court.¹⁸⁸ This judgment was of such importance that it was referred to and quoted in legal works on water rights.¹⁸⁹ And the court decision was of vital importance to the history of Highland. The court ruled that "when such ditch is enlarged by others, the original owners not objecting, and its capacity increased, the parties so enlarging the ditch become owners therein and in the water appropriated thereby without any conveyance from the original owners."¹⁹⁰

Stephen Moyle was one of the great leaders of Highland who had a

¹⁸⁶George C. Munns, "History of Highland."

¹⁸⁷May Morgan, and Evelyn Jensen, personal communication with author, May 20, 1992, American Fork, Utah.

¹⁸⁸"Lehi Irrigation Co. v. Moyle and others," Pacific Reporter, vol. 9, p. 867-881.

¹⁸⁹Cleson S. Kinney, A Treatise on the Law of Irrigation, (Washington D.C.: W. H. Lowdermilk and Co., 1894) p. 423 & 631.

¹⁹⁰Ibid, p. 631.

vision of its potential. After receiving back his full membership privileges in the Church, he spoke in Sunday School on August 20, 1893, and prophesied, "that it was only a matter of time when this Bench would become a very desirable place to live."¹⁹¹

Life on the Bench was hard. Stephen and Alice planned to retire to American Fork, but before that happened Stephen died on October 29, 1901, at his home in Highland after being ill for several months. Alice soon after his death moved to American Fork where she lived until her death in 1918. Peter Smith homesteaded the northwest corner of Highland. He moved there sometime around 1890 with his wife Ellen, and their four youngest children: James, Jane, Joseph, and Hyrum. There were three additional children in the family, but one had died and the whereabouts of the other two were unknown. Peter and Ellen were married in 1875, seven years before they migrated to the United States from Scotland, where they had been born and joined the Mormon Church. The exact year that the Smiths came to Highland is unknown, but Hyrum the youngest son was born on the Bench in 1891, so it was probably shortly before his birth that the family moved from Salt Lake City. Being Scottish, they no doubt loved the recent name given to the Bench, and helped to propagate it.

¹⁹¹Highland Branch, Sunday School Minutes, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints archives, microfilm #3796, 3, 14-15, Salt Lake City, Utah. On April 7, 1894, Stephen Moyle became Superintendent of the Highland Sunday School, an important calling he enjoyed until August 25, 1901, when he "was honorably released on account of sickness."

Peter was a farmer and his son James was listed on the 1900 census as a "day laborer," working for Jacob Beck. Ellen and Jane were working to keep house, and the two youngest children were "away to school" when the census was taken. Perhaps they were attending the boarding school in American Fork, where other Highland children would attend during the week because of the difficulty in making the daily journey.¹⁹²

Peter died in 1907, but Ellen continued to reside on the Bench with Joseph, and Hyrum. Three days after Christmas in 1915 tragedy struck the family. Before the family retired for the evening, in an attempt to keep warm, a tub containing hot coals was placed in the new west wing addition of the home, where Joseph lived with his new wife and their infant child. When Ellen tried the next morning to wake up Joseph to help with the chores she discovered that he, along with his wife and baby had suffocated to death from a lack of ventilation. The Christmas season would never again be the same for this sorrowing mother.

Ten years later, Ellen died in 1925, and shortly after her death Hyrum with his new family moved to Carbon County, where he worked as a firefighter. Later, he moved back to Lehi endeavoring to maintain the farm on the Bench. ¹⁹³ Conclusion

¹⁹²Stephen Beck, "History of Highland," p. 2.

¹⁹³Blanche Smith Covington, "History of Hyrum Smith," Book of Remembrance, Ruby Buhler, Highland, Utah.

Regardless of what Bishop Evans of Lehi, or anyone else felt towards those who were moving outside the boundaries of the established Mormon villages, they could not put an end to it. The first settlers on the Bench were determined, despite an isolated environment of opposition and hardship, to not give up their legal right to public land. They had as much ideological faith in the government as they did theological faith in their Church. Most of the early residents of Highland had migrated to Utah after becoming affiliated with the Mormon Church, either as children before the 1860s, or as adults after the 60s. They had come answering the "call" to gather to Zion, but when they arrived, they discovered that not all was well in Zion. The villages near the headquarters of the Church in Salt Lake City were overpopulated, leaving them the choice of either moving to government property outside the village, or migrating again to one of the surrounding states where scores of new Mormon towns were being colonized in the 1870s and 1880s, according to the village style of settlement. It was basically the alternative of fight or flight, and because they elected the former they became aberrant Mormon settlers.

Everyone who lived in Highland left their mark, but the real heroes in Highland's history are the original residents who persisted, who did not just move there on their way to some place else, but who stayed there, struggled there, and died there. They were durable and courageous,

independent pioneers, who came to Utah in adversity seeking religious freedom, and who stayed in Highland fighting for their individual liberty.

CHAPTER 4

OUTSIDERS AND OUTLIVERS

In reviewing census information and the historical background of Highland's homesteaders, an interesting pattern emerges. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the implications of the relationship between the original homesteading residents and non-residents of Highland, and the area from which they came. Out of the original thirty-seven homesteaders, only three were Lehi residents, five were from American Fork, and eight were affiliated with Alpine. Twenty-one, or fifty-seven percent, of the original homesteaders were from outside the area. When we take these figures and break them down according to the residents and non-residents, the statistics become even more revealing. Out of the first twenty homesteading residents, fifteen moved to Highland from outside the area, meaning only five were from the surrounding communities, and four of those five were from Alpine.

These numbers illustrate an significant fact--citizens of American Fork, Lehi, and Alpine did not want to leave their established community in order to reside on a larger tract of land outside the village. There may have existed a social stigma and general disdain towards settlers who resided on

the Bench. Farmers who lived beyond the outskirts of town were considered to be in no-man's-land, and according to Bishop Evans of Lehi, they were viewed as being in subordination to village authority if they lived between the villagers and their source of water, the snow-packed mountains. American Fork and Lehi, being downstream, apparently felt more threatened by the new settlers than upstream Alpine. Resident homesteaders on the Bench, who lived on their property with the intent to make a living off the property, were regarded as the greatest jeopardy by farmers who relied so much on irrigation water for their bottom land. Therefore, moving outside a village to be closer to the headwaters was considered a form of secession.

The original homesteaders of Highland, besides being labeled residents and non-residents, can be classified into two additional, distinct groups. The first group were "outsiders," who viewed their coming to Highland as a major physical move. In a few cases it was an act of autonomy, a calculated move away from the Mormon village and the Church, but in every instance they were newcomers to the area of north Utah County. They had not lived in any of the surrounding villages, and probably did not have any close extended relatives living in the locality. Many of these outsiders had migrated to Utah after 1860, when most villages had already been well-established, especially those along the western side of the Wasatch Mountains. These outsiders were not enough

into the mainstream of the Church to receive a "call" from the Mormon prophet, after migrating to Utah, to pack up and leave again on an assigned mission of settling some uninhabited, desolate region; or if they were given such a "call," they were not willing to answer it.

The second group were settlers from nearby communities who will be referred to as "outliers."¹⁹⁴ These were people who had lived in the surrounding area for quite some time. Many in this group consisted of the younger generation, newly married, who wished to remain in the area, but because of the overpopulation were forced to move out of the village to establish a farm and provide for their family. These settlers did not perceive their move as a breaking away, but more as an extension. In its early stages, Highland appeared to the outliers to be an expansion community, not a detached town.

Out of the seventeen non-resident homesteaders only two were outsiders, Richard Baker and Lewis Davis. It appears, with some uncertainty, that Lewis Davis and Richard Baker were from Salt Lake City. It was logical that when private, agricultural land became available it would be purchased by those who lived in close proximity. Why would Baker and Davis invest in property located several miles and several hours by horseback away? It was earlier concluded in Chapter Two that Lewis Davis

¹⁹⁴This term is borrowed from Robert A. Gross, The Minutemen and their World, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), p. 15.

was somehow related to James Davis because their land patent is finalized on the same day. James, from Lehi, had either convinced his older relation to invest in Bench land, or James was using Lewis' name to purchase additional property for himself. Questions remain unanswered in regard to Richard Baker. Who were his relatives and friends in north Utah County to make him aware of the availability of homestead property in Highland? These two non-resident outsiders remain largely enigmatic.

The remaining fifteen non-resident homesteaders were outlivers. In other words, eighty-eight percent of the homesteaders who did not establish residency in Highland were outlivers. The opposite is true of resident homesteaders. Out of the twenty original homesteaders who actually lived on the Bench, seventy-five percent were outsiders (see Table 2). Only five residents were outlivers, and four of them were from upstream Alpine. The fifteen original residents who were outsiders, would have probably been unaware of the negative stigma which existed among citizens in the surrounding communities towards new settlers on the Bench.

TABLE 2

Depicting relationship between the residents/non-residents and the outsiders/outlivers of the thirty-seven original homesteaders of Highland

	Resident	Non-Resident	TOTALS
Outsiders	15	2	17
Outlivers	5	15	20
TOTALS	20	17	37

The fifteen heads of households who established residency as outsiders were as follows: John Hart, John Hegan, William Householder, Minnie Jenkins, George Munns, George Myers, John Pool, Ann Preece, Heber Preece, James Pullen, Harry Savill, Edwin Sawyer, Peter Smith, Edward Winn, and Edward W. Winn. None of these fifteen appeared in any census of the neighboring communities prior to when they lived in Highland, and no relations of the same last name were listed either. As far as can be ascertained by their historical background, they were from outside the area. We do know that Myers, Pool, Jenkins, Sawyer, and Winn came from Salt Lake City. Although the move to the Bench was an act of autonomy, it was probably not viewed by them as revolutionary or as an act of rebellion, since the settlement pattern in Salt Lake County was more scattered and isolated than in Utah County. But their move to Highland was viewed as an intrusion by leading citizens of bordering communities.

We also know that James Pullen came from Payson. James had a home in Highland and in American Fork, but we do not know which home he resided in first. He is considered an outsider in this thesis, but if he lived in American Fork before Highland, he would by definition be labeled an outliver. The remaining eight outsiders: Hart, Hegan, Householder, Munns, Preece, Preece, Savill, and Smith, had probably migrated to Utah within a few years previous to their location on the Bench, because they can not be identified on the census in any other Utah community (see Appendix D).

The five residents who were not outsiders were, Jacob Beck, Peter Beck, Hyrum Healey, Stephen Moyle, and Franklin Gray. Gray was the only one of the five who did not come from Alpine. He had lived in Lehi. All five of these outlivers were young men who had recently married. They were second generation Mormons, not so steeped in following their father's traditions. Their youth, lack of experience and optimism enabled them to move beyond the village boundaries in search of fresh opportunities. The homestead laws and an economic system of free enterprise allowed these outlivers to break away from the Mormon theocratic orthodoxy of consecration, and to reside on a large tract of privately owned land. All four outlivers from Alpine persisted in Highland for several years, either until their death or old age. Gray, on the other hand, soon disappeared from the Bench. Was his move a response to social pressure from family and other close associates in Lehi, who convinced him (consciously or subconsciously) that the Bench was not a suitable place to raise a family?

The outlivers dominated the number of non-residing homesteaders, fifteen to two (see Table 2). Arza Adams, Alexander Adamson, William Chadwick, George Cunningham, George Robinson, and George Spratley lived in American Fork, but homesteaded property on the Bench. William Brown, James Freestone, James McDaniel, and Richard Healey were from Alpine. Hannah Briggs, George Comer, James Davis, and Edward Harrison were speculators from Lehi. Finally, Nils Heiselt owned property in Highland, but

resided in Pleasant Grove. Even though Pleasant Grove was not a border town, it was located just a few miles to the southeast; therefore, Heiselt will be deemed an outliver.

These fifteen non-resident outlivers shared a similar trait--they were older in age, and more established in their lifestyle. Their average age when their homestead patent was signed and finalized was fifty-two. The outliver who lived in Highland averaged thirty-eight when his/her homestead was finalized.¹⁹⁵ There was a difference of fourteen years between the average age of the resident and non-resident outliver, who homesteaded on the Bench. The average age of the original resident outsiders was almost forty-four when they received their Land Certificate, just in between the average age of the outlivers (see Appendix E).

Several conclusions can be made based on these figures. First, the older, more experienced, non-resident outliver could not cast aside the traditional view of living in the village, while maintaining a farm outside the village. Second, there logically appeared no need to disrupt a family's lifestyle to be a little closer to the farm. Third, there may have been a masculine Mormon view of men leaving their wives and families at home while they went to work all day on the farm. This allowed the women their privacy to accomplish their wifely duties. Fourth, it was also difficult to

¹⁹⁵Remember that according to the Homestead Act, homesteaders could not receive their patent until they had proved residency, or worked the land for at least five years. This would mean that the five resident outlivers were probably younger than thirty-three when they built homes on Highland soil.

maintain full activity in religious and civic affairs when one lived outside the town. For these reasons, as well as the emotional fear of being accused of water piracy, there were, in the Mormon culture of the nineteenth century, definite social disadvantages and disrepute attached to residing outside the village. Youth and impudence were requirements for outlivers to live on the Bench. They did not regard the opinion of the city fathers nor the establishment with the same esteem as the older generation. Their brashness and strength prepared them to make it on their own, outside the village. Perhaps their move beyond the outskirts of town was one of necessity in order to find a place to raise their new family. Village property had already been settled and allocated, which made building lots hard to come by, unless your family was among the village elite or wealthy. Homestead property, selling for \$1.25 an acre, was likely less expensive than the smaller, more revered town sites.

The resident outsiders were a more disparate group who came to Highland for assorted reasons. They are middle-aged, not as old as non-resident outlivers, but not as young as resident outlivers (see Appendix D). Some of the younger outsiders were seeking a place to start a family, while older ones were looking for a place to start over. As far as we know they were all Mormon converts, but a couple of them had been through a falling out with the Church, such as, John Pool and George Myers, before they came to Highland. After moving to Highland and fighting with surrounding

communities over water, some were driven even further from the Church such as Pool and Edward Winn. Most of these fifteen outsiders were transient, they were not persisters. It is impossible to determine their length of stay in Highland. Twelve of the fifteen received their patent before 1890 (had the federal census of 1890 not been destroyed, it would have been of great assistance in trying to determine the length of time these outsiders stayed in Highland,) but only two lived on the Bench after the nineteenth century, George Myers and Edward Winn. The transient rate in Highland was extremely high, an indication that many of the resident outsiders were speculators. These transients were continually looking for the proverbial "greener grass," and when Highland did not produce it, they moved on, hoping to find some place that did.

The historical records are scant on many of these original homesteaders, their length of stay in Highland, and where they went has been lost to history. But before their departure, they must have felt the general disdain towards them from citizens in surrounding communities, who regarded them as outside intruders. The first settlers assuredly experienced the hard work of clearing the rocky, sage brush covered land, and the challenge of growing crops with a shortage of water. Therefore, it did not take many of them long to decide that other valleys or benches would be more receptive and productive.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND AFTERMATH

Almost from its inception in 1830, the Mormon Church sanctioned separate, segregated settlements. Commencing in Kirtland, Ohio, members of the Church were encouraged to physically gather together and live in close proximity. Amid persecution they fled to Missouri in hopes of establishing Zion, a communal order seen in vision by the Prophet Joseph Smith. From this time forward every community established by the Church was patterned after the Holy City. Close-knit communities, it was believed, would facilitate the Saints' physical and spiritual preparation for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

After the death of Joseph Smith, Mormons migrated to the Great Basin in 1847. Under the strong leadership of Brigham Young, the building of Zion was reenacted over and over again, with the establishment of each new community, beginning with Salt Lake City. These homogeneous communities have individually become known by historians and sociologists as the "Mormon village." The Church hierarchy earnestly encouraged this confined style of settlement which allotted the construction of homes in tight neighborhoods; spacious farms and fields were located outside the city

limits. From 1847 to 1869 the Church controlled the land laws and the administration of practically all land transactions. However, this changed when in 1869 the Homestead Act of 1862 finally became recognized as law in Utah. This Act, along with the coming of the railroad, had an impact on the future colonization pattern of Utah. Saints and Gentiles were no longer obligated to the Church for their land holdings. An out-migration away from the village to isolated homesteads ensued.

Highland, Utah, was an appealing place for homesteaders to locate. Situated near the mouth of the American Fork Canyon, and wedged between the established communities of Lehi, American Fork, and Alpine, the Bench of Highland appeared to offer plenty of land and water, while the nearby villages carried sufficient supplies for subsistence. However, when outsiders began to build homes, and plant crops using water from either the mountain streams or man-made ditches, it quickly became evident that homesteaders were not held in high esteem by villagers.

A social stigma existed in the surrounding communities towards residents on the Bench. This is evidenced by examining the original thirty-seven homesteaders on the Bench. Out of these thirty-seven, seventeen did not reside on their property. The non-resident homesteader was typically older and well established in one of the surrounding communities. They were individualistic, but not village dissenters. Investing in bench land was not opposed or viewed as a threat by neighboring citizens, but residing there

proved to be a different story.

A second evidence of the stigma that existed is shown by the large percentage of resident homesteaders who came from outside the area. Only five out of the first twenty residents on the Bench came from the three neighboring villages, and four of them were from the smallest of the three towns--Alpine, the only town upstream from Highland. Highland was not an expansion or overflow community; it was an unusual settlement, colonized primarily by an aberrant group of outsiders who took advantage of the arrival of the railroad and the homestead laws in Utah.

The settlers of Highland did not represent the "Who's who" of Mormons, they were not prominent pioneers. They were tough autonomists, seeking to establish a place of their own, with little regard for the spirit of community, as defined by the Church. After moving to the Bench, their scattered condition made it difficult to cultivate any community sense or awareness. The first Highland residents did not enjoy the same bonds of brotherhood and kinship which characterized the homogeneous Mormon village. Any solidarity which existed among the early settlers on the Bench was probably the result of uniting to fight surrounding communities for water.

Highland developed a social order that allowed enormous turnover, yet it was able to maintain continuity through a small core of stable residents. George Myers, Edward Winn, Stephen Moyle, Jacob Beck, Peter

Beck, and Hyrum Healey were resident homesteaders who not only prepared foundations for their homes, but for an eventual community.

In 1888, a little red school house was constructed on the property homesteaded by John Hegan. Four years later, the Mormon Church organized a small ecclesiastical congregation of Saints, called a Branch. The order of these events provides another example of the deviance in Highland's establishment. In almost all other communities the church was built first, and school was conducted during the week in the church, but in Highland church was held on Sunday in the school. This important, centrally located building, stimulated social gatherings and local interactions more frequently. Around the turn of the century new residents arrived on the Bench who developed a keen sense of community pride. Many of their descendants still reside in Highland today (1992), on property which has belonged to the family for decades. These newcomers who moved to Highland after many of the original homesteaders had left, became the nucleus around which the town has developed in the last ninety-two years.

A retrospective view of Highland's history suggests there are chains of continuity--common threads that bind her past with the present. The first residents who moved on the Bench desired to separate themselves from the established villages. They were seeking autonomy, space and solitude, a different social structure not available in most Utah, pre-twentieth century communities. People continue, even now, to move to Highland for the same

reason--to detach themselves from the sociality and hubbub of larger towns and cities. Highland is the only community in Utah to have a city ordinance limiting the availability of cable television.¹⁹⁶ Certain channels, such as MTV, are perceived by the city to be an impingement on the moral environment of the community. Also Highland zoning ordinances currently prohibit any business development within the city limits. Present Highland residents do not want their community to become a commercialized center of activity like many other nearby towns. Highland residents continue to reflect a distinctive characteristic of retrenchment from the more ordinary communities of our day.

Early residents of Highland could not have subsisted on the Bench without using water from other communities' ditches, or at least enlarging or connecting with ditches that had already been built. Today, Highland continues to be dependent for certain basic services from surrounding communities, which sometimes leads to conflict and controversy, not completely unlike the water wars in years past. Cemetery plots, fire¹⁹⁷ and police¹⁹⁸ protection, garbage and sewer systems, library services¹⁹⁹,

¹⁹⁶"Highland Exercising Right to Limit Cable Programming," Deseret News, (Salt Lake City), March 21, 1991, B-1.

¹⁹⁷"Highland Receives American Fork Fire Protection," American Fork Citizen, October 29, 1986.

¹⁹⁸"Highland to Stay With Alpine Police," American Fork Citizen, August 15, 1988.

¹⁹⁹"Highland Resolves Issues, Pays Library Bill," American Fork Citizen, February 3, 1988.

and recreation programs²⁰⁰ would not be available to Highland residents if they were not purchased, shared, or contracted out, either privately or publicly with other municipalities. As Highland continues to grow the town becomes more self-reliant. There has not been any recent contention with Lehi over water, but currently, Highland and American Fork are in a "quandary" over a boundary dispute.²⁰¹

In 1978, one hundred and four years after John and Sarah Pool with their family became the first residents, Highland was incorporated. John and Sarah probably never visualized a city on the Bench. If they had, they may have never come. But the Pools' independent spirit and autonomous attitude continue to be hallmarks of the community they never realized they had originated. The first family of fifteen has now grown into a thriving city of five thousand.

²⁰⁰ " 'American Fork Can't Subsidize Other Cities,' Says City Recreation Director," American Fork Citizen, September 18, 1991.

²⁰¹ "American Fork / Highland Boundary Has City in a Quandary," American Fork Citizen, June 10, 1992.

Appendix A

Occupations of Male Heads of Households Highland, 1880 & 1900

Occupation	1880		1900	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Farmer	13	61.8	29	90.7
Farmer and Doctor	1	4.8		
Farmer and Miner	3	14.2		
Stock Raiser	1	4.8		
Day Laborer	1	4.8	1	3.1
Mason			1	3.1
Fruit Grower			1	3.1
Teamster	1	4.8		
Flour Miller	1	4.8		
TOTALS	<u>21</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: Homestead Plat Book, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, Utah

Utah County Assessment Rolls, Provo, Utah

U.S. Manuscript Census, 1880 & 1900

Appendix B

**Ages of Highland's Total Population
1880 & 1900**

	1880		1900	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Children (0-19)	43	48.9	118	60.5
Young (20-39)	30	34.1	39	20.0
Middle (40-59)	13	14.8	31	15.9
Elderly (60+)	2	2.2	7	3.6
TOTALS	<u>88</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>195</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census

1880: Alpine, American Fork, Utah County

1900: Highland Precinct, Utah County

Appendix C

Birthplaces of Highland Heads of Households 1880 & 1900

Birthplace	1880		1900	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
England	12	57.1	8	25.0
Denmark	3	14.4	3	9.4
Sweden			1	3.1
Holland			1	3.1
Scotland	1	4.8	3	9.4
Canada			1	3.1
New York	1	4.8	1	3.1
North Carolina			2	6.4
Pennsylvania			1	3.1
Massachusetts			1	3.1
Missouri			1	3.1
Iowa	1	4.8	1	3.1
Wyoming			1	3.1
Utah	3	14.4	7	21.9
TOTAL	<u>21</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, 1880 & 1900

APPENDIX D
1860-1900
Census History of Highland Homesteaders
Residents

NAMES	1860	1870	1880	1900	Outsiders/ Outlivers
Jacob Beck		Alpine	Highland*	Highland	Outliver
Peter Beck		Alpine	Highland*	Highland	Outliver
Franklin T. Gray		Lehi	Highland*	?	Outliver
John C. Hart		?	Highland*	?	Outsider
Hyrum Healey		Alpine	Highland*	(deceased)	Outliver
John Hegan		?	Highland*	?	Outsider
William Householder		?	Highland*	?	Outsider
Minnie Jenkins		Ogden	Highland*	S.L.C.	Outsider
Stephen Moyle		?	Highland*	Highland	Outliver
George C. Munns		?	?	?	Outsider
George Myers	S.L.C.	S.L.C.	Highland*	Highland	Outsider
John Pool		Ogden	Highland*	(moved)	Outsider
Albert Preece	S.L.C.	?	Highland*	?	Outsider
John Heber Preece	S.L.C.	?	Highland*	?	Outsider
James F. Pullen	Payson	?	Highland*	Am. Fork	Outsider
Harry Savill		?	Highland*		Outsider
Edwin Sawyer		?	Highland*		Outsider
Peter Smith		?	?	Highland	Outsider
Edward Winn			Highland*		Outsider
Edward W. Winn			Highland*		Outsider

*Highland does not receive a separate designation on the Census until after 1900, but these families were living on the Bench, even though they are listed on the Census in American Fork or Alpine.

Source: Federal Manuscript Census

**APPENDIX D (Cont.)
1860-1900
Census History of Highland Homesteaders
Non-Residents**

NAMES	1860	1870	1880	1900	Outsiders/ Outlivers
Arza Adams	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	(deceased)	Outliver
Alexander Adamson	(In Sanpete Co.?)	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	(deceased)	Outliver
Richard Baker			Salt Lake City	(moved or deceased?)	Outsider
Hannah Briggs	Lehi	Lehi	Lehi	(deceased)	Outliver
William Brown		Alpine	Alpine	Alpine	Outliver
George L. Comer		Lehi	Lehi	Lehi	Outliver
William Chadwick		Lehi	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Outliver
George Cunningham	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Outliver
James Davis	Lehi	Lehi	(moved or deceased)		Outliver
Lewis Davis			Salt Lake City	(moved or deceased?)	Outsider
James Freestone	Alpine	Alpine	Alpine	(moved)	Outliver
Edward Harrison		Lehi	Lehi	Lehi	Outliver
Richard Healey			Alpine	Alpine	Outliver
Nils Heiselt	Pl. Grove	Pl. Grove	Pl. Grove	(moved or deceased?)	Outliver
James W. McDaniel		Alpine	Alpine	(moved)	Outliver
George D. Robinson	Am. Fork	?	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Outliver
George Spratley	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	Am. Fork	(deceased)	Outliver

Source: Federal Manuscript Census

Appendix E

Average age of non-resident outlivers when homestead was finalized.

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR HOMESTEAD RECEIVED	AGE WHEN HOMESTEAD FINALIZED
Arza Adams	1804	1875	71
Alexander Adamson	1837	1892	53
Hannah Briggs	1822	1878	56
William Brown	1843	1882	39
William Chadwick	1848	1900	52
George Comer	1855	1887	32
George Cunningham	1840	1885	45
James Davis	1804	1885	81
James Freestone	1841	1887	46
Edward Harrison	1856	1887	31
Richard Healey	1868	1902	34
Nils Heiselt	1832	1883	51
James McDaniel	1846	1883	37
George Robinson	1800	1882	84
George Spratley	<u>1813</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>69</u>
AVERAGES	1834	1886	52

**Average age of resident outlivers when
homestead was finalized.**

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR HOMESTEAD RECEIVED	AGE WHEN HOMESTEAD FINALIZED
Jacob Beck	1850	1884	34
Peter Beck	1851	1896	45
Hyrum Healey	1852	1890	38
Stephen Moyle	1840	1881	41
Franklin Gray	<u>1850</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>32</u>
AVERAGES	1848.6	1886.6	38

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Arrangements are being made to deposit these tapes with Highland City so that they will be available for future research on Highland's history.

Aberrant Mormon Settlers:
The Homesteaders of Highland, Utah

David T. Durfey

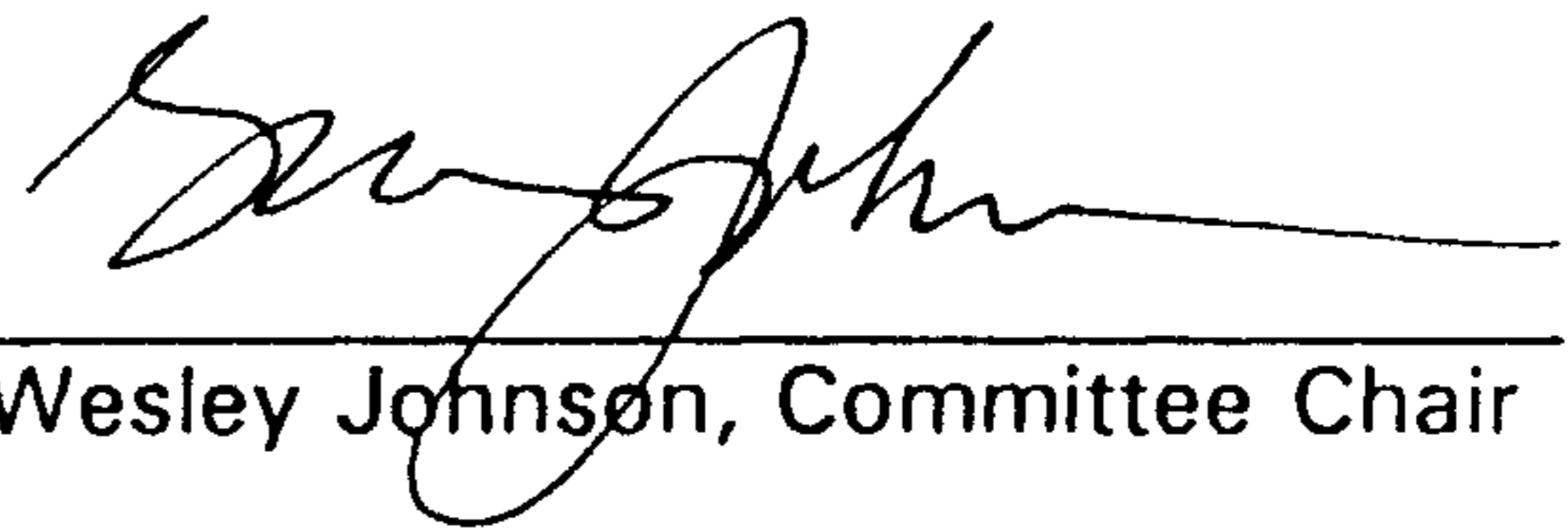
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M.A. Degree, December 1992

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a history of the original thirty-seven homesteaders of Highland, Utah. It covers a period of about twenty-five years, 1875 - 1900. The study provides an example of a aberrant community which was not established in the same, distinctive style of settlement as the typical Mormon village. In addition it describes the relationship between the original residents and non-residents of Highland with the surrounding villages of Lehi, American Fork, and Alpine.

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