PATRICK EDWARD CONNOR
"FATHER" OF UTAH MINING

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
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Master of Arts

by
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PREFACE

Any work pertaining to Utah history between the years 1862 to 1866 usually contains writings concerning Patrick Edward Connor. Many such publications mention the military career of General Connor in detail as it is related to the history of Utah Territory. Almost all the works claim Connor was the Father of Utah Mining, but only a few present any details to support that statement.

In the writing of this thesis the author has attempted to present evidence from primary and secondary sources that may indicate that Connor perhaps deserves the title of "Father" of Utah Mining because of his great interest in mining and because he used every means private or governmental to promote mining in Utah.

This evidence is in the form of actual methods Connor used to promote mining and a list of the many investments he made personally in mining companies, mines, tunnels, furnaces, smelters, and water facilities.

The author is deeply indebted to Dr. Eugene Campbell, Chairman of the History Department, Brigham Young University, for his help in the selection of the topic and his encouragement and guidance during the research and writing of the thesis.
Appreciation is expressed for the fine cooperation the author received from the Brigham Young University Library, the University of Utah Library, the Utah State Historical Society, the Office of the Church Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the County Clerk's office of Salt Lake County and the County Clerk's office of Tooele County.

Also the author wishes to express appreciation to Jonice Johnson and Mrs. Ann Spackman for typing, to Jay Fox who read and helped correct the manuscript, to Mrs. Doris H. Herrick who spent many hours in typing the final copies and last but not least to my wife, Jewell, whose help and cooperation made this work possible.

William Fox
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CHAPTER I

CONNOR COMES TO UTAH

Early Life of Patrick Edward Connor

Patrick Edward Connor was born near the lakes of Killarney in County Kerry, Ireland, on March 17, 1820.1 Little, if anything, is known of his early childhood in Ireland. According to his biographer, Fred B. Rogers, Connor left very few unofficial writings.2 The records of the Adjutant General in the state of California, reveal only the barest facts concerning his birth and they contain nothing relative to his boyhood. In 1836, at the age of sixteen, Connor was brought to New York with his parents. While in New York he had very little opportunity for schooling and received only a limited education. He was forced to work at an early age because his parents were in poverty. His father was described as "a penniless exile."3

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3 Sutton, loc. cit.
Three years after his arrival in New York, Patrick Edward O'Connor\(^4\) enlisted in the Regular Army as a private and served in the Seminole War in Florida.\(^5\) He was described as having blue eyes, brown hair, a fair complexion, and stood five feet and one-half inches tall.\(^6\) Connor saw service at Fort Leavenworth, Fort Atkinson, and Fort Sandford in Iowa Territory. He remained at Fort Sandford until May 17, 1843, at which time the fort was abandoned. As a member of Company I of the First Draggons, which was ordered to the junction of the Des Moines and Racoon Rivers, he helped in the building of the second Fort Des Moines.\(^7\) While at this station his term of service expired and he was honorably discharged from the Army on November 28, 1844.\(^8\)

**Mexican War Period**

In this same year, 1844, Connor returned to New York and entered civilian life as an employee in a mercantile

\(^4\)Irma Watson Hance and Irene Warr, *Johnston, Connor, and the Mormons* (Published in commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of Fort Douglas, Utah, October 22, 1962), p. 22. The authors indicate that on Connor's first enlistment papers he used the surname of O'Connor, but after his first five year term he signed up with the Texas Volunteers in 1846 using the name of Connor, sometimes spelled Conner. He was known by the Connor spelling thereafter.


\(^7\)Rogers, *loc. cit.*

\(^8\)Ibid.
house. Apparently the call to arms at the beginning of the trouble with Mexico was too great for Connor to deny because he left New York in 1846 and traveled to Texas. Here, in response to General Zachary Taylor's call for Texas volunteers to fight the Mexicans, he offered his services to the United States Army on May 6, 1846. As a Texas volunteer he fought in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, May 8 and 9. On these dates Connor was serving as First Lieutenant of a detachment of riflemen under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. This regiment was released by Texas and was mustered in the United States Army.

Connor re-entered the service with his regiment July 7, 1846, at Galveston, Texas as First Lieutenant of a detachment of Texas Foot Riflemen. This detachment was later known as Company A, First Regiment, Texas Foot Riflemen. His enlistment was to serve for a six month period during the Mexican War.

It was desired by the War Department that this regiment of volunteers sign for an additional six months service or be disbanded, and so a vote was taken among the volunteers to determine their desires. The vote revealed that

9 Johnson and Malone, loc. cit. However, War Department records fail to show this evidence.

10 Biography of Patrick Edward Connor; Powder River Expedition 1865, Galley I. (This is a galley proof of an Army report presented to the Brigham Young University Library Special Collections by Dr. LeRoy Hafen.)
the majority wished to disband. Therefore on August 4, 1846, at Fork Polk, Point Isabel, Texas, Connor was honorably discharged and mustered out of the service.\textsuperscript{11} Connor, however, desiring to remain in the service re-enrolled August 4, 1846, the same day he was discharged. He was mustered into the service at Camargo, Mexico, on September 1, 1846, to serve twelve months as First Lieutenant in Captain Charles A. Seefield's Company of Texas Volunteers.\textsuperscript{12}

Seefield's company was part of General Wool's Army of the Center, which was to invade Chihuahua via San Antonio. On February 12, 1847, Connor was promoted to the rank of Captain of the company and the organization became known as Captain Connor's Company.\textsuperscript{13}

On February 22, 1847, General Taylor's command faced the larger army of Santa Anna. As part of that army Connor helped engage the Mexican forces at the battle of Buena Vista. On the second day of the battle, the 23rd, Connor's force had been cut off by a large Mexican company and had to fight their way out with great loss.\textsuperscript{14} On this day Connor was severely wounded in the left hand, but remained on the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{11}]Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{12}]Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{13}]Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{14}]Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 3.
\end{footnotes}
field. He was cited in a war office dispatch from General Taylor for conspicuous bravery in action.  

Activities in California 1850 - 1861

After the victories won by Zachary Taylor lessened the probability of further important engagements with the Mexicans and because Connor suffered with rheumatism, he resigned from the army and was honorably discharged on May 24, 1847, at a camp near Monterey, Mexico.  

Sometime after the close of the war, and at the beginning of the gold rush to California, Connor left Mexico and reached California January 22, 1850.  

After reaching California, Connor tried mining at the headwaters of the Trinity River. He attempted a settlement at the mouth of this river and headed an expedition to discover its source in March, 1850. The expedition was not successful. In March, 1851, he attempted an overland expedition to the river, but was forced to turn toward Humboldt Bay after reaching the Eel River. From Humboldt Bay he cut a trail through the Redwoods to Big Bar on the Trinity River.

15 Sutton, op. cit., p. 709.
16 Johnson and Malone, loc. cit.
17 Dwyer, loc. cit.
In May of 1852 Patrick Connor became a member of a select group of twenty men known as the California Rangers. This group was organized by the State Legislature for the purpose of apprehending the bandit Joaquin Murrieta and his followers. In July, 1852, this bandit was pursued, found, and suffered "ten or eleven wounds before he was fatally shot by Connor."\(^\text{19}\)

In 1854 Connor obtained a surveying contract from the Surveyor General of California, Jack Hayes. This contract called for the survey of the Kern River District and the area near Buena Vista lakes. Before leaving to conduct a survey he married Miss Johanna Connor, a native of his own County Kerry, Ireland. The marriage took place on August 14, 1854.\(^\text{20}\)

\(^\text{19}\)Hance and Warr, op. cit., p. 23.

\(^\text{20}\)Johnson and Malone, loc. cit. Johanna Connor was no blood relation to Patrick Connor. The Dictionary of American Biography places the marriage at Redwood City, California, but Robert Dwyer, already cited in the work, places it at St. Francis' Church, San Francisco.

Irma Hance and Irene Warr, also previously cited, state that from this marriage came three sons. They give the names of two: Maurice Joseph, born March 19, 1861, and died August 7, 1903, and Patrick Edward, Jr. born June 26, 1866, and died October 12, 1916. In a letter to the Utah State Historical Society by Mrs. Claire W. Nodle, under date July 15, 1939, the names of two more sons are revealed: Eugene Titus born 1869 and Hillary Grant born 1873. No death dates were given. It is also an established fact that Connor had one daughter, Katherine Frances, who became Mrs. Bartley P. Oliver. She unveiled the monument to Patrick Connor found at Fort Douglas, Utah. An apparent error occurs in the works of Hance and Warr as they have listed a one Annie May Conner as the wife of General Connor. She was born in Ireland in 1868 and died in March on the third day in the year 1915. If this woman were married to Connor, she was only twenty-three years old when he died in 1891.
Connor and his wife made their home in Stockton, California. While at Stockton from 1854 to 1861, Connor engaged in many aspects of community life. He held offices of public trust such as Postmaster, Secretary of the State Fair, and Treasurer of the San Joaquin Agricultural Society. His business ventures, which were highly successful, included the construction of the city water works from which he received a twenty-year lease on the water from an artesian well completed in 1859, and a contract to build the foundation of the State Capitol at Sacramento. This last venture Connor was unable to fulfill because of his re-entry into the service. It was believed by Rogers that Connor's income exceeded eight thousand per year. The small personal fortune acquired by Connor in California provided the capital, or at least part of it, for later investments of importance in the territory of Utah.

Civil War and the Western Mail Route

In April, 1861, the federal fort in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, was bombarded by confederate soldiers. This act ushered in the era of civil war so dominant in American history. One of the vital links of the North with the West was the overland mail route which had its stations from Missouri in the east and San Francisco in the west.

21 Rogers, op. cit., p. 13.
Before the actual opening of the war in April, 1861, the War Department asked Governor John G. Downey of California for one regiment of infantry and five companies of cavalry to serve three years guarding the mail route from Carson Valley, Nevada, to Fort Laramie, Wyoming. As a result of Governor Downey's call for troops, Patrick Connor offered his services to the governor on August 23, 1861, at San Joaquin County, California. He was mustered into the service September 3, 1861, at Camp McDougal, San Joaquin County, and appointed by Governor Downey as Colonel of the Third Regiment, California Infantry Volunteers. His enlistment was for three years.

Camp McDougal was situated three miles south of the city of Stockton, California. On November 20, 1861, the regiment, less four companies, moved from Camp McDougal to Benicia Barracks, San Francisco Bay.

The four companies, which did not accompany the regiment, remained some time in Humboldt County, California, but later joined it before its departure for Utah Territory. The Third Regiment, California Infantry Volunteers remained at Benicia from November, 1861, to May, 1862, under the command of Colonel Connor.

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22 Rogan, op. cit., p. 8.
23 Biography of Patrick Edward Connor, loc. cit.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
On May 26, 1862, Colonel Connor moved his regiment from Benicia Barracks to the Fair Grounds at Stockton, California. This action was in preparation for orders to move his unit to Salt Lake City as he and his regiment were chosen to guard the overland mail route in that area.

The regiment spent the 4th of July, 1862, in the city of Stockton, and Rogers reports that the committee in charge of the activities paid many bills for wine, lager, and breakage of crockery. 26

On July 5, 1862, General George Wright issued orders to Connor to march with seven companies of his regiment to the vicinity of Salt Lake City. He was to establish a post in Nevada at Ruby Valley for the Second California Cavalry. Colonel Columbus Sims, Commander of the Second California Cavalry at San Francisco, was also ordered to leave with his troops of Headquarters Company and Companies K and L by water travel to Sacramento, California. From Sacramento Sims was to travel through Henness Pass in the Sierra-Nevadas and report to Connor on the eastern side of the mountains. 27

Under Connor's report of July 12, 1862, he stated that he started from Camp Halleck at nine o'clock in the morning. His march that day would take him to Camp No. 1, seven miles north of Stockton. He mentions he had forty-five teams pulling wagons loaded with three thousand pounds

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26 Rogers, op. cit., p. 20.
27 Rogan, op. cit., p. 19.
each. Hance and Warr report Connor's strength at seven hundred fifty men, while an article in the Deseret News of June 25, 1862, reports his strength at one thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, a field battery, one hundred fifty contractor's wagons, seventy army wagons and several hundred head of cattle.

Connor reported his position on July 23, 1862, as being twenty-one miles east of Placerville. He arrived at Fort Churchill in Nevada August 3, 1862, and reported his men in excellent health and spirits. He stated he intended to remain there only long enough to overhaul and repair the wagons and give the animals time to "recruit." It is interesting to note also that Connor reported that the territory was filled with Southern rebels and commented that they were "loud mouthed brawlers" before his arrival, but they were "very careful in the expressions of such sentiments" during his stay. Connor did not state if these people were from the north or south or if they were the Mormons living in Nevada at that time. As a result of this observation Connor's first order as commander of the District of Utah

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29 Hance and Warr, op. cit., p. 27.
30 Deseret News (Salt Lake City), June 25, 1862.
31 War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 36.
32 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
enjoined loyalty upon the citizens and intimated that he would arrest anyone found guilty of uttering disloyal sentiments.\textsuperscript{35}

Colonel Sims arrived at Fort Churchill, Nevada, on August 11, 1862. Connor's report of the same date reveals that the men and the majority of the officers were in a state of insubordination. Sims had lost thirty men by desertion.\textsuperscript{34} The reasons for such a state of affairs in Colonel Sims command will be discussed shortly.

Connor remained at Fort Churchill until August 15, 1862, at which time he marched to Ruby Valley located in eastern Nevada Territory. General George Wright's report to General L. Thomas, Adjutant-General U. S. Army, Washington, D.C., dated September 1, 1862, indicates that Colonel Connor departed from Fort Churchill with seven companies of Third Infantry California Volunteers and three companies of Second Cavalry and would reach Ruby Valley on that same day, September 1.\textsuperscript{35} Connor's report dated September 2, 1862, indicates he did arrive on September 1 and that he would leave for Salt Lake by stage in three days. His command would not move until his return.\textsuperscript{36} After their arrival at

\textsuperscript{33}Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, August 18, 1862, p. 1; War of the Rebellion, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{34}War of the Rebellion, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 60-61.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., p. 95.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., p. 97.
Ruby Valley the troops began the construction of Fort Ruby. At this time the troops, as well as the Mormons, were concerned about the arrival of an army into Utah Territory.

**Soldier-Mormon Feelings Concerning Volunteers Movement to Utah**

Concerning the feelings of the troops about entering Salt Lake Valley, in Utah territory, it has already been stated that the men under Colonel Sims command were in a state of insubordination and desertion when they arrived at Fort Churchill on August 11, 1862. Whitney states that the orders to move to Utah were disappointing and a matter of chagrin to Colonel Connor and his men. He further indicates that while Connor's duties were to protect the mail routes and keep the Indians in check, the real reason was to "watch and overawe the Mormon people" whose loyalty the Secretary of War doubted. The volunteers, who had desired to serve their country by fighting in the war, were slighted and insulted by the duties they were called upon to perform.

Further evidence of this attitude portrayed by the soldiers is found in the following communication from Connor to Major-General Halleck dated September 24, 1862:

> The Third Infantry California Volunteers has been in service one year and marched 600 miles; it is well officered and thoroughly drilled; it is of no service on the Overland Mail Route, as there is cavalry sufficient

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37Rogan, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

for its protection in Utah District. The regiment will authorize the paymaster to withhold $30,000 of pay now due if the Government will order it east, and it pledges General Halleck never to disgrace the flag, himself, or California. The men enlisted to fight traitors, and can do so more effectually than raw recruits, and ask that they may at least be placed on the same footing in regard to transportation east. If the above sum is insufficient we will pay our own passage from San Francisco to Panama.\(^{39}\)

Such a request certainly showed the intentions of the men of the Third Regiment in their desires to fight for the Union.

How the Mormons felt about the army coming to Utah was centered mainly on the reasons for ordering the command into their territory.

Rogen quoted Dwyer as saying that guarding the mail was important, but important also was the fact that the nation could not tolerate separatism, or talk of separatism. He also stated that the people of Utah had petitioned for and had been refused statehood in July 1862 and that rumors of separatism in Utah and statements by the religious leaders of the Mormon people could not be ignored by the officials in Washington. Dwyer indicates that during the Civil War conflict Lincoln's administration could take no chances with the Mormons, "hence, Camp Douglas was founded under color of protection for the Overland Trail."\(^{40}\) The loyalty of the Mormons was in question.

\(^{39}\) War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 133.

\(^{40}\) Rogan, op. cit., p. 9.
Orson F. Whitney describes the loyalty of the Mormon people by showing their patriotism during the July 4th celebration of 1861 and states that this was significant in view of accusations that Utah favored secession. Rogan quotes John Taylor, then an apostle in the Mormon church, to show that the church did not favor secession nor did they wholeheartedly show support for the Union cause. The quote is reproduced in full:

Shall we join the North to fight against the South? No! Shall we join the South against the North? As emphatically, no! Why? They are both, as before shown, brought it upon themselves, and we have had no hand in the matter . . . . We know no North, no South, no East, no West; we abide strictly and positively by the Constitution, and cannot by the intrigues or sophisms of either party, be cajoled into any other attitude.⁴¹

A statement given by Brigham Young after Connor's troops had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley indicates that Brigham Young felt insulted and in some measure portrayed Mormon hostility toward the California Volunteers:

Now, right in the time of war there could not be a greater insult offered, nor one of a higher character than the Government have already offered to this corporation by locating that army within the limits of the corporation without asking leave. And then after doing this, tell this community that they must take an oath of allegiance before they can be allowed to sell anything to the army . . . . Let them come and say, "Will you sell me a bushel of potatoes?" Then comes the answer, "Do you want me to take the oath of Allegiance?" If you do, go to hell for your potatoes.⁴²

⁴¹Ibid., p. 11.
⁴²Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 30, 1862, pp. 1-2.
Yet in spite of this later hostility it is interesting to note the following as recorded in the *Journal of the History of the Church*:

Tuesday August 12, 1862. The day was warm in G. S. L. City. President Young sent teams to take flour to Colonel Conner's Command.\(^{43}\)

This date would place Connor's command at Fort Churchill, having arrived there on August 3, 1862, and remaining until August 15, 1862.

CHAPTER II

ESTABLISHMENT OF CAMP DOUGLAS

**Connor's Reconnaissance of Salt Lake City and Vicinity**

Colonel Connor arrived at Ruby Valley on September 1, 1862. After his arrival he set his men to building a fort which would take the same name as the valley. Three days later he journeyed to Salt Lake City in Utah territory by stage to inspect the route east and to note conditions in Salt Lake City in regard to the Mormon attitude toward the army. He also wanted to determine a suitable location for an army camp.

Connor was given no specific instructions on a camp site selection except that it was to be in the vicinity of Salt Lake City. One place considered as a post to garrison the troop was Camp Crittenden, formerly called Camp Floyd. This camp was located several miles southwest of Salt Lake City in Cedar Valley. However, it had been sold to private interests after the departure from Utah of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston.

According to Connor's report, dated September 14, 1862, his stay of about ten days in Salt Lake and vicinity was very rewarding. He stated that the knowledge he gained
as a result of the trip would save his command much suffering for want of water. He described the territory between Fort Ruby and Salt Lake Valley as an alkali desert scarce of wood and water. In his report he mentioned that it was impossible to describe what he heard and saw in Salt Lake concerning the Mormons, but stated that he "found them a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics, and whores."44

Connor noted that the Mormons rejoiced when reverses came to his command and since they regarded Brigham Young as the real governor in Utah that they thanked God that the American government was gone. He claimed that Brigham Young and Mormon bishops preached treason from their pulpits. Concerning the power of Brigham Young, Connor reported that he "rules with despotic sway, and death by assassination is the penalty of disobedience to his commands."45 Because Connor had this attitude toward the Mormons, he was determined to act with prudence and firmness.

As one reason for the journey to Salt Lake City was to find a suitable location for a post, Connor examined the countryside for that purpose. He found Fort Crittenden in ruins, except for a few buildings located there. Some buildings, in good repair, were owned by the Overland Mail Company. These, however, were not for sale. Connor reported

44*War of the Rebellion*, op. cit., p. 119.
that if a post were located at Camp Crittenden most of the buildings would have to be torn down and removed.

Since this camp site required much work and repair and since the private owners asked fifteen thousand dollars for their interests, Connor gave a negative report of the area. Also another argument against the place as being suitable was that it was located near a small village inhabited by a class of persons of questionable character.\footnote{Ibid. 46} After discussing the good and bad aspects of Camp Crittenden, Connor recommended another site.

This new site was located on a plateau about three miles from the city of Salt Lake. Within its vicinity he found good timber, saw mills, and a place to purchase hay, grain, and other produce. The most outstanding quality of this new location was that it was a place which commanded the city, and where one thousand troops would be more efficient than three thousand on the other side of the Jordan.\footnote{Ibid. 47}

Connor encouraged the consideration of the last mentioned quality and stated that if permission were given to locate on the plateau he intended to quietly intrench his position and then say to the Saints of Utah, "enough of your treason." The closing ideas of Connor's report are significant because they reveal what the Mormons suspected concern-
ing the government's motives in sending Connor's command to Utah:

... but if it is intended that I shall merely protect the overland mail and permit the Mormons to act and utter treasons, then I had as well locate near the city. The Governor especially is very urgent in this matter... It is raining here now, and snowing on the surrounding mountains. It is important that I should know the general's decision as soon as possible, as winter is fast approaching.\textsuperscript{48}

Instructions were given by General George Wright that Connor was to occupy the new site rather than Camp Crittenden.

\textbf{The McGarry Expedition}

Connor's command remained at Ruby Valley, Nevada, for one month. During this time Connor had an occasion to send Major Edward McGarry on an expedition against guerrillas and hostile Indians believed to be involved in the murder of emigrants in the vicinity of the Humboldt in Nevada. His orders of September 29, 1862, are as follows:

\textbf{MAJOR:} You will proceed hence to-morrow morning with Company H, of your regiment, to the confluence of the South Fork with the main Humboldt River, and there await until joined by Captain Smith's company (k), of your regiment. On the route thence you will examine every valley or place where you have reason to believe guerrillas or hostile Indians are congregated, whom you will capture; but if they resist you will destroy them. In no instance will you molest women or children. If on the route to Humboldt friendly Indians deliver to you Indians who were concerned in the late murder of emigrants, you will (being satisfied of their guilt) immediately hang them, and leave their bodies thus exposed as an example of what evil-doers may expect while I command this district. When you are joined by Captain Smith's

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid.
company you will proceed by the northern overland route via City of Rocks to a point about ten miles north of Salt Lake City, where you will leave your command and report to me in person if I am in the vicinity of the city. If not, await further orders at the point designated. On the route from South Fork of Humboldt to Bear River you will spare no pains to discover the whereabouts of a band of traitors or guerrillas reported to be encamped in the vicinity of Humboldt, and who are believed to be the instigators, if not the participants, in the late Indian murders. If you should discover such a band you will take them prisoners and convey them to headquarters near Salt Lake, but if they should resist you will destroy them without mercy. You will also destroy every male Indian whom you may encounter in the vicinity of the late massacres. This course may seem harsh and severe, but I desire that the order may be rigidly enforced, as I am satisfied that in the end it will prove the most merciful. 49

Major McGarry joined Connor on October 28, 1862, after the latter had established Camp Douglas near Salt Lake City. His report indicated that during the expedition the men under his command had killed twenty-four male Indians, captured fifteen braves, two squaws, and one child. The squaws and child were later released.

The March from Ruby Valley to Camp Crittenden

Colonel Connor's report of October 1, 1862, to Major R. C. Drum, his superior, reveals that one reason for his delay in moving to Camp Crittenden from Ruby Valley was because of the non-arrival of supplies to his command. Indicating in this same report that some supplies had arrived,

49 Ibid., p. 144.
he started to move from Fort Ruby on October 2, 1862, to his destination.\textsuperscript{50}

He stated that since arriving at Ruby Valley he had had sufficient timber cut and hauled to erect winter quarters, a store-house, and other facilities for Companies C and F of his regiment to remain at Fort Ruby. He next requested money from headquarters to be delivered as soon as possible as he would be compelled to purchase forage and beef from the Mormons.

He said that the people of Utah were under the impression that he would winter at Fort Crittenden. He also reported that he received a letter informing him that the Mormons, under Brigham Young's orders, cut down and hauled away a government flag pole from Fort Crittenden.

Connor's command arrived in Rush Valley on October 16, 1862. This valley was located several miles south and west of Salt Lake City, Utah. This placed him about twenty miles from Fort Crittenden. Before the actual arrival at the Fort, Connor instructed his men that strict discipline would be maintained and not a cent's worth of property would be taken without full payment for such. He was determined that the mistakes and actions of a few would not plunge the government into a war and he warned his

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., p. 143.
troops of the severity of his punishments toward those violating his orders.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 36-41.}

Traveling across Rush Valley and into Cedar Valley, Connor arrived at Fort Crittenden October 17, 1862. He then sent a report stating that he had "... just arrived," and would "cross the Jordan to-morrow."\footnote{War of the Rebellion, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 180.}

After Connor's arrival at Fort Crittenden rumors started to circulate that if he attempted to cross the Jordan River and enter Salt Lake Valley he would be met with resistance from the Mormons. The origin of these rumors is indeterminable, but probably started after the people at Camp Crittenden learned that Connor did not intend to purchase the property holdings there.

Whitney points out that the idea of resistance may be traced to those disappointed at Connor's failure to purchase property in Cedar Valley. He states that they hoped a threatening display would help change the commander's mind.\footnote{Whitney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 76.} However, "Connor was not the man to be intimidated by a rumor, nor were the Mormons so recreant to sentiments of prudence and loyalty as to offer resistance to a peaceably disposed United States Force."\footnote{Rogan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 35.}
In response to these rumors Connor ordered thirty rounds of ammunition issued to each man and had the artillery equipped with ammunition also. The Deseret News of November 12, 1862, quotes Connor as saying that he would cross the Jordan even if "Hell yawned below him." On October 19, 1862, Connor's command marched toward Salt Lake City.

Connor Enters Salt Lake City

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1862, Connor's command crossed the Jordan River using the bridge erected at the mouth of Little Cottonwood. Not a solitary individual was found on the other side of the river. Because of his desires to avert war, Connor was undoubtedly relieved to find the area lacking any reception party. His troops camped on the east side of the Jordan that night.

The next day, October 20, the troops resumed their march to within two miles of the city. At this point the column was organized to enter the city in the following order: Advance Guard of Cavalry, Colonel Connor and his staff, Cavalry Brass Band, Company A and Company M, Second California Cavalry; Light Battery; Infantry Field Band; Third Infantry Battalion; Staff; Company Quartermasters and

55Deseret News (Salt Lake City), November 12, 1862.
Commissary wagons; Rear Guard of Infantry.\textsuperscript{56} The column was met by Governor Harding and Judges Waite and Drake.

The reception of the troops by the people is described as one given out of universal curiosity of the people. Crowds gathered along the route as the command passed and the troops were greeted with silent interest.\textsuperscript{57} Not a cheer nor a jeer greeted the troops and the only flag flying was atop the executive mansion where Governor Harding would formally welcome the army.

Standing in his buggy, in front of the Governor's mansion, Governor Harding welcomed the soldiers into the territory. He stated he was sure that their mission was one of peace and security to the government as well as to the people of the territory. He attempted to retain himself in good standing with the Mormons as he indicated that he was not aware of their orders, but warned that "if they disregarded discipline or broke the bonds of propriety, he should leave them to their fate."\textsuperscript{58} After the speech and a few cheers for the Governor, the troop proceeded two and one-half miles to the east bench of the valley between Red Butte and Emigration Canyons.

\textsuperscript{56}Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{57}Whitney, \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{58}Rogan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 40.
The Building of Camp Douglas

On October 20, 1862, Connor sent the following communication to Major R. C. Drum: "Just arrived. Encamped on site of new post. Command in good health and discipline." 59

Shortly after this report Connor informed the Adjutant-General, Washington, D. C., in a communication dated November 9, 1862, that he founded a military post in Utah Territory on October 26, 1862. He states that he named it Camp Douglas. 60

His report locates the camp three miles east of Great Salt Lake City, "at the foot and on the west side of a range of mountains which form the divide between Weber River and the Great Salt Lake Valley." 61

As Connor desired, this site was on an elevated spot which commanded a full view of the city. He considered it the most desirable spot for a permanent post because of its elevated position, it was near a plentiful supply of wood and water, and was the center of three roads to California, two to Oregon, and the Overland Mail Route to the east.

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60 A History of Fort Douglas, Intro. by Ted B. Sherwin (Salt Lake City: Fort Douglas, October 8, 1946), p. 3. This mentions that the camp was named after the late Senator A. Douglas at the suggestion of President Lincoln.

61 War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 218.
Concerning the location of the camp, Stenhouse mentions that it was the best possible position and one most offensive to Brigham Young as the artillery had a perfect unobstructed range of his residence. Stenhouse also indicates that shortly after the establishment of Camp Douglas the Mormons had scaffolding erected on the inside of the high walls surrounding Brigham Young's premises to be used to fire down upon the volunteers below. In addition to this a powerful telescope was placed on the Bee-Hive residence to watch the movement of the troops at Camp Douglas.

If these statements made by Stenhouse are true that the Mormons made such preparations, it may be understandable when one considers the many instances of unhappy contact with the government on the part of the Mormons. In the early history of the Mormon Church these people were driven from one area to another by mob violence and they repeatedly petitioned to the governmental officials for redress of their grievances to no avail. Because the civil officials concerned gave little or no support to the Mormons and because they were driven from their homes, the Mormons left the United States in 1847 and journeyed into Mexican territory settling in the Salt Lake Valley.

63 Ibid., p. 604.
CHAPTER III

CONNOR - INDIAN AND MORMON RELATIONS

Early Indian Problems

Shortly after Connor's arrival in Salt Lake Valley he was called upon to subdue some hostile Indians located on the Bear River near present day Franklin, Idaho. These Indians had constantly harassed settlers in that vicinity and had killed several people. The tribes participating in such acts under the leadership of chiefs Bear Hunter, Sagwitch, Sanpitch, Lehi, and Pocatello, were the Bannocks, Shoshones, and Snakes.64 These tribes, or at least part of them, were camped on Valley Creek.

In the latter part of 1862 a group of miners on their way to the Grasshopper gold mines in Dakota were attacked by these Indians near Franklin. One of the survivors of the attack, William Bevins, indicated that his party consisted of nine men and that one was killed and several others wounded.65 He stated that the Indians took property from them valued at $2,000.00.

64 Whitney, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

65 Ibid. Bevins dates the attack on about January 9, 1863. He made his report on January 19, 1863.
Because of this and other evidence presented to the officials in Salt Lake City a warrant was issued by Judge Kinney for the arrest of Bear Hunter, Sandpitch, and Sagwitch. Marshall Isaac L. Gibbs was to serve the warrant and carry out its provisions. Gibbs, realizing the difficulty involved in his duty, asked Patrick Connor for assistance.

Connor responded quickly to the call by sending forty infantrymen of Company K, two howitzers, and fifteen wagons to Bear River. Connor followed later on January 25, 1863, with Companies A, H, K, and M, Second California Cavalry. The troop was accompanied by Marshall Gibbs and Porter Rockwell who acted as Connor's guide. Connor's plan was for the smaller infantry column to move by day and the larger cavalry column to move by night. In this way he hoped the Indians would not be warned and would remain encamped and not flee.

On January 27, 1863, the cavalry overtook the infantry company at Mendon in Cache Valley. They separated once more, but joined each other at Franklin on January 28, 1863. The attack occurred at six in the morning the following day, January 29.

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66 Ibid.
67 Ibid., p. 80.
Connor ordered companies K and M across the river with the purpose of surrounding the Indian camp. The crossing was accomplished but with much difficulty because of the cold water and floating ice. Companies H and A crossed next and joined the other two companies in a frontal attack against the Indians. After twenty minutes of fighting the cavalry was joined by company K of the infantry. With this combined force the army was able to turn the left flank of the Indians and drive them toward the center. At this time the troops began to close from all sides. The battle of about four hours was over by ten in the morning. 69

Whitney reported the Indian dead at two hundred twenty-four which included chiefs Bear Hunter, Lehi, and Sagwitch. However, Sagwitch was not killed at this time. He was killed the following July near Brigham City. Whitney also reported that chiefs Sanpitch and Pocatello escaped along with fifty braves. Whitney estimated the total Indian strength at three hundred. 70 The Stockton Independent reported the Indian dead at two hundred twenty-three out of an Indian force of three hundred. 71 The official communica-

69 Rogers, op. cit., p. 72.

70 Whitney, op. cit., p. 79.

71 Union Vedette (Camp Douglas, Utah), January 27, 1865, p. 1. The Stockton Independent was quoted in this issue of the Union Vedette.
tion dated February 19, 1863, numbered the Indian dead the same as Whitney at two hundred twenty-four.72

Connor's command lost twenty-two out of three hundred according to Whitney. However, the Stockton Independent lists sixty-three dead out of two hundred while the official report records fifteen men killed and four officers and forty-nine men wounded out of a force of two hundred. It also states that six others died after the battle because of wounds sustained there. The report ended with words of commendation for the bravery of both officers and men.73

Opinions on the Bear River Campaign

Various opinions exist concerning the battle of Bear River. Taking the positive side of the story was Whitney who stated that the lesson given to the Indians by Connor was meaningful because it never had to be repeated.74 The Stockton Independent considered Connor's victory as the most successful Indian battle that occurred in America according to the relative numbers engaged.75 Rogers considered it the most successful in the West and stated that after this time the area was free from serious Indian depredations.76 Ghent,

72War of the Rebellion, loc. cit.
73Ibid.
74whitney, op. cit., p. 80.
75Union Vedette, loc. cit.
76Rogers, op. cit., p. 76.
in the Dictionary of American Biography, made the statement that Connor's victory brought peace to the area and opened a region to settlement which had been harassed for fifteen years.77

Taking the negative side of the story was an article written in a newspaper published in Salt Lake City called the Daily Herald:

It occurs to us, as it will to thousands of people familiar with the military career of this same Connor, and acquainted with the manner in which he gained notoriety, that he is one of the last men who should boast of patriotism and bravery. It is neither patriotic nor brace to pounce upon a snow-bound freezing and starving band of Indians and cruelly slaughter bucks, squaws and pappooses [sic.] The traveler to the north is to this day, and will be for generations to come, pointed to the cove on Bear River, "Where Connor massacred the Indians," and never is heard a complimentary word for the hero of the awful butcher. When General Connor talks for the public ear he should be careful to avoid expressions and subjects that are liable to recall events in his career that he of all men should most desire forgotten.78

Concerning the statement found in the article that Connor slaughtered squaws and children, it is interesting to note the quote found in Rogan from a Corporal Tuttle. This quote was taken from the book Soldiers of the Overland. Tuttle was reported as saying that "as soon as the squaws and children saw that the soldiers did not desire to kill them, they came out of the ravine and walked to the rear of

77Johnson and Malone, op. cit., p. 353.

78Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, July 15, 1885, p. 6.
the troops, where they sat down in the snow as a lot of sage
hens."79

The reason for the two conflicting reports may be
understandable when one considers the Mormon-Gentile rela-
tionship in Utah prior to statehood. However, the following
quote comes from Father Dwyer, a Catholic priest. According
to the Mormons he would have been considered a "gentile."

It was an uncalled for and brutal massacre of 224
Indians, most of them in a starving condition, who had
come into the territory in search of food. Connor
undoubtedly shared the contemporary prejudice against
the unfortunate Red men, but this hardly exonerates him
from the charge of unthinking cruelty.80

As a result of his victory over the Indians at Bear
River, Patrick Connor was appointed to the rank of Brigadier
General of Volunteers on March 30, 1863, by Abraham Lincoln
after being recommended for such a promotion by General W. H.
Halleck.81

Connor's Attitude Toward
the Mormons

As already mentioned in this work, after Connor
arrived in Salt Lake City and established Camp Douglas he
required that any Mormon desiring to sell products to the
army must have taken an oath of allegiance to the nation.
His survey trip to Salt Lake prior to the troop movement

79Rogan, op. cit., p. 64.
80Dwyer, op. cit., p. 2.
81Biography of Patrick Edward Connor; Powder River
Expedition, loc. cit.
into the city had convinced him that the Mormons were a community of traitors.\textsuperscript{82}

In a report to his superior, R. C. Drum, dated December 20, 1862, Connor stated that since his arrival in the valley efforts had been made to dissemble his command. He accused Brigham Young of having boasted that he would have Connor driven out of the territory before the next spring. He stated that his sources of information indicated that this proposed action by the Mormons would come about if Utah was not admitted into the Union at that time. Connor reported to Drum that Brigham Young was mounting cannon for the purposes of resisting the government. Connor ended this particular report with the statement that the Mormons had instigated Indian attacks in numerous areas for the purpose of drawing his command out of Salt Lake City.\textsuperscript{83}

Some of the statements given in the foregoing report may have been true. The Mormons were unhappy with the army sending troops into Utah and did desire their immediate withdrawal. However, it is doubtful that they used the tactics reported by Connor concerning Indian degradations. The matter of Brigham Young mounting cannon may also have been true because the Mormons did not trust the army and believed in self protection.

\textsuperscript{82}War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 119.

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., pp. 256-257.
Support was given to Connor's so-called observations of the Mormons by Stephen S. Harding, Governor of Utah Territory. Governor Harding had arrived in Utah in July, 1862.

In a letter written to General George Wright dated February 16, 1863, Harding mentioned that he heard rumors that Connor's command would be removed from Utah and stationed elsewhere. He stated that he could not believe this was true and remarked that anyone knowing the true situation in Utah would never initiate such an order. Harding believed the "true situation" in Utah to be that the Mormons had secret treaties with the Indians. Harding mentioned that if Connor were withdrawn from Utah it would be the last time federal troops would have the privilege of entering the territory. He stated that the Mormons had visited the camps of the band recently annihilated by Connor without fear of being harmed in any way. He closed his letter by suggesting that instead of withdrawing troops that the government should re-enforce Connor's command with two additional regiments as soon as possible. 84

When one considers the remarks given by Governor Harding in his welcoming speech to the volunteers wherein he warned them not to disobey the law or he would leave them to their fate (meaning Mormon retribution) and then examines the contents of the letter just mentioned, it is apparent

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84 Ibid., pp. 314-315.
that Harding was an opportunist with only the security of his personal position as his main interest.

The reversal on the part of Governor Harding from neutral toleration to announced hostility was explained by Neff. He said it came about because of the anti-polygamy act, the Morrisite tragedy of June 1862, and especially because of the coming of Connor with his apparent anti-Mormon attitude. 85 Whitney pointed out that Connor was angry with his assignment of watching the Mormons and took every occasion to engraft his own views on those of Governor Harding, and also on those of Judges Waite and Drake. 86

Apparently some of the generals in the higher commands believed the reports of Connor, Harding, and others because in response to Governor Harding's letter General George Wright sent the following reply:

GOVERNOR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's communication of the 16th instant. I have to assure Your Excellency that so far from there being any design on my part to remove the troops or any portion of them from Utah I am now making preparations to send re-enforcements to Colonel Connor early in the spring. The views which Your Excellency takes of the affairs of Utah are precisely such as I have already communicated to my Government. Some time since I informed the War Department of my design to re-enforce Colonel Connor, setting forth fully the necessity of our maintaining a respectable force in that country. 87

86 Whitney, op. cit., p. 83.
Connor's association with the Mormons was defined as one of suspicious rife on both sides. On the Mormon side was Brigham Young and on the government side was Connor. Both viewed each other with distrust, each was unwilling to concede anything to the other, and each placed an unfavorable interpretation on the words and actions of the other.

Events of March, 1863

In March of 1863 a great deal of excitement occurred in Salt Lake City. Prior to this time Governor Harding had given a speech to the territorial legislature in which he stated that the Mormons had never uttered a word of sympathy for the United States government while in his presence. He mentioned that Congress had enacted a statute prohibiting polygamy and noted that the expression of the people in Utah concerning the act challenged its constitutionality. He said some authorities in Utah recommended that the people disregard it entirely. Harding then warned them against such dangerous and disloyal advice.  

Also, prior to this time a bill was introduced into the United States Senate by Senator O. H. Browning of Illinois. The bill proposed to make the United States marshall responsible for the empaneling of jurors in place of the territorial marshall. It also intended to give the governor complete control over the militia with the power to

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88Rogan, op. cit., p. 89.
commission or remove officers. Part of the bill was intended to limit the jurisdiction of the Probate Courts. 89

Apparently the bill, if enacted, would have jeopardized the Mormon power in Utah. It would have destroyed the Nauvoo Legion as an agency of the Mormon church. Since the territorial marshall, who had been a Mormon appointed by the Mormon controlled legislature would no longer have the power to empanel jurors, Mormons tried for the violation of the anti-polygamy law would probably be convicted.

Because of Harding's speech and the introduction of the Browning bill, the Mormons held several mass meetings to vent their indignation. At one of the meetings the people passed a resolution asking for the resignation of Governor Harding and Judges Drake and Waite. The people also petioned President Lincoln to remove the three men and to bring in honorable replacements. The three men refused to comply with the resolution. Connor reported to R. C. Drum on March 8, 1863, that the Mormons were hard at work making cartridges and had placed a guard of three hundred men around Brigham Young's residence. 90

Later, on March 12, 1863, Connor reported that Brigham Young had raised a flag over his house and immediately fifteen hundred armed men assembled. Connor mentioned that this action was probably taken by Brigham Young out of

89 Ibid., p. 93.
90 War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 342.
fear that he was going to be arrested by the army for speaking words of treason.

An official communication from Colonel Connor to R. C. Drum dated March 15, 1865, described the situation in Utah as he saw it and announced his intended course of action. At the beginning of the report Connor stated the following:

COLONEL: I have the honor to communicate for the information of the general commanding the following facts in relation to the extraordinary proceedings of the people of the Territory during the last twelve days. On Tuesday, the 3d instant, an excited meeting was held in the Mormon tabernacle in Salt Lake City, at which resolutions were passed asking His Excellency Governor Harding, and Associate Justices Drake and Waite, to resign and leave the Territory. The reason they give for this action is that those gentlemen caused a bill to be presented before Congress which they say is inimical to their interests; but I have reason to believe that such is not their real cause of grievance, and that because those gentlemen do not choose to become the tools and creatures of Brigham Young, and follow in the footsteps of ex-Governor Cumming, the present Chief Justice Kinney, and the present Secretary of State, Frank Fuller, is the real cause of this action against them. The latter officers, Messrs. Kinney and Fuller, disgrace their commissions and the Government they represent, and I unhesitatingly assert that while the former, Chief Justice Kinney, holds his office no conviction can be had before his court against a Mormon unless Brigham Young would sanction such conviction. This appears strong language, but the assertions are susceptible of proof and manifest to every resident and loyal citizen of the Territory. On Tuesday, the 3d, and between the hours of 10 p. m. and 3 a. m. of the 4th instant Brigham caused to be removed from the Territorial arsenal to his residence all the ordnance and ordnance stores, and placed a large body of armed men in his yard, which is inclosed with a high stone wall. On Monday, the 9th, he raised the national flag over his residence for the first time I am told since his arrival in the Territory, but not, however, from motives of patriotism or for any loyal purpose, but as a signal to his people to assemble armed, which they immediately did, to the number of about 1,500. The same farce was performed again on the
12th instant, and the only excuse his adherents give for this extraordinary proceeding is that he feared I would arrest him for uttering treasonable language, but in my opinion that is not the true cause, as there has been nothing in my conduct or language which could be construed so as to induce that belief further than what I said when I first entered the Territory, to the effect that "any person, whosoever he might be, who was guilty of using treasonable language would be arrested and sent to Alcatraz Island." Since my arrival the people of the Territory have been treated kindly and courteously by both my officers and men, who have never given one of them cause for complaint, which the people freely acknowledge. But notwithstanding this, the courtesy we have given is returned with abuse. They rail at us in their sermons in which we are also classed with cutthroats and gamblers, our Government cursed and vilified in their public speeches and meetings, and those of their people who supply this camp with vegetables, eggs, butter, and produce are proscribed and shamefully abused for extending such favors. The late armed display was a mere ruse to frighten the proscribed Federal officers from the Territory; or else they desired to have a conflict with the Government, and are endeavoring to provoke me into inaugurating it. The latter I believe to be the real motive, however Brigham Young may try to disguise the fact. 91

Connor then presented what he called evidence to Colonel Drum that supported his claim against the Mormons. He said that Brigham Young quoted Joseph Smith as saying that he would not live in the United States because the people had brought ruin and disgrace upon themselves. Joseph Smith also reportedly stated that he wanted to live under a free and independent government that the Mormons would establish.

Connor decided that he would do nothing rashly or hastily toward the Mormons and would deal courteously and firmly with them.

91War of the Rebellion, op. cit., pp. 370-372. This report is reproduced in full in Appendix 1.
The situation in Utah came to a head when Chief Justice Kinney issued a writ for the arrest of Brigham Young. It was served by Marshall Gibbs and President Young was brought before Kinney at the state house. He was released on bail of $2,000.00 and was to appear at the next term of court. However, the grand jury failed to indict him because of insufficient evidence and later he was released from his bond.92 This same grand jury said Camp Douglas was a nuisance and claimed that it encroached upon the city limits.

Much credit is given to the diplomacy of Mayor Abraham O. Smoot for the laying of a foundation for cooperation between the city and army officials. Because of many factors, one of which was Mr. Smoot's work, and because the editor of the Deseret News paid Connor a very high compliment upon his promotion to Brigadier General, the situation in Utah became eased temporarily.

That Connor desired the downfall of the Mormon power in Utah cannot be denied. The situation in March, 1863, may have given him the excuse he wanted to help this become a reality. However, as he reported, his numbers were too few in the face of the Mormon strength. Another way had to be found by Connor to overwhelm the Mormon majority in Utah. Perhaps it could have been done legally at the polls by a majority vote to overthrow the Mormon-held legislature. His problem in this regard would be insufficient numbers of

gentiles living in the territory. Some attraction had to be found to bring vast numbers of gentiles to Utah. That attraction was about to be discovered.
CHAPTER IV

EARLY MINING IN UTAH

Mormon Views Concerning Mining

The first consideration of the Mormon pioneers after they arrived in Salt Lake Valley in July, 1847, was the production of food stuffs so necessary to sustain life. Since the Mormons had attempted to conquer a raw wilderness where nothing but hazards awaited them, the growing of food for the coming winter was the immediate project. From that time and even to the present time, agricultural became and is of primary importance to the economy of Utah.

The Mormon leaders felt that other avenues of economy had to be neglected until the immediate need for food was satisfied. They desired that the people completely abstain from the prospecting for precious metals and anyone found so engaged was considered as wasting valuable time and directing his energy in a lustful pursuit.

The leadership of the Mormon church believed that the building of dwellings and the reclamation of land for agriculture were two of the most important activities the people could engage in at that time.

In an article written under the direction of the Utah Mining Association the idea of agricultural importance
was brought out with the comment that the pioneer leaders discouraged prospecting for precious minerals for three reasons. The reasons were first, that "agricultural development was too critical"; second, it was discouraged to "prevent a diversion of interests from agriculture to mining"; and third, because the Mormons wanted to "forestall an influx of gentiles hostile to their objectives of a homogeneous community." 93

When gold was discovered in California in 1848 and the gold rush year of 1849 saw countless thousands trek to that area, some Mormons desired to investigate the possibility of reaching California themselves. Brigham Young commented on this idea and at the same time expressed the Mormon attitude toward mining. He said that he hoped the gold miners would "be no nearer than eight hundred miles" and he also said that if any elders of Israel wanted to go to the gold fields that they could "go and be damned." He said if they did go he would not give "a picayune" to keep them "from damnation." 94 Brigham Young promised the Mormons that if they stayed in Utah they would obtain more riches there than in the California gold fields. 95


95 Stenhouse, op. cit., p. 711.
If one considers that Brigham Young was harsh with those Mormons desiring to prospect for precious metals, it was nothing compared to his feelings toward gentiles coming into Utah territory for the same purpose. The Union Vedette reported that Brigham Young had stated in 1849 that if anybody came there and discovered gold and distracted the people that as the Lord lived he would "cut that man's throat!". It is also reported that President Young said that if the gentiles discovered precious metals in Utah it would be over his faith.

The Mormons believed, however, there were huge quantities of precious metals hidden in the Utah Mountains. Stenhouse stated that the Mormons believed that these large numbers of gold ledges would be revealed for the purpose of building up Zion. Brigham Young was quoted as saying that were it necessary he could go out and bring in a wagon loaded with gold and that he could see enough gold from his doorway to pave the streets of the New Jerusalem. Another account of the alleged claim of President Young appeared in the Union Vedette of January 1, 1864. It gave almost the same account as Stenhouse except that the quantity seen was

96 Union Vedette, January 1, 1864, p. 1.
97 Stenhouse, loc. cit.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid., p. 712.
supposed to be enough to equal the whole currency of the world.100

It is evident that the Mormons desired isolation at that time from the rest of the country. They had located outside the territorial boundaries of the United States in 1847 and had settled on Mexican land. Apparently they felt secure there because of the vast distances involved between the place and other areas of civilization. It was natural to fear a gold rush into Utah because California furnished an example of how quickly such an event could populate an area. The Mormons feared that such a rapid population of gentiles into Utah would cause them to lose political control and with that loss they would lose the religious freedom they had fought so bitterly to gain.

Early Mining Discoveries in Bingham Canyon

A great deal of the mineral wealth of the United States was to be found in the present state of Utah. In 1863 there were many rumors and stories circulated by the Indians and mountain men that Utah Territory was so full of minerals that it would one day become the treasure house of the nation.101 One of the earliest discoveries of such wealth was the one in Bingham Canyon located in the south-west part of Salt Lake Valley.

100 Union Vedette, loc. cit.
101 Utah Mining Association, op. cit., p. 3.
The first men to discover precious metals in this canyon were Sanford and Thomas Bingham. These men had erected a cabin sometime in 1848 one and one-half miles below the entrance of the canyon on the north side of the creek. They worked for their own families as well as Brigham Young and others herding horses and cattle up the canyon. When these duties permitted, they also engaged in prospecting for gold and silver. Between 1848 and 1850 the Bingham brothers located many good finds but were advised by the church authorities not to engage in mining. According to the report they then "covered up their prospects with the intention of working them later when they should have more time." Rayner stated in his article that some of the first placer gold finds in Utah were discovered in Bingham Canyon by a party of Californians returning from Montana.

Several versions exist concerning the announced discovery of argentiferous galena ore in Bingham Canyon. Rogers stated that a John R. Murphy claimed Connor furnished him with information on the discovery that indicated that it was made by Captain H. Heitz and a party of soldiers guarding horses in the canyon. Stenhouse claimed it was made by Mrs. Robert K. Reid the wife of the camp surgeon while on a picnic party in the canyon. Commenting on the Mrs. Reid


103 Rayner, op. cit., p. 84.
account Whitney stated that the men were there guarding horses and Connor arrived with officers and their wives for a picnic. He claimed that one lady in the party found a piece of ore and took it to the officers. They examined it and then drove a claim stake in the ground.104

Tullidge stated that the discovery was made by George B. Ogilvie who was logging in the area. According to this account Ogilvie found a piece of ore and sent it to Connor who came out with a party of officers and wives and located the mine.

Edgar M. Ledyard said that according to Henry B. Beckstead, a nephew of a Mr. Samuel Egbert, that it was Samuel's son, John Egbert, who uncovered the ore while dragging logs in the canyon.105

Arrington claims that George Ogilvie, Alex Ogilvie, John Egbert, and Henry Beckstead discovered the first ore together and that Mrs. Reid made the second discovery while on a picnic and grouse hunt under the leadership of Captain Arthur Heitz.106

Whatever the case may be concerning the first announced discovery of ore in Bingham Canyon, the fact remains that the man most prominent in the story was Patrick

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105 Rogers, op. cit., pp. 110-111.
Connor. There were several indications that even before this time the volunteers under Connor's command had heard rumors of mineral riches in Utah, but were unable to prospect immediately because the post construction of Camp Douglas prevented them from doing so. Right after the Bingham Canyon discovery, Connor and twenty-four others located the claim as the Jordan Lode, later known as the "Old Jordan."

The Millennial Star commented upon the discovery in the following manner:

Considerable exertions have been made by General Connor and his confederates hunting for gold and silver mines; they consider they have discovered a silver mine in Bingham Kanyon [sic] that will yield $160 per ton, which is considered worth working, the gold they have not yet got into, the apostate who dug out this silver mine for them discovered some iron pyrites which they supposed to be gold.107

First Mining District in Utah

The part played by Connor in the early development of mining in Utah was very significant. Through Connor's efforts the first mining district in Utah was organized on September 17, 1863. It was called the West Mountain Quartz Mining District. This was the English translation of the Shoshone Indian word "Oquirrh" which means "West Mountain."108

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The first meeting of this district was held on the same day that it was organized, September 17, and the by-laws were passed and accepted by the district members. The meeting was held at Gardiner's mill on the Jordan River. The boundaries of the district were defined basically as the eastern side of the Oquirrh mountains from the Great Salt Lake in the north to Utah Lake in the south.

The by-laws stated that a person could hold only one claim by location on any one vein, but by purchase could hold any number of shares. Claims were required to have notice posted which stated the number of shares given and probable course claimed and was to be recorded in the district recorder book within ten days after the location. 109

The by-laws indicated that in order for locators to enjoy ownership of their mines each company was to do at least one full day's work on their claim each month after April 1, 1864. The by-laws also said that failure to do so made the claim jumpable, and then an interesting statement appeared that said, "if the company is prevented by local insurrection or rebellion from working then the failure to work would not forfeit their claims." 110

109 This last mentioned by-law proved to be extremely important to the author of this work as it provided the direction to primary source material on mines involving Patrick E. Connor.

110 Union Vedette, November 20, 1865, p. 1.
Archibald Gardner was elected district recorder to serve one year and G. W. Carleton was elected as secretary. The Utah Mining Association described this first mining district in Utah organized by Connor and others as "Utah's first and still most prominent mining district."\footnote{Utah Mining Association, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 1.}

**Connor's Motives for Developing Mining in Utah**

Various opinions exist concerning the motives Connor had for the attempt to open up mining in Utah on a huge scale. Tullidge claimed that Connor started his men prospecting because they were eating the bread of idleness, and this type of activity of engaging in mining would appease them and at the same time give them a chance to enrich themselves and the country. He also stated that Connor engaged in mining as a sense of duty to his country rather than for immediate money prospects to himself. Because of these alleged motives Tullidge called Connor the pioneer miner of Utah in more than the ordinary sense and claimed he was also the mining educator of Utah as well.\footnote{Tullidge's \textit{Quarterly Magazine}, I (Salt Lake City: Edward U. Tullidge, 1881), pp. 180, 186.}

Whitney on the other hand did not share this patriotic view of Connor. He stated that during Connor's first year in the territory "he began a grand scheme for the
opening and development of the Utah mines and simultaneously for the overthrow . . . of the hated Mormon power."\textsuperscript{113}

Neff agreed with Whitney's point of view. He stated that Connor conceived his duty as the thwarting of the purposes and policies of the Mormons and to this problem Neff claimed he devoted his energies, professional and personal. Neff also remarked that since mining interests had drawn Connor and most of his privates to California, it was natural for them to look for minerals in the mountains in Utah for possible mining treasure. Neff stated that since every other resource had been appropriated by the Saints, the only chance left to Connor to secure an economic foothold in the basin was mining. Neff ended his observation concerning Connor's motives with the following statement:

Hence the breaking down of the Mormon monopoly in the Basin was promoted and formally inaugurated by General Connor and his Californians, the double motive being the acquisition of wealth and the displacement of the Saints. This was the earliest serious movement to attain population preponderance.\textsuperscript{114}

The \textit{Millennial Star} reflected Connor's motive concerning the causing of a population of gentiles to rush to Utah because of precious metals. It commented in the following way:

It is true that the United States Government, through General Connor and the troops under his command, have, for the last three years, vainly used the most strenuous exertions to discover the "precious metals"

\textsuperscript{113}Whitney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 107.

\textsuperscript{114}Neff, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 633.
in Utah, and that the Government has, in the meantime, withheld their sanction to their Constitution and State Government, in hopes that such discoveries should induce a transient and mixed population which, being a majority and holding the balance of power, might order and control affairs after their own peculiar fashion and ideas of "Christian Civilization."\(^{115}\)

Certainly the best authority on Connor's motives would be Connor himself. In an official communication to R. C. Drum, Assistant Adjutant-General, San Francisco, California, dated October 26, 1863, Connor stated that he had the solution to the "Mormon problem" and offered it to his superior. The report is reproduced in full so that Connor may speak for himself:

**COLONEL:** In former communications I have had the honor fully to set forth my views to the department commander relative to the condition of the Mormon people and the sentiments of their leaders, and have endeavored to present my opinions as to the settlement of the Mormon question, so far as it has necessarily thrust itself upon me in the performance of strictly military duties. I need hardly repeat that it has been my constant endeavor to maintain amicable relations with the people, and avoid conflict so far as was compatible with the strict and proper fulfillment of the obligations resting upon me, fully understanding that it was no part of my business to interfere with their religious tenets or even the illegal practices of this peculiar people except when called upon by the civil authorities. The open declarations of hostility to the Government on the part of their public men, and their bold, continued, and unceasing teachings of disloyalty have time and again tended to produce excitements leading to collision, which have only been avoided by the most temperate and moderate course of the officers and men of my command. Until such time, therefore, as the Government, in the interest of humanity and the vindication of its offended dignity and laws, shall deem it advisable to inaugurate by force an observance of its recorded laws, and come to the relief of a people oppressed and downtrodden by a most galling church tyranny, my own course has been

\(^{115}\) *Millennial Star*, February 25, 1865, p. 120.
 plainly marked by the dictates of policy and the manifest necessity of the case. Entertaining the opinion that Mormonism as preached and practiced in this Territory is not only subversive of morals, in conflict with the civilization of the present age, and oppressive on the people, but also deeply and boldly in contravention of the laws and best interests of the nation, I have sought by every proper means in my power to arrest its progress and prevent its spread. As a question for the civilian, I can conceive of but two ways of striking at its root and annihilating its baneful influence: The one by an adequate military force, acting under martial law and punishing with a strong hand every infraction of law or loyalty; the other by inviting into the Territory large numbers of Gentiles to live among and dwell with the people. The former I am aware is at the present time impracticable, event though it were deemed advisable. The latter, if practicable, is perhaps in any event the wiser course. With these remarks I desire to inform the department commander that I have considered the discovery of gold, silver, and other valuable minerals in the Territory of the highest importance, and as presenting the only prospect of bringing hither such a population as is desirable or possible. The discovery of such mines would unquestionably induce an immigration to the Territory of a hardy, industrious, and enterprising population as could not but result in the happiest effects, and in my opinion presents the only sure means of settling peaceably the Mormon question. Their presence and intercourse with the people already here would greatly tend to disabuse the minds of the latter of the false, frivolous, yet dangerous and constant, teachings of the leaders, that the Government is their enemy and persecutor for opinion's sake. As I have said, these doctrines are continually being preached to them until the mass of the people believe that the Government instead of desiring their welfare seeks their destruction. To the end, then, that the inducements to come hither may be presented to the teeming populations of the East and West, seeking new fields of exploration and prosperity, I have looked upon the discovery of mines in the Territory as in the highest degree important—first to this people and secondly to the Government, for the reasons stated.

Having reason to believe that the Territory is full of mineral wealth, I have instructed commanders of posts and detachments to permit the men of their commands to prospect the country in the vicinity of their respective posts, whenever such course would not interfere with their military duties, and to furnish every proper facility for the discovery and opening of mines of gold, silver, and other minerals. The results so far have
exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Already reliable reports reach me of the discovery of rich gold, silver, and copper mines in almost every direction, and that by spring one of the largest and most hopeful fields of mining operations will be opened to the hardy and adventurous of our people. Both gold, quartz and silver leads have been discovered at Egan Canon, about 200 miles west of this place; also in Ruby Valley, and at points along the mail route. The Goose Creek Mountains, 150 miles northwest of this city, are believed to contain rich mines of precious metals. The mountains in the immediate vicinity of this place are being explored and prospected, and I have reason to believe with successful results. Already, within a distance of from twenty-five to fifty miles of this city, in the East and West mountains, mines have been discovered yielding, with imperfect tests, rich indications of silver, and largely charged with lead and copper ores. The work is still going on, and I have little doubt that rich veins of silver, and probably gold, will be discovered in almost every direction, and still nearer to Great Salt Lake City. I may also mention that near Camp Connor, 150 miles north of this place, large deposits of salt, sulphur, and extensive beds of coal have been found, while the springs adjoining the camp yield immense deposits of the carbonate of soda, which will one day, I have no doubt, be of very considerable commercial value. If I be not mistaken in these anticipations, I have no reason to doubt that the Mormon question will at an early day be finally settled by peaceable means, without the increased expenditure of a dollar by Government, or, still more important, without the loss of a single soldier in conflict. I have every confidence, therefore, in being able to accomplish this desirable result without the aid of another soldier in addition to those already under my command, notwithstanding the obstacles sought to be thrown in my way by the Mormon leaders, who see in the present policy the sure downfall of their most odious church system of tyranny. I have no fear for the future and believe the dawn is breaking upon this deluded people, even though their elders, and bishops, and chief priests may escape the personal punishment their sins against law and crimes against humanity and the Government so richly merit. 116

In response to this communication Lieutenant Colonel Richard Drum forwarded it to General George Wright who in

turn reported the matter to E. D. Townsend at army headquarters in Washington, D. C. General Wright stated in his communication that he sent Connor to establish posts in Utah and take command of the district. He reported that he impressed upon Connor at that time to pursue a conservative policy with the Mormons. He complimented Connor by the statement that only because of Connor's forbearance and sound judgement many collisions had been avoided with the people. General Wright ended his report with the following significant statement:

The last discovery of valuable mines in the Territory will, it is believed, draw thither a large population in the course of a year or two, and if so, it will exercise a powerful influence to wipe out that damming stain upon the christian morality of the American people.117

The Union Vedette and the Supposed Gold Rush to Utah

As already mentioned in this work, Connor desired to overthrow the Mormon majority in the state legislature. Connor believed that a mining rush would accomplish this end because a vast number of gentile miners would enter the territory. He was further convinced that the "new population" would vote as a block against the Mormons.

As an organ to oppose the Mormon newspaper, the Deseret News, and as a way to insure complete coverage of mining in Utah, Connor established a newspaper called the

117Ibid., p. 669.
Union Vedette. This newspaper was published at Camp Douglas by the men and officers stationed there. The first issue appeared on November 14, 1863, and the first editor was Captain Charles H. Hempstead who wrote the first editorial on that day.

In his editorial Hempstead announced the purposes for which the newspaper was organized. The first reason was to give the gentile population an instrument to communicate their thoughts, to correct misapprehensions, and to rebuttal misrepresentations. The second reason given was to expose the schemes of crafty, designing men who attempted to lead the people away from the government. The third reason given was to inform the local people concerning the true mission of the California volunteers into Utah.\(^{118}\)

The name of the newspaper itself portrayed the soldiers feelings toward the Mormons. The word "Vedette" means a sentinel stationed on the outpost of an army to watch an enemy and give notice of danger. The motto of the newspaper was "a champion, brave, alert and strong; to aid the right, oppose the wrong."\(^{119}\)

The newspaper was first a weekly, but became a daily (the first daily in Utah) on January 5, 1864, under the title of the Daily Union Vedette. It was an immediate

\(^{118}\)Rogers, op. cit., pp. 126-131.

success and the paper jumped from four to eight pages and the size increased from three to six volumes.  

Regarding the supposed gold rush to Utah the Union Vedette of November 27, 1863, carried an editorial to the farmers of Utah with the title, "The Mines of Utah—A Word to Our Farmers." This editorial indicated that the recently discovered mines of precious metals held for Utah much prosperity and increased wealth in the near future. It stated that the mountains would soon be full of thousands of miners yielding a thousand picks to take the wealth from the ground. It remarked that the territory was filled with silver, lead, copper, and in some places gold, but immediately stated that they were unable to lay before their readers at that time "exact information or perfect details" concerning what had been prospected or what had been attained. The editorial ended with a warning to the farmers to prepare for the great number of prospectors that would come in the spring of the next year. It stated that the farmers were capable of producing ten fold as much as they had previously done. It reminded the farmer to remember that money which passed through the merchant would find its way to the pocket of the producer.  

The governor's message of December 14, 1863, recorded in the Union Vedette December 18, 1863, reflected the same

120 Hance and Warr, op. cit., p. 31.
121 Union Vedette, November 27, 1863, p. 1.
optimism as the editorial just cited. The governor said that the spring would bring many to Utah and that gold, silver, and copper mining would become the most predominant interest of the territory that would require legislation. He recommended the mining codes of California as an example to follow in writing the codes for Utah mining. 122

The gold rush of 1864 into Utah never occurred. One source indicated that since insufficient free gold was found to start a gold rush the movement progressed slowly. 123 This seems to be the most reasonable explanation for the failure on the part of Connor and his men to produce an enormous rush to Utah. Neff commented that between 1863 and 1869 nothing except prospecting took place in Utah. He said that Connor's failure to create a rush into Utah was blamed on the hostility of the Mormon leaders. He further claimed, however, that the real reason was revealed in the annual report of 1869 of the surveyor general, Courtland C. Clements, which stated that little attention had been given to the development of the mineral resources of Utah since 1863 because of the great expense incurred in the transportation of machinery and the high price of labor. 124

The last mentioned reason plus the fact that very little free gold was discovered proved to be the real reasons

122 Ibid., December 18, 1863, p. 1.
124 Neff, op. cit., p. 637.
for the unsuccessful attempts to obtain precious metals at this time in Utah and it was not until the coming of the railroad that mining started to be a generally profitable enterprise in Utah. It is true that many individuals became wealthy in the early period, but they were rare considering the numbers engaged in mining at that time.

Connor, however, was determined to make his dream of gentile superiority a reality and pushed forth with any means, private or governmental, possible to obtain some success in mining. In this way he hoped to induce men to come to Utah.
CHAPTER V

CONNOR'S MINING ENTERPRISES

Methods Used by Connor to Promote Mining

Connor's first step in his attempt to begin the prospecting for precious metals and to develop mining in Utah was to obtain approval from his superiors in San Francisco for such ventures. In communications already cited in this work it was shown that such approval was given. Connor then instructed commanders of posts and detachments under his command to permit the men under their authority to prospect in the vicinity of their respective posts. He cautioned the commanders that such activity should not interfere with their military duties. In the latter part of 1863 a great deal was accomplished toward the formation of mining districts and the locating of mines. This will be discussed shortly.

In the early part of 1864 Connor received reports that residents of the territory had engaged in threats toward miners or toward anyone desirous of prospecting for precious metals. These people thus afflicted reportedly asked Connor for protection against such action and stated they had come to Utah on behalf of the country.
In response to this request for protection from the alleged Mormon hostility toward the miners Connor distributed a circular letter to the people of the territory and to other parts of the nation which stated his official position on the matter.

In the circular Connor stated that the mines in Utah were open to the hardy and industrious and then he announced that those coming to Utah would receive ample protection of their lives and property from any aggression whether it be Indian or white. He offered a little temptation to his readers by the statement that the mountains in the territory in all directions, north, south, east, and west, were prolific in mineral wealth such as gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, and coal.

To assure his readers of his sincerity concerning their protection he made the following statement:

In giving assurance of entire protection to all who may come hither to prospect for mines, the undersigned wishes at this time most earnestly, and yet firmly, to warn all, whether permanent residents or not of the Territory, that should violence be offered or attempted to be offered to miners in the pursuit of their lawful occupation, the offender or offenders, one or many, will be tried as public enemies, and punished to the utmost extent of martial law.125

Connor ended this particular circular by the remark that he did not wish to indulge in useless threats but that he desired that all that sought to obstruct or throw obstacles in the way of the development of the public domain be

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125 *War of the Rebellion*, op. cit., p. 774.
appraised of his position on the matter. He closed the letters with the warning that any infringement upon the rights of the residents of the territory by immigrants would not be tolerated either. He said that they would be expected to conform in all things pertaining to the laws of the land.\textsuperscript{126}

One source of information mentioned that the use of such circular letters was another method Connor used to inform people throughout the nation concerning mining possibilities in Utah. It was stated that the circulars sent by Connor to various parts of the country invited men with capital to journey to the territory to help develop mining there and promised protection for miners with force if necessary.\textsuperscript{127}

The method of issuing formal orders to his men to engage in mining used by Connor is verified in three such communications. Each of these orders was written in May, 1864. The first was dated May 9, and was addressed to Captain Samuel P. Smith, Company K, Second California Cavalry. Captain Smith was instructed to lead an expedition to the vicinity of Raft River, Idaho. The order is reproduced in full for the reader's consideration:

\begin{quote}
CAPTAIN: You will proceed, by easy marches to Raft River, Idaho Ter., or vicinity, where you will
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[126] \textit{Ibid.}
\item[127] \textit{A History of Fort Douglas, op. cit.}, p. 6.
\end{footnotes}
establish a depot for your supplies and then return four of your wagons (driven by citizens) to this post. After establishing your camp you will take steps to capture or kill the male adults of five lodges of Snake Indians who have for years infested the roads in that vicinity, and who have of late been stealing from and attacking emigrants to Idaho. You will be particular that friendly Indians are not molested, but treated kindly by your command. The lady of the honorable Judge Waite and a woman fleeing from Mormon persecution will accompany you. You will give them transportation and protection as far as Fort Boise, sending a small escort from Haft River to Boise for their protection. You will render ample protection to emigrants south of Snake River and between City of Rocks and the Port Neuf River, and at the same time thoroughly prospect the country for precious metals, particularly placer gold, and report from time to time the result to this office. You will be particular that your horses are taken good care of and kept in good order, and you will return to this post, unless otherwise instructed, on or about the 1st day of August next.\footnote{128}

The second communication dated May 11, 1864, directed Captain N. Baldwin, First Nevada Territory Cavalry, to leave Nevada and journey to Uintah Valley in Utah. The order is as follows:

CAPTAIN: You will proceed with your company tomorrow by way of Parley's Park to Uintah Valley, in this Territory, and at some central point establish a temporary depot for your supplies, after which you will return to this post the four teams with your command, driven by citizens. You will afford ample protection to prospectors and miners, and the Indians in that valley being all friendly, they will be treated with kindness by your command. You will cause the valley and vicinity to be thoroughly prospected by your men, and will report from time to time the result to this office. The discovery of placer mines is of

\footnote{128} War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 845. Wherever underlining occurs within this quote or the next two it was done so by the author of this work for emphasis.
especial importance. You will therefore devote the most of your attention to their discovery. You will proceed to Fort Bridger, Utah Ter., by the way of Brown's Hole, on Green River, and report to the commanding officer of that post for duty on or about the 1st day of August next.¥

The third directive was dated May 15, 1864, and was addressed to Captain David J. Berry, Company A, Second California Cavalry. Captain Berry's mission was to select a camp site midway between Cedar Swamp and Meadow Valley:

CAPTAIN: you will proceed with your company from present camp in a southerly direction to Tintic Valley, and from thence south by the most practicable route to the Meadow Valley mining district, situated about 100 miles west of Cedar City, in this Territory. You will select a camp about midway between Cedar Swamp and Meadow Valley, where you will leave a part of your company with the bulk of your supplies, and then return four of your teams to Camp Relief. You will then, during the period designed for you to remain detached, scout the country between Cedar Swamp and Meadow Valley, and afford protection to miners from Mormons and Indians, and watch the Parowan Indians, who again threaten to attack the overland mail coaches. You will thoroughly explore and prospect the country over which you travel, and if successful in finding placer diggings, you will at once report the fact to these headquarters. You will report with your command at your regimental headquarters on or about the 1st day of August next, unless otherwise ordered.°

Connor was confident, and rightly so, because direct orders to his men would bring the desired results in his mining schemes. The position of that of a soldier is to either obey the orders of his superior or suffer the penalties under military law for such disobedience. Connor also

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¥bid., p. 846.
°bid., p. 845.
felt that his circulars to parts of the country which invited men into the territory for mining purposes were highly successful. He reflected this confidence in an official report to R. C. Drum dated July 1, 1864. After he gave a preliminary report on the Indian situation in the territory, which indicated that they had been subdued, Connor stated the following:

Instances of outrages upon unsuspecting and innocent emigrants by Indians and whites which so long disgraced this Territory are of very rare occurrence, if indeed they have not ceased entirely. This peaceful and happy condition of affairs has enabled me to pursue most vigorously the policy heretofore indicated of settling the Mormon question by peaceful means in the early development of the undoubtedly rich mineral wealth of the Territory. Wherever it could be done without interference with military duties, commanders of companies and posts have been directed to allow parties of soldiers to prospect the country and open its mines. Such disposition of the force under my command as would insure protection to citizens (miners) throughout the Territory against threatened interference by the Mormons has been made, and the country already feels the beneficial influences resulting from such a course. Miners and others, Gentiles, are flocking hither in considerable numbers, and the day is not far distant when a loyal Gentile population, acting in concert with the now oppressed but dissatisfied saints, will peacefully revolutionize the obvious system of church domination which has so long bound down a deluded and ignorant community and threatened the peace and welfare of the people and country.131

Stenhouse indicated another method Connor used in developing mining in Utah was to provide time for his men to prospect by granting them furloughs for that expressed purpose. Stenhouse further stated that while on such leave of

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131 Ibid., p. 887.
absence from military responsibility, the men were allowed to wear their uniforms because it was the symbol of governmental authority in the territory and were permitted to enter any area or canyon without resistance.\textsuperscript{132}

The coverage of mining activities in the territory which was intended to create an interest in mining first and then to feed that interest to promote activity was to be accomplished by the \textit{Union Vedette}. This newspaper had been founded for that purpose and belongs in the list of methods used by Connor to promote mining in Utah.

The statement was made earlier in this work that Connor used every means, professional and personal, to overwhelm the Mormon power in Utah by inducing a large gentile population to come into the territory seeking precious metals. The professional means have just been discussed. Concerning the personal means Connor used, it was reported by Hance and Warr that Connor invested $80,000 of his own money in mining ventures.\textsuperscript{133} Besides an investment of personal funds he also participated actively within the territory prospecting and forming mining companies and districts in Utah. He was also active outside the territory because he took one trip to New York to attempt to gain support for his mining enterprises, and between the latter part of the 1860's and until his death in 1891 he made many

\textsuperscript{132}Stenhouse, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 713.

\textsuperscript{133}Hance and Warr, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 35.
trips to California for the same purpose.

Connor's Mining Activities in 1863

Much mining activity took place in Utah years before 1863 by the Mormons and perhaps other interested parties. The mining ventures of the Mormons, however, consisted of prospecting for minerals such as coal or iron ore. They encouraged mining for metals essential to their welfare. The attitude of the Mormons concerning the mining and prospecting for precious metals was discussed in an earlier chapter.

The date of September 17, 1863, was an important date in the history of Utah mining because on that day the first mining district in Utah was organized. Also on that date two very important mining companies were formed under the leadership of Patrick Connor. One called the Jordan Silver Mining Company was formed by Patrick Connor, George B. Ogilvie, Captain Heitz, and twenty-two others. Because of its historical importance, the record that legally formed the company is quoted in full from the "West Mountain Mining District, Book A":

Jordan S. M. Co.

The undersigned members of the Jordan Silver Mining Co. claim for mining purposes one share of Two Hundred feet Each, and one additional claim of two hundred feet for the original Discoverer, George B. Ogilvie on this Lead of mineral ore with all its Dips, Spurs and Angles beginning at the stake situated one Hundred feet North East of Gardiner's Shantie in Bingham Kanyon [sic.] in West Mountain and Running
Five Thousand two Hundred feet, in a Westerly Direction along the side of said mountain on a line with Bingham Kanyon [sic.]: and intend to work the same according to the mining laws of this mining district.

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<td>Archibald Gardiner 1</td>
<td>M. G. Lewis 1</td>
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<td>George B. Ogilvie 2</td>
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<td>Alex Ogilvie 1</td>
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<td>Hugh O'Donnell 1</td>
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Bingham Kanyon [sic.]
Salt Lake Co.
Utah Territory
Sept. 17th, 1863

A. Gardiner, Recorder

This was the mining company formed as a result of the first discovery in Bingham Canyon which was called the Jordan Lode. It is interesting to note in the above proclamation that the three men Ogilvie, Reid, and Egbert, who were involved directly or indirectly in the first discovery controversy concerning the Jordan Lode are listed as part owners of the company. This record indicates that the original discoverer was George Ogilvie. He was mentioned as such and was given one additional share for his accomplishment. It is also interesting to note that Connor's

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134"West Mountain Mining District, Book A, 1862-1864." p. 3. The West Mountain Mining District record books used in this work are found in the Salt Lake County Clerk's Office.
superior, R. C. Drum, was given one share. This was undoubtedly promoted by Connor out of courtesy to the colonel.

The other mining company formed on September 17, 1863, was called the Vedette Mining Company. The record indicated the discover of this claim was also George B. Ogilvie and again he was given two shares while the others received only one each. Besides Ogilvie and Connor twenty-four others were listed as owners of the company. This claim was located in Bingham Canyon about one mile south of Carr's fork. The name of five women appear on the claim. They were Mrs. George B. Ogilvie, Mrs. Robert K. Reid, Mrs. J. H. Nevett, Mrs. Daniel McLean, and Mrs. C. B. Waite.\footnote{135} Rogers indicated that in order to raise some capital to operate the company the members were assessed ten dollars each on November 17, 1863.\footnote{136}

Another claim was recorded on the same day that these two mining companies were formed in Utah territory. This however, was most unusual because the discoverer was listed as Mrs. Robert K. Reid. It was located east of the Jordan Silver Mining Company claim. The names of three women appear on the record and Mrs. P. E. Connor was one of them. She was given one share as were the other twenty-one

\footnote{135}{Ibid., p. 5.}
\footnote{136}{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 111.}
owners except for Mrs. Reid who received two.  

In the winter of 1863 Connor's men started to explore the territory systematically. They reportedly discovered several deposits in the Wasatch range at the head of the Little Cottonwood Canyon. The credit for the first discovery there, however, was given to General Connor who, it is reported, made the first discovery in person. As a result of this and other discoveries the Wasatch Mountain District was organized on November 18, 1863. Edward Pennington was elected district recorder for one year.

Near the end of the year 1863 the Union Vedette summarized the mining accomplishments of that year. The article stated that evidence was accumulating daily that the mountains in the territory were concealing great wealth. It mentioned that silver, copper, and lead had been discovered in the Wasatch range on the east of the valley and in the Oquirrh mountains on the west of the valley. The article mentioned that ledges of silver and copper were being worked in Bingham Canyon. It also stated that at various places throughout the territory such as Deep Creek, Antelope Springs, Buffle Creek, Hickman's Butte, Snake River, and the Blackfoot area so much was being discovered

137"West Mountain Mining District, Book A, 1862-1864," p. 5.

138Johnson and Dumas, op. cit., p. 742.

139Union Vedette, December 4, 1863, p. 1.
that the territory was "one vast deposit of rich minerals."\footnote{140}

**Connor's Mining Activities in the Early Part of 1864**

The year 1864 was one of the most prolific years in mining for Utah. A vast number of claims were registered for that year and the name of Patrick Connor appears rather frequently on the record books.

One of the first companies organized by Connor in 1864 was the Eureka Mining Company. It was formally organized on January 4, 1864, with Connor receiving one share along with the eleven other owners. It was situated on the east side of Bingham Canyon about four miles up from the mouth of the Canyon.\footnote{141}

Another mining company located in Bingham Canyon was organized in 1864 mainly through the efforts of Connor and was called the Empire Mining Company. It was officially recorded in the district recorder's book on February 6, 1864. Fifteen owners were listed on the deed and the original discoverers were given as Samuel Buck and John S. Matthew. Connor held shares in this mine until April 14, 1871, at which time he sold his holdings to Jno S. Lynch.\footnote{142}

\footnote{140}Ibid., November 20, 1863, p. 1.  
\footnote{141}"West Mountain Mining District, Book A, 1862-1864," p. 5.  
\footnote{142}Ibid., p. 15.
One of the first tunnel diggings in Bingham Canyon was attempted by the Jordan Silver Mining Company. On February 10, 1864, this company claimed an additional fifty-two hundred feet on the original Jordan claim for the purposes of building a tunnel. On the claim appeared the name of P. Edw. Connor as one of the trustees of the Jordan Silver Mining Company.145

In March of 1864 some of Connor's men entered the Rush Valley area southwest of Salt Lake City prospecting for precious metals. James W. Gibson of Company L, Second California Cavalry, located a claim there on March 11, 1864. He called it the Rush Valley Lode and said it was situated in Tooele County in the foothills of the west mountain range and was about two miles east of the north side of Rush Valley Lake. General Connor was given one share of this mine.144

Another mining company of interest was formed on March 14, 1864, and was called the Kate Connor Gold and Silver mining Company. No evidence exists concerning the name of this mine, but it seems reasonable that it was named after Connor's only daughter Katherine. It was situated in Bingham Canyon on the north side of Carr's fork. Patrick Connor was given one share of this mine. A total of thirteen owners are listed on the locator

145 Ibid., p. 19.
It is extremely interesting to note the following claim recorded on May 7, 1864, called the Woman's Lode. It was filed as follows:

Womans Lode

We the undersigned "Strong Minded Woman [women?]," do hereby determine and make manifest our intention and right to take up 'Feet' ore Sic. anything Else in our names, and to Work the Same independent of any other man. We do therefore take up and claim in our own Right '200 Two Hundred feet Each and 200 Two Hundred for discovery on this 'Womans Lode.' Comcing Sic. at this Notice and Running in a N.E. direction 1000 One Thousand feet and in S.W. direction from the Same 1000 One Thousand feet with all its dips, Spurs, and Angles, and Variations and Whatever other Rights and priveledges Sic. the laws or guns of this district give to Lodes so taken up.

Mrs. Col. R. Pollock 200 ft.
Mrs. Col. W. Jones 200 ft.
Mrs. Capt. Ermy 200 ft.
Mrs. C pt. Hemstead 200 ft.
Mrs. B. Kirkpatrick 200 ft.
Mrs. E. W. Farnham 200 ft.
Mrs. G. B. Kirby 200 ft.

Located April 12, 1864
Recorded May 7, 1864

Jas S. Warren
Deputy Recdr

Noting that Mrs. Connor's name appeared first on the list it may be evident that she was the instigator of the venture or that she occupied first place because of her husband's

145 Ibid., p. 23.
146 Ibid., p. 96.
rank. What would cause nine women to declare that they were "strong minded" and could work the claim independent of any other man" is open to conjecture.

The Establishment of Stockton, Utah

The founding of an army camp in the Rush Valley area in 1864 was of major importance to the mining industry of Utah. Under date of March 18, 1864, special orders were issued by General Connor to Lieutenant Colonel William Jones and Captain Samuel P. Smith to proceed west of Salt Lake and select a cavalry camp. The camp was erected at the site now occupied by the city of Stockton, Utah and it was called Camp Relief. In its early days Stockton was called the lead camp of Utah.

After some initial discoveries were made in the Rush Valley area, the soldiers under Connor's command stationed at Camp Relief organized the Rush Valley Mining District on June 11, 1864. The District covered the west slope of the Oquirrh mountains. This area was originally part of the West Mountain Mining District which had been organized in September, 1863. Andrew Campbell was elected as the first recorder of the Rush Valley Mining District.

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147 War of the Rebellion, op. cit., p. 795.
148 Stenhouse, op. cit., p. 714.
149 Rogers, op. cit., p. 115.
Soon after the organization of this mining district General Connor and Major Gallagher laid off a town site on the Northeastern edge of the military reservation of Camp Relief. This town was named after Connor's former home in California, and the first house was erected here in July, 1864. Rogers stated that Stockton, Utah was considered as the first "gentile town" in Utah. After the town was laid off, building lots were offered to settlers and the stage route was directed through the town.

In 1866 Connor built a house in Stockton, Utah and settled there for a while. Major Gallagher also settled there and became rather prominent in business affairs in the town. Many volunteers found their homes there as well, and in 1872 the population was three hundred. It is recorded that in that same year Stockton had sixty homes, one hotel, a post office, an express and telegraph office, an assay office, one store, several saloons, and many smelters.

Soon after the establishment of Camp Relief the officers under Connor's command formed the Rush Valley Smelting Company. Under the auspices of this company the Pioneer Smelting Works was erected at Stockton, Utah. This was built under Connor's direction and was considered by Rogers and Stenhouse as the first smelting furnace erected

150 Ibid., p. 116. (See Appendix III for the town plat of Stockton, Utah.)

151 Ibid.
in Utah Territory.^{152} Connor later built a second furnace of the reverberatory type with an inclined flue one hundred fifty feet long. Tullidge claimed that Connor was the first in Utah to introduce the electric light because he used it in connection with his concentrating and smelting works.^{153}

Apparently Stockton, Utah was earmarked to be a smelting town as well as a mining area because as early as the fall of 1864 there were eight other furnaces erected there besides the one built by Connor. They were the St. James; the Finnerty; the J. W. Gibson; the Nichols and Brand; the Hartnet; the Davids and Company; the Johnson, Monheim, and Company; and the Stock and Weberling.^{154}

**Connor's Mining Activities in the Latter Part of 1864**

At a high council meeting of the Mormon church held in St. George on June 11, 1864, President Erastus Snow stated that Connor and his men were going to claim silver mines, farming land, and water privileges in Clover and Meadow Valley.^{155} President Snow, commented on this same event in a report he wrote to Brigham Young seven days later on June 18. He stated in his letter that twenty-five

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^{154}Stenhouse, *loc. cit.*

^{155}Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, June 11, 1864, p. 3.
miners had gone into the area and some mining claims had been filed bearing the names of Secretary Reed, General Connor and others. He also remarked that Connor had detached some troops to Meadow Valley to explore a road from Corn Crrek, Millard County via Meadow Valley and the Muddy to Fort Mojave. It is evident that Connor's ventures were widely placed throughout Utah.

Because water was important to mining in the claim- ing and smelting process Connor claimed three different water rights in 1864. The first such claim was entered by Connor on June 23, 1864, for the water and timber in Rogers Canyon. This was located at the head of Soldiers Canyon in Tooele county. On July 12, 1864, Connor, who was then president of the Empire Mining Company, claimed the waters of Butterfield Canyon for the purposes of any milling or mining connected with the Empire Mining Company. The third claim was recorded on July 13, 1864, and involved the waters of Markham's fork located one mile from Bingham Canyon. This water was to be used for the Independence Lode which was situated in the same area.

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From the records available it can be summarized that in the year 1864 Connor was involved in holding shares in forty-six different mines in two districts with a total of ninety-six hundred feet claimed in these mines. The records used also indicate that Connor purchased nine transfers involving a total of forty-three hundred feet for a total price of three dollars. The year 1864 also saw Connor establish one camp, one town, one mining district, and erect one smelting furnace.  

**Connor's Mining Activities 1865 and 1866**

Connor's mining ventures in 1865 were rather limited. One of the reasons for this was the Powder River Campaign of that same year that Connor helped command. This campaign caused Connor to travel from Utah as far as Wyoming and Montana.  

In 1865 he also traveled to Washington and conferred with General Grant on items pertaining to Utah. In 1865 he was also given a new rank as a reward for gallant and meritorious service as he was brevited a Major-General of Volunteers to date from March 13, 1865. After talking with Grant and after receiving his new star he returned to Utah.

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160 For a complete list of Connor's holdings from 1863 to 1883 see Appendix I.

161 For an excellent account of this campaign see: LeRoy R. Hafen, *Powder River Campaign and Sawyers' Expedition of 1865*. 
and remained in the service until April 30, 1866, at which time he was mustered out of the army. The war department had offered Connor the rank of Colonel of Cavalry in the regular army if he would remain in the service, but Connor declined the offer in order to remain in Utah and pursue his mining interests.

Another reason for the apparent lack of mining activity by Connor in 1865, and for that matter the next five years, is one concerned with mining records of those years. Four of the most valuable mining record books for the years 1865 to 1870 cannot be located by the author. 162

One of Connor's most important mining investments in 1865 was his purchase of the Great Basin Mine which had been located by some of his men in 1864. Connor worked the mine until 1879 at which time it was incorporated by Connor. Tulidge claimed that this mine was a true fissure vein and one of the most valuable deposits of silver bearing galena in the world. 163

In the latter part of 1865 the Knickerbocker and Argenta Mining and Smelting Company built a plant at Stockton, Utah and attempted the Lyon Process of separating gold

162 The missing books comprise the record of West Mountain District for the years 1865 to 1870. An exhaustive search in Salt Lake and Tooele County files failed to uncover these records. For a complete list of mining records consulted in the preparation of this work see Selected Biography under the heading of Primary Sources, Contemporary Works.

163 Tulidge Quarterly Magazine, op. cit., p. 188.
and silver from lead. Stenhouse reported that this company expended $100,000.00 in the venture, but was unsuccessful and went bankrupt. 164

Most of Connor's investments in 1865 were in the early part of the year. Out of a total of fourteen different mines in which he owned some shares in that year, eleven were recorded in January. A summary shows that for 1865 Connor invested in fourteen mines; owned a total of two thousand five hundred feet; purchased three transfers totaling four hundred feet for a total price of $650.00.

Perhaps the most significant event of Connor's activities in 1866 was the termination of his military career. After he was mustered out of the service he moved his family from Salt Lake City to Stockton, Utah. Neff commented on Connor's move by stating that it was a necessity because the garrison at Camp Douglas was disbanded and Connor found himself an outcast and refugee. Neff further claimed that Connor found his life in constant danger in Salt Lake City. 165

Connor had attempted the overthrow of the Mormon power in Utah as early as 1862. He tried everything he could private and professional to accomplish that end. He undoubtedly made many enemies among the Mormons and was in a delicate position while living in Salt Lake after the

164 Stenhouse, op. cit., p. 715.
165 Neff, op. cit., p. 718.
army was no longer under his jurisdiction. Since Stockton was founded by gentiles and populated by them it was natural for Connor to go there seeking his own kind. Now that the army was disbanded and his official position was gone he was forced to rely strictly upon his private fortune and friends he had made among the gentiles as well as among the Mormons.

The mustering out of the Californians brought another problem to Utah. Since the majority of the men were now lacking an income it became necessary for many of them to leave Utah to seek employment. Most of these men had some legal connection with the mines located in Utah between the years of 1863 to 1866. Since most of these claims were in the Rush Valley Mining District, which was controlled by the soldiers, they amended the by-laws of the district. The amendments made their claims perpetually valid and did away with the forfeiture clause that stated the mines must be worked in order for the claim to remain valid. As a result of this action the mining activity near Stockton almost stopped completely, and it wasn't until the coming of the railroad in 1870 that mining was revived in that area.

The summary of Connor's activities of the year 1866 indicates that he engaged half his interests in the location of new mines and half his interests buying transfers. In 1866 he invested in twenty-six new mines and within the
claims of these mines he held six thousand seven hundred feet. Also in this same year Connor purchased twenty-seven transfers totaling 51,465 2/3 feet for a total price of $5,326.00.

Connor's Mining activities
1867 to 1870

As far as prospecting for new mines, buying shares or footage in new claims, or the purchase of transfers from those desiring the sell their interest in mines are concerned, Connor's greatest era of mining activity was the years 1863 to 1866. Between 1867 and 1870 it appears that his endeavor was to make such mines profitable and return a good interest on his investment.

A government report of 1867 on the mineral resources of the states and territories was very optimistic concerning the prospect in Utah. It stated that no placer mines of any extent had been found in the territory, but that a number of large lodes had which were heavily charged with argentiferous galena. It mentioned that the smelters in Rush Valley were testing ore there and commented that the results showed the area to be rich in both lead and silver. The report ended with the statement that it was reasonable to look for important discoveries to be found in Utah before long.166

166 U.S., Congress, Letters from the Secretary of the Treasury Transmitting a Report Upon the Mineral Resources of the states and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains, Ex. Doc. 29, 39th Cong. 2d Sess., 1867, p. 130.
Stenhouse reflected that mining in Utah from the summer of 1869 to September, 1871, was a rather prosperous era. He reported that ten thousand tons of silver and gold ores had been shipped from the territory with a gross value of $2,500,000.00. He stated that four thousand five hundred tons of bullion or pig lead containing gold and silver had been shipped with a gross value of $1,237,000.00. Other items shipped from the territory included one thousand one hundred tons of salt valued at $4,000.00 and silver bars produced by milling chloride ores valued at $120,000.00.  

The government report previously cited mentioned that the government expected a rush of gentiles into Utah because of her mineral possibilities. John H. Beadle, in his article, "The Silver Mountains of Utah," said that in the midsummer of 1869 there were one thousand non-Mormons in Utah. He mentioned that one half of these were engaged in prospecting for silver mines or developing old locations. He said that by 1870 the non-Mormon population had increased to four thousand. Beadle reported that by 1876 there were ten thousand people engaged in mining in Utah and a total of ninety mining districts existed. He said the assessed property value in Utah increased from $9,000,000.00 in 1870 to $21,500,000.00 by 1873, an increase of one hundred and a

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167 Stenhouse, op. cit., p. 724.
fourth per cent. 168

Undoubtedly Connor enjoyed some of the profits mining produced at that time. However, he probably suffered great losses also because he was highly speculative in his mining investments. About this time in Connor's career he attempted other ventures dealing with the shipment of ore.

After Corinne, Utah was established, Connor had some part in building an ore smelter on the banks of the Bear River there. Ore from the rich mines in Montana were hauled by returning freight outfits to the smelter for processing. When minerals were found in the Oquirrh mountains, the citizens of Corinne donated $4,000.00 to build a boat to take the ore by water from the mountains to Corinne. At this time Connor built and launched the first steamboat in Utah from the landing at Corinne and called it the "Kate Connor." 169

If the $4,000.00 donated by the people of Corinne helped to build the steamboat or not, the record does not say, but it appears that this boat was the collective venture of all the people there in their attempt to promote business for the smelter.


Although the steamboat was used to carry ore to the smelter at Corrine, it was mentioned by Hollister that in 1868 it was also used to transport railroad ties and telegraph poles from the southern to the northern shores of Great Salt Lake.  

The "Kate Connor" was lost while she was carrying a heavy load of ore to the Corrine smelter. She reportedly sank in the deep part of Bear River close to the smelter and was never salvaged. The report said that for years it could be seen when the water was low, but by 1941 all traces of her had been lost.

In 1869 Connor built and launched another ship called the "Pluribathah." It was a schooner of one hundred tons burden and probably was used for the same purpose as the "Kate Connor." Nothing is known as to its exact use or fate.

One of the major achievements in mining for the year 1868 in Utah which was promoted by Connor was the organization of another mining district on August 15 called the Little Cottonwood District. This district was first

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170uvanda James Hollister, Hollister's Resources and Attractions of Utah (Salt Lake: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1882), p. 79.

171"Building of an Ore Smelter in Corinne," loc. cit.

172Hollister, loc. cit.

173Utah Gazetteer, August 30, 1873, p. 1.
known as Mountain Lake District and was formed by Connor in 1864 following discoveries there by his men in that same year. In the Little Cottonwood District the famous Emma Mine was located. This mine became world famous and attracted a great deal of foreign investment for the mines in Utah.

In the year 1870 two important events took place that concerned Utah's mining interests. One was the organization of another district in July of that year. This district was called the Ophir Mining District and the area involved was once under the control of the Rush Valley Mining District. As noted earlier, the Rush Valley District was organized by Connor and his soldiers in 1864.

The Ophir District was located in East Canyon a few miles south of Stockton, Utah. While it was part of the Rush Valley District there had been forty locations of placers there by the end of 1865, and some veins contained chloride of silver that assayed as high as twenty thousand dollars a ton.\footnote{Robert G. Rayner, "Early Mining in Utah," The Pacific Historical Review VIII (March, 1939), 84.}

The other event was the activity on the part of an apostate Mormon by the name of Eli B. Kelsey. He was part of the Godbeite movement in Utah and the first to start a speaking campaign to raise money for mining in Utah. His lecture tour took him as far as New York, and while there
he was able to convince many wealthy merchants of the value of mining in Utah. Because of Kelsey's influence $100,000.00 were invested in the fall of 1870 in Utah mines from outside capital.175

A summary of Connor's mining investments for the years 1867 to 1870 show that he held shares in eleven different mines for a total footage of two thousand one hundred and two thirds feet. All of these investments were made in the year 1870.

It is apparent that the extent of Connor's investments after 1866 began to diminish rapidly. When one considers the vast holdings Connor had acquired by 1866, it is understandable that he was fully occupied with their development.

**Connor's later Mining Activities**
**from 1871 to 1882**

The records available indicate that for the year 1871 Connor invested in eight separate mines and acquired a total footage of 1,633 2/3 feet.

Nothing was found that would indicate that Connor invested at all in the years 1872, 1873, and 1874. However, in 1874 the Utah Mining Gazette published a memorial signed by Connor and eight others asking the territorial legislature to initiate a geological survey in Utah territory.

This article indicates that Connor was actively engaged in

mining at that time. The purpose of the memorial was to ask for a survey which would publish reliable information of the position, character and extent of the deposits of coal, iron, copper, lead, silver, gold, and other useful and valuable minerals and ores. Connor and the others believed that such information would give Utah's own citizens as well as immigrants into Utah the proper data upon which to establish their various enterprises. The memorial stated that the territory only exported forty-six million tons of ore in 1874 while at the same time imported one hundred and sixty seven million tons of materials necessary for the production of refined ore. The request for a survey ended with the statistics that in the four years of 1870, 1871, 1872, and 1873 the total value of ore taken from the mountains of Utah was $12,527,357.00. \(^{176}\)

In 1875 Connor did make some investments in mining, but they only totaled two mines for a total footage of one thousand feet acquired.

Nothing was found concerning Connor's investments for the years 1876, 1877, and 1878. In 1879, however, Connor claimed five acres of land in Spring Canyon which was situated about one and one half miles east of Stockton, Utah. His purpose in claiming the land was for the water there. He desired to build a mill site to service the

\(^{176}\) Utah Mining Gazette, January 17, 1874, p. 162.
ores taken out of the Great Basin mine. It was reported that in order to convey water from the springs in Spring Canyon Connor laid one and one half miles of two and one half inch galvanized iron pipe. This pipe brought the water from the canyon to the Great Basin Mill.

In 1880 Connor laid claim to the water located one mile northeast up the canyon called Soldier Canyon. This canyon was located a few miles from Stockton, Utah. The springs claimed became known as Connor Springs and in order to bring the water to his concentrating, crushing, and smelting works he laid five miles of four inch galvanized iron pipe at a cost of $20,000.00. It was also reported that this water was to be used to increase the water supply for the town of Stockton, Utah.

A summary of Connor's mining activities for the year 1880 indicates that he invested in seven mines for a total footage of seven hundred feet. Four of these mines were personally located by Connor and the record indicated that at that time he was the manager director of the Rush Valley Mining and Smelting Company. He also claimed in

177 "Rush Valley or Stockton Mining District Book of Intentions and Work, Book E, 1872-1884," p. 475.
180 Tullidge Quarterly Magazine, op. cit., p. 188.
Soldier Canyon some land for the purpose of building the General Connor Tunnel. This tunnel was to be built in order for Connor to work four of his mines, the Roxie, the Argonaut, the Humboldt, and the Broughton.  

In 1881 Connor claimed five acres of land in Spring Canyon east of Stockton, Utah, for the purpose of building a mill called Quandary Number Two. Also in 1881 Connor reportedly was the chief owner and managing director of the General Connor Tunnel and Mining Company and the Manager Director of the Great Basin Mining and Smelting Company. This account also mentioned that he owned a coal mine in 1881 on the Weber River which was in operation that same year.

A report on Connor's activities in mining for the year 1881 is well summed up in the statement that at that time he was managing more mines and owned more mining property than any other man in Utah.

The land office records indicated that from 1869 to 1882 they had received one thousand three hundred and four applications for mine patents and had seven hundred sixty-

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182 Ibid., p. 482.
183 Tullidge Quarterly Magazine, op. cit., p. 189.
184 Ibid., p. 190.
185 Ibid.
five mineral entries. Their receipts totaled $4,595.00 for the period 1865 to 1882.\textsuperscript{186} Certainly Connor's name appeared on a great many of these applications for mine patents.

Perhaps the most important item of interest to this work concerning Connor and mining in 1883 was a suit he entered against the Flagstaff Mining Company of Utah for one million dollars and the mine itself. The details concerning the suit are found in a newspaper clipping located in the \textit{Journal History of the Church} for September 16, 1883. The report stated that Connor was then in Chicago, Illinois, and was entertaining friends at the Palmer House rotunda when a summons was served on him. The plaintiff mentioned was H. H. Honore, a prominent real estate dealer in Chicago. A reporter was there at the time and asked Connor to explain the case for the public. Connor's statement is reproduced in full:

In 1876 Mr. H. H. Honore of this city, met me in Salt Lake City, where I was then living, and I learned he was looking for a mining investment. A short distance from that city I had some land which in my absence of several years had been jumped by a syndicate of English capitalists, and who immediately located a mine under the name of the Flagstaff Mining Company of Utah, with a capital stock of $1,000,000. I returned in 1875, and finding my property thus uncere-
moniously pre-empted, I began suit against the company for the mine and for $1,000,000 besides, which I

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\textsuperscript{186}Hollister, op. cit., p. 21.
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considered a fair estimate of the ore that had been taken out. 187

Connor ended his statement by making mention that he was the president and superintendent of the Eureka Tunnel Mining Company, located at Eureka, Nevada, and as it was engaged in opening some new mines he could not remain in Chicago any longer. He said that the suit against the Flagstaff Mining Company was then in 1883 still pending in the Supreme Court of Utah. 188

A summary of Connor's mining investments shows that between the years 1863 to 1883 he had helped form six mining districts and was responsible for the forming of four mining companies. Also within these years he invested in one hundred and twelve mines for a total footage acquired of 19,200 feet and 20 1/2 shares. In eight of these one hundred and twelve mines no footage or shares were mentioned.

Between 1863 and 1883 Connor purchased forty-one transfers for a total cost of $13,602.00 and acquired a total footage of 38,017 2/3 feet. He also fold four transfers containing three hundred feet for a total price of $52.00. Also between the years mentioned Connor attempted to build three tunnels; two smelters; and claim water and timber land from six different canyons.

187Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, September 16, 1883, p. 2.

188Ibid. The author of this work searched through the Supreme Court cases of Utah reported for the years 1875 to 1915 and was unable to find the decision on this matter.
In view of the bulk of evidence presented Patrick Edward Connor deserves without a doubt the title of "Father of Utah Mining."
CHAPTER VI

CONNOR'S LAST YEARS

An Evaluation of Connor's Mining Ventures

When one considers the vast holdings in all the aspects of mining that Connor held, it is hard to believe that he died in relative poverty. Perhaps a statement Brigham Young made in 1866 was prophetic in this matter. A letter written by President Young dated August 11, 1866, to his two sons, Brigham, Jr. and John W. who were in Liverpool, England at that time, was concerning Connor. He stated the following:

Dear Sons:

We have but few troops here at present and they are regulars. Connor is out of the service and is here now as plain "Pat" engaged in mining business, which as the government pay has withdrawn, will very likely, if he pursues it diligently, break him up financially.189

In Brigham Young's judgment the only thing that saved Connor from bankruptcy before 1866 was the government pay he received.

Dwyer stated that after Connor retired from the army in 1866 he divided his time between his home in Stockton, California, and the mineral holdings he had acquired in the

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Wasatch and Oquirrh Mountains. Perhaps this division of interests may help explain his apparent failure in mining. Dwyer, commented on Connor's later life and stated that he was "successful at the outset" but that "ill luck dogged his later life" and "his declining years were spent in estrangement from his family and in relative poverty."191

Connor's biographer, Fred B. Rogers, also commented on Connor's apparent failure in mining. Rogers claimed that the obstacles were too great at that time in Utah for immediate success in mining. He listed four factors that contributed to Connor's failure. The first reason given was that Connor and his men were inexperienced miners and consequently made numerous mistakes. Second, Rogers said that they lacked the experience in the proper treatment of ores in order to claim as much valuable minerals as possible. Rogers mentioned the third reason as that of the high cost of charcoal and other supplies needed for mining. The fourth reason given was the excessive costs of transportation of supplies into the territory and of ores to outside markets. Transportation costs would have been high because everything sold in the territory which was manufactured or produced elsewhere was brought to Utah by freight wagons. As mentioned earlier in this work one of the major

190Dwyer, op. cit., p. 3.
191Ibid.
192Rogers, op. cit., p. 117.
factors for success in Utah mining was the coming of the railroad in 1870. This media of transportation solved the problem of high costs of freighting exports and imports.

W. J. Ghent, in his article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, stated that Connor was the "indefatigable promoter of the mining industry in the territory" of Utah, but that business reverses came to him because his judgement was "unequal to the task of the many and ambitious enterprises he initiated."\(^{193}\)

It is evident that those commenting on Connor's failure in mining take different views concerning the reasons. Brigham Young attributed his failure to lack of personal funds; Dwyer blamed it on ill luck and his estrangement from his family; Rogers attempted to shift the blame from Connor personally and place it upon the conditions prevalent at that time in the territory; and Ghent said it was the lack of sound judgement on Connor's part. Whatever the case, the facts remain that Connor did not succeed and died almost penniless.

**Connor's Death and Funeral**

One year before Connor's death, the Irish-American Association which was active in Salt Lake City gave a ball in Connor's honor on his seventieth birthday. They issued a

193 Johnson and Maione, *loc. cit.*
proclamation which was published in The Daily Tribune on March 16, 1890, that stated the following:

To the manhood and womanhood of Utah, we appeal irrespective of creed or clan to rally in the legions to-morrow at the Salt Lake Theater to pay deference to the grand old man, Gen. P. E. Connor's seventieth birthday. The Irish-American ball given in his honor is unselfish and intensely American. The hero of three wars has passed the allotted three score and ten. It is a well known fact that General Connor has devoted the cream of his manhood to Utah Territory. Ingratitude is the basest crime man can be guilty of. Will the patriotism of Utah rise to the occasion, or will it forever remain beneath the stigma of negligence? There is something still to live for, and that is to reward honest manhood. The Irish-American Association is not in this movement through love of greed, but, on the contrary, seeks to promulgate the tenets of allegiance to the flag for which the Gladstone of Utah has fought for fifty years. This afternoon the Irish-Americans will assemble at the Temple of Honor Hall to make final preparation for the ball. Every member and sympathizer is invited.

COMMITTEE

From the language used and the appeal given in the above statement, it was apparent that there were those who honored and respected Connor in 1890.

In Connor's seventy-first year, and about the beginning of his last illness, he was sitting in his office located in the Walker House Hotel when one of his soldier friends asked him about his health. Connor reportedly said: "How many of the old command are here?" "Why?" asked the soldier. Connor then answered: "Because I was wondering whether there was enough to act as pallbearers."

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194 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 16, 1890, p. 6.

195 Hance and Warr, op. cit., p. 35.
Death came to Patrick Edward Connor in the evening of December 17, 1891, while he slept in his bed at the Walker House. He did, however, receive the last sacraments of the Catholic Church before he died.\textsuperscript{196} The next day the Deseret Evening News carried an article on Connor entitled "Conquered at Last." The opening statement was:

GENERAL CONNOR is dead. After struggling with the common foe for many days he at last succumbed to the great conqueror of the race, whose victories will prevail until He who is the resurrection and the life shall destroy death and him that hath power of death, and deliver universal humanity from the grave.\textsuperscript{197}

The article then gave a brief summary of Connor's life and ended with a statement that implied that Connor would have been more successful in life had he remained in the army rather than engaging in mining.

Connor's funeral was held on December 21, 1891, and it was reported that thousands viewed his body as it lay in state, clad in the uniform of a Major-General. The body was escorted by the Sixteenth U. S. Infantry and many local military and civilian officials along the same route Connor first used when he entered Salt Lake Valley in 1862.\textsuperscript{198} He was laid to rest in the post cemetery at Fort Douglas.

\textsuperscript{196}Sutton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 710.

\textsuperscript{197}\textit{Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints}, December 18, 1891, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{198}Hance and Warr, \textit{loc. cit.}
The Estate of Connor

Since all the writers who evaluated Connor's estate mentioned that he died in relative poverty, it was the interest of this author to discover if such were the case. A search of the records held by the County Clerk of Salt Lake County revealed a probate record of Connor's estate that verifies the statements made by the writers just mentioned. A probate of Connor's holdings was necessary because no will was left.

In the "Probate Record Estates NI Legal Record" for the years 1892 to 1894, it is recorded that on March 2, 1892, Patrick E. Connor, Jr., filed a petition to be appointed administrator of his father's estate. Since no one opposed the motion, he was appointed as administrator and placed a bond of twenty-four hundred dollars.

Several men were appointed as appraisers of the property held by Connor. They were John Connor, William Kelly, D. B. Stover, John Green, David Fisher, D. Sheppard, B. C. Harvey, Jas McTierney, and Clarence Warnock.

On July 10, 1892, Patrick Connor, Jr. delivered an inventory of Connor's money and property holdings in Salt

199 "Probate Record of Estates NI Legal Record Year 1892 to 1894 Inc.," p. 73. This record is found in the clerk's office in the Salt Lake County building in Salt Lake City.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid., pp. 74-75.
City. The inventory revealed that in real estate in Salt Lake City Connor held one-half interest in lots thirty-eight and thirty-nine of block one of the Richland addition, a subdivision of lots one, two, three, and twenty of block ten. The property was appraised at $40.00. It also showed that Connor had on deposit in the W. F. and Cos Bank in Salt Lake City $543.14. Since a voucher had been paid for $193.00, the original cash on hand would have been $736.14.

McTierney and Warnock appraised Connor's liabilities in Salt Lake, Tooele, and Summit Counties at $776.14, $40.00 more than his assets in the bank.

Another inventory entered revealed Connor's holdings in Wasatch County as one-third interest in a mine called the Fairmoat Lode. It was appraised by Fisher, Sheppard and Green at $500.00.

Connor's holdings in Tooele County were more extensive because he spent more of his time and efforts in that area. The inventory for Tooele County showed that Connor owned a mine in Ophir Mining District called the Chloride Point Mine which was two thousand feet long. It was a patented mine and was appraised at $2,000.00.

\[202\] Ibid., p. 76.
\[203\] Ibid.
\[204\] Ibid., pp. 76-77.
\[205\] Ibid., p. 79.
\[206\] Ibid., pp. 387-388.
Also in Tooele County in the Rush Valley Mining District Connor held two-thirds interest in the General Connor Tunnel which consisted of six mines: the Roxie, the Broughton, the Jane, the Humboldt, the Little Joe, and the Argonaut Lode. This property was appraised at $1,000.00.\(^{207}\)

The records of the Rush Valley Mining District indicate that a claim was entered by Patrick Connor, Jr. for the six mines just listed, and it stated that he intended to hold and work them.\(^{208}\)

In Stockton, Utah, Connor held a great deal of property. Concerning this the probate record inventory revealed that he owned the following lots there:

Town lots in Stockton. 1 to 20 of block 72; 1 to 16 of block 73; 1 to 10 of block 74; 1 to 19 of block 75; 1 to 20 of block 76; 1 to 20 of block 77; 1 to 11 of block 83; 1 to 10 and 13 to 15 of block 84; 3 to 14 and 16 of block 85; 3 to 10 of block 86; 5 to 8 of block 87; 3 to 7 and 9 of block 88; 2 to 7 and 8 of block 91; 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 10 of block 90; 1 to 7 and 10 to 12 of block 92; 1 to 9 of block 93.\(^{209}\)

This property in Stockton, Utah, was appraised at $920.00.

Personal property held by Connor in Tooele County was appraised at $20.00.\(^{210}\)

\(^{207}\)Ibid.

\(^{208}\)"Rush Valley or Stockton Mining District Book of Intention and Work, Book A, 1870-1879," pp. 149-150.

\(^{209}\)"Probate Record of Estates NI Legal Record Year 1892 to 1894 Inc.,” pp. 387-388.

\(^{210}\)Ibid., p. 388.
Most, if not all, of the property held by Connor in Stockton, Utah, fell into the hands of the county because of the non-payment of taxes and was later sold by the county and quit claim deeds were issued to the new owners. Many separate deeds exist and it is not the intention of the author to list them. It is interesting to note, however, that one of the buyers of Connor's property in Stockton was the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. 211

A summary of the probate record indicates that Connor held real estate property in Salt Lake City and Stockton appraised it at total value of $960.00. His bank balance was $736.14. Connor's holdings in eight mines was appraised at a total of $3,500.00 and his personal property was valued at $20.00. This gave Connor a total estate valued at $5,216.14.

One more item of interest appeared on many of the quit claim deeds. Some of these deeds were issued as late as April 1966. This item was a list of Connor's family and they were given as follows: Catherine F. Oliver, San Francisco; Hilary G. Connor, San Francisco; Maurice J. Connor, died Salt Lake August 7, 1903; Eugene T. Connor,

211"In the District Court, Probate Division In and For Tooele County, State of Utah," July 22, 1959. This is a Quit Claim Deed which is recorded in the Tooele Clerk's Office.
died Philadelphia December 13, 1903; and Patrick E. Connor, Jr., died Salt Lake City October 12, 1916.

**Titles Given to Patrick Connor**

Many titles have been given to Patrick Connor since his death. Ghent and Whitney both have called him the "Father of the Liberal Party."\(^{212}\) Whitney explained that Connor was given this title because he attempted to change control in Utah to the gentiles by inducing gentile immigration into the territory to overwhelm the Mormons by force of numbers.\(^{213}\) Whitney gave evidence that Connor was involved in politics because at a Liberal Party convention called by J. M. Orr and held at Corinne, Utah, on July 16, 1870, Connor was chosen as temporary chairman of the meeting.\(^{214}\)

In the introduction to the article, *A History of Fort Douglas*, the following tribute appeared:

> A man Connor who undoubtedly had as much influence over the development of the Territory of Utah as did the Mormon leader, Brigham Young, with whom the bellicose general frequently "looked horns."\(^{215}\)

Hance and Warr stated that Connor "exercised a greater influence economically and politically on the territory than any other so-called gentile of his day."\(^{216}\)

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\(^{212}\)Johnson and Malone, *loc. cit.*

\(^{213}\)Whitney, *loc. cit.*

\(^{214}\)Ibid., p. 389.


Tullidge said Connor was to gentiledom what Brigham Young was to Mormondom. He further stated that Connor could have been governor of Utah because while he was performing a missionary service to the nation, he was "a sort of godfather to nearly all the regenerating agencies," of the territory of Utah.217

Perhaps the two titles Patrick Edward Connor enjoys the most today are the First Gentile of Utah and the "Father" of Utah Mining.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Patrick Connor entered Utah Territory in 1862 as the commander of the Utah Military District. His duties were to guard the overland mail route and to determine the loyalty of the Mormons to the Union.

His relationship with the Mormons in 1862 was rather strained and often it appeared that a major conflict between the army and the Mormons was inevitable, but because of good judgement on both sides no such conflict occurred. After his retirement from the army Connor settled in Utah to look after his mining interests. In his later life Connor and the Mormons became more friendly with each other and at one time Connor had offered to post the bail for the Mormon leader Brigham Young even if the amount was one million dollars.

In his attempt to develop mining in Utah General Connor used every means governmental or personal at his disposal. He ordered several companies of infantry to prospect for precious metals and even granted furloughs to his men for the same purpose. To attract the attention of people in other parts of the nation to the mining ventures in Utah, he sent out circular letters containing information relative to
mining possibilities in the area and at the same time offered ample protection to the miners who would come to the territory from any hostility by the Indians or whites living there.

Although Connor invested $80,000 of his own money in mining and held claims in numerous mines, he still failed in his attempt to gain personal wealth for himself. His failure was due to his over speculation in mining investments, poor business ability on his part, and his inexperience in mining methods. Also the high cost of transportation in Utah prior to the coming of the railroad in 1870 contributed to his failure. At the time of his death his estate was valued at approximately $5,000.

Patrick Connor is called the "Father" of Utah mining because he was the first to promote the prospecting for and the development of precious metals in Utah and because he was the first to formally organize and establish mining districts and mining companies in the territory. He, however, was not the first to engage in mining in Utah because the Mormons had developed mining for iron ore and coal several years before Connor entered the territory.

Because of his efforts to promote non-Mormon interests in Utah, Connor is considered to be as important to the early gentiles there as Brigham Young was to the early Mormons. His efforts to promote a political overthrow of the Mormons in Utah earned him the title of the Father of
the Liberal Party and the First Gentile in Utah. His greatest influence, however, was the part he played in the promotion, organization, and investment in the mining in Utah.
APPENDIX I

PATRICK CONNOR'S MINING INVESTMENTS
1863 TO 1883

(Source: Mining District Books listed in the selected Bibliography under the heading of Primary Sources, Contemporary Works.)
## MINING DISTRICTS FORMED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9-17-1863</td>
<td>West Mountain Quartz</td>
<td>East side of Oquirrh Mt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-18-1863</td>
<td>Wasatch Mountain</td>
<td>West side of Wasatch Mt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-11-1864</td>
<td>Rush Valley</td>
<td>West side of Oquirrh Mt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-1870</td>
<td>Ophir District</td>
<td>South of Rush Valley Dist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Mountain Lake</td>
<td>Cottonwood area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Little Cottonwood</td>
<td>Cottonwood area</td>
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## MINING COMPANIES

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<th>Footage or Shares</th>
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<td>Jordan Silver Mining Company</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9-17-1863</td>
<td>Vedette Mining Co.</td>
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<td>1-4-1864</td>
<td>Eureka Mining Co.</td>
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<td>2-6-1864</td>
<td>Empire Mining Co.</td>
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## MINES

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<td>Rush Valley Lode</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Quandary Lode</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-14-1864</td>
<td>Kate Connor Mine</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-31-1864</td>
<td>Young American</td>
<td>Bingham Canyon</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1st w. Ex.</td>
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<td>Potomac Lode</td>
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<td>Mammoth Lode</td>
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<td>Decotah</td>
<td>Bates &amp; Pole yon</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Name of Mine</td>
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<td>Footage or Shares</td>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>Footage or Shares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Lady Laura</td>
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<td>3-5-1866</td>
<td>Homeward Bound</td>
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<td>12-14-1866</td>
<td>Ocean Wave Lode</td>
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## TRANSFERS CONNOR PURCHASED

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<td>Roze; and Twilight</td>
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## TRANSFERS CONNOR PURCHASED

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### TRANSFERS CONNOR PURCHASED

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<td>Giant Lode 1st SW Ex.</td>
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<td>8-12-1864</td>
<td>Eureka Tunnel</td>
<td>Bingham Canyon</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-6-1880</td>
<td>General Connor Tunnel</td>
<td>Soldier Canyon</td>
<td>All ledges to be cut</td>
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### SMELTERS AND FURNACES

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<tr>
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<td>Rush Valley Smelting Co.</td>
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### WATER AND TIMBER CLAIMED

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<th>Purpose</th>
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<td>Water &amp; Timber</td>
<td>Rogers Canyon</td>
<td>For a tunnel</td>
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<td>5-30-1864</td>
<td>Timber</td>
<td>Johnson Canyon</td>
<td>For a tunnel</td>
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<tr>
<td>7-12-1864</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Butterfiled Canyon</td>
<td>For a mill</td>
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<tr>
<td>7-13-1864</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Markham's Fork</td>
<td>For Independ-ence Mine</td>
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<td>Water</td>
<td>Spring Canyon</td>
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<tr>
<td>4-13-1880</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Soldier Canyon</td>
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Appendix II

Connor's Official Communication to R. C. Drum
Concerning the Mormon Problem of March, 1863

COLONEL: I have the honor to communicate for the information of the general commanding the following facts in relation to the extraordinary proceedings of the people of the Territory during the last twelve days. On Tuesday, the 3d instant, an excited meeting was held in the Mormon tabernacle in Salt Lake City, at which resolutions were passed asking His Excellency Governor Harding, and Associate Justices Drake and Waite, to resign and leave the Territory. The reason they give for this action is that those gentlemen caused a bill to be presented before Congress which they say is inimical to their interests; but I have reason to believe that such is not their real cause of grievance, and that because those gentlemen do not choose to become the tools and creatures of Brigham Young, and follow in the footsteps of ex-Governor Cumming, the present Chief Justice Kinney, and the present Secretary of State, Frank Fuller, is the real cause of this action against them. The latter officers, Messrs. Kinney and Fuller, disgrace their commissions and the Government they represent, and I unhesitatingly assert that while the former, Chief Justice Kinney, holds his office no conviction can be had before his court against a Mormon unless Brigham Young would sanction such conviction. This appears strong language, but the assertions are susceptible of proof and manifest to every resident and loyal citizen of the Territory. On Tuesday, the 3d, and between the hours of 10 p.m. and 3 a.m. of the 4th instant Brigham caused to be removed from the Territorial arsenal to his residence all the ordnance and ordnance stores, and placed a large body of armed men in his yard, which is inclosed with a high stone wall. On Monday, the 9th, he raised the national flag over his residence for the first time I am told since his arrival in the Territory, but not, however, from motives of patriotism or for any loyal purpose, but was a signal to his people to assemble armed, which they immediately did, to the number of about 1,500. The same farce was performed again on the 12th instant, and the only excuse his adherents give for this extraordinary proceeding is that he feared I would arrest him for uttering treasonable language, but in my opinion that is not the true cause, as there has been nothing in my conduct or language which could be construed so as to induce that belief further than what I said when I first entered the Territory, to the effect that "any person, whosoever he might be, who was guilty of using treasonable language would be arrested and sent to Alcatraz Island." Since my arrival the people of the Territory have been treated kindly and courteously by both my officers and men, who have never given one of them cause for complaint, which the people freely acknowledge. But notwithstanding this, the courtesy we have given is returned with abuse. They rail at us in their sermons in which we are also classed with cutthroats and gamblers, our
Government cursed and vilified in their public speeches and meetings, and those of their people who supply this camp with vegetables, eggs, butter, and produce are proscribed and shamefully abused for extending such favors. The late armed display was a mere ruse to frighten the proscribed Federal officers from the Territory; or else they desire to have a conflict with the Government, and are endeavoring to provoke me into inaugurating it. The latter I believe to be the real motive, however Brigham Young may try to disguise the fact. As evidence to substantiate the latter belief, he made use of the following language in a speech delivered at the Tabernacle on Monday [Tuesday], the 3d instant:

Joseph Smith told me thirty years ago that these prophecies were bound to come true. He hoped they would. He would like to live in heaven with the Government of the United States, but he had no desire to live with a people who had brought ruin and disgrace upon their own heads. He would not live with or have anything to do with the United States. He would have a free and independent government to himself, where he could enjoy his civil and religious liberties. That Smith had told him that the South would rise against the North, and the North against the South, and that they would fight until both parties were destroyed, and for my part I give it godspeed, for they shed the blood of the Prophet.

And on Sunday, the 8th instant, he said:

Is there anything we would not do to show our loyalty to the Government? Yes. If the present Administration should ask us for 1,000 men, or even 500, to go down there (meaning to fight the rebels), I would see them damned first, and then they could not have them while those soldiers are in our vicinity.

And at the same place and on the same day Heber Kimball, second president of the Mormon Church, said: "We can defy the whole Federal Government." To which the congregation responded: "That's So." "We Can."

The people are by order of Brigham Young busily engaged in preparing ammunition and cannon, and their foundry for some weeks past has been used for casting cannon balls; they also loudly assert that I shall not be re-enforced, and that if the attempt is made they will cut off the re-enforcements in detail and attack me. The law against polygamy is a dead letter on the statute books. Brigham has literally violated it, and boasts that he will have as many wives as he desires, and advises his people to pursue the same course. American citizens (who are not Mormons) can not hold real estate in the Territory, and
those who undertake to do so are abused and threatened, their property stolen or confiscated by the Mormon courts upon a charge manufactured for the occasion. I have applications daily from people of the Mormon faith who desire to leave the Territory, and who say they cannot do so without protection from me, as they fear they would be arrested, their property taken from them on some trumped up charge, and probably their lives taken. They have ample grounds for their fears, for such has been the fate of many a poor wretch who dared to apostatize and leave the Mormon Church. Yesterday morning Brigham Young started to the northern settlements, with a guard of 150 mounted men. Previous to starting they were drawn up in front of his residence, and as the Governor's son, who is also his private secretary, was passing, some of them shouted "three cheers for Ex-Governor Harding [Cumming?] and long life to Jeff. Davis." Companies are drilled daily and exercised in target practice. I had contemplated and have all preparations made for another expedition against the Indians, this being the best and most favorable season for that service, for the reason that in the summer the Indians scatter so in the mountains that it is impossible to make a successful campaign against them. But in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Mormons I will be compelled to forego such duty for the season.

Such is a plain and brief statement of the facts as they exist here, and unless re-enforced, as I have requested in a former communication, I would respectfully recommend that my command be withdrawn from the Territory and the Mormons be left to further preparation of their infamous conduct until such time as the Government can spare the number of troops required to forever put a stop to their outrageous, unnatural, and treasonable institutions. My command is in no immediate danger, but if the present preparations of the Mormons should continue I will be compelled for the preservation of my command to strike at the heads of the church, which I can do with safety, for they being once in my power their followers will not dare touch me; but if I remain in my present position (although a strong one) for them to attack me, I am lost, as they have about 5,000 men capable of bearing arms and cannon of heavier caliber than mine. In any event the general commanding can rest assured that I will do nothing rashly or hastily, and my intercourse with them will be, as heretofore, courteous and firm.
APPENDIX III

MINING MAP OF UTAH SHOWING MINING DISTRICTS

AS OF 1871

(Source: B. A. M. Froiseth, New Mining Map of Utah, 1871. Compiled from U. S. Government Surveys and Other Authentic Sources.)
NEW MINING MAP
OF
UTAH

Showing the location of the Mining Districts over an extent of Territory 150 miles from North to South Compiled from U.S. Government Surveys and Other Authentic Sources.

RAMPROSETH
Aired by H.N.Burchen
SALT LAKE CITY
1874.

WALKER BROTHERS.

A large crew of Miners, Mill Owners, and Operators, 50, in the surveying, mining, and supplying of Supplies, Tools, Equipment, etc., are at hand.

A large amount of Quick Rock of their fifteen best Mills in East Cent., in the district of Gold, Silver, and Lead, and are ready to supply at low rates all the local and regional needs. 

A list of all the Mill owners, Operators, and Miners, are ready to supply at low rates all the local and regional needs.

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PATRICK EDWARD CONNOR
"FATHER" OF UTAH MINING

An Abstract
Of a Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
William Fox
August 1966
ABSTRACT

Patrick Edward Connor was a military officer who was given the duty of guarding the overland mail route in the West during the civil war. In addition to this he was to watch the Mormons in Utah and determine their loyalty to the government of the United States. He was the commander of the Military District of Utah and he established his headquarters at Camp Douglas which was near Salt Lake City, Utah.

While stationed in Utah Connor saw action against hostile Indians on the Bear River in Idaho and other places; had some problems with the Mormons; and became interested in the mining possibilities of the Utah territory.

The evidence indicates that General Connor was desirous of overthrowing the power of the Mormons in Utah by inducing a large number of so-called gentiles into the territory. He had hoped that a vast number of gentiles would come into Utah and unite together against the Mormons and gain political control legally at the polls.

Since the gold rush into California in 1849 provided an example of how fast such an event could populate an area, Connor attempted to create a similar situation in Utah. He used every means at his disposal to achieve his goal. Through his governmental position as commanding general of the Utah Territory he ordered several companies of men to
prospect for precious metals and granted others furloughs for the same purpose. Many of the mining claims registered in Utah between 1862 and 1866 were done so by the officers under Connor's command. He also sent circular letters to various parts of the country to advertise the mineral possibilities of the territory and promised miners military protection if they would come to Utah for mining purposes.

It is estimated that Connor invested $80,000 of his own money in mining ventures in Utah. He created several mining districts and companies and held claims in numerous mines in the territory. He also engaged in the building of tunnels, furnaces, and smelters. Connor was also responsible for the founding of the town of Stockton, Utah.

In spite of all his mining activities Connor was not successful in his attempt to gain personal wealth. He failed in this regard because he over speculated on investments, had poor business ability and was inexperienced in mining methods.

Patrick Connor was not successful in his desires to overthrow the Mormon power in Utah, but he was extremely influential in the development of mining in the territory. He is called the "Father" of Utah mining because he was the first to formally organize mining districts and companies in Utah and because he exerted such an influence on mining as to induce others to invest their time and capital in the mining possibilities of the area.
Although Connor is called the "Father" of Utah mining, he was not the first to engage in mining in Utah as that distinction belongs to the Mormons who mined for iron ore and coal several years before Connor came to Utah. He was, however, important because of the role he played as an organizer, promoter, and investor in the mining industry.