History of the Cotton Mission and Cotton Culture in Utah

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HISTORY OF THE COTTON MISSION

AND

COTTON CULTURE IN UTAH

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF THE
DIVISION OF RELIGION OF THE BRIGHAM
YOUNG UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILL-
MENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DE-
GREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

BY

IVAN J. BARRETT

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Possibly no area in western America has had a more dramatic history than has Utah's Dixie. Here the most successful Indian Mission ever sponsored by the Church was founded, with the famous Jacob Hamblin, at its head; here, the Church looked for its products of a southern clime, such as figs, grapes, molasses, and cotton; here man struggled with the stubborn earth in an effort to force from her bosom life's sustenance; and here, he valiantly battled against an even more obstinate river. Have the annals of history a more dramatic chapter than man's battle to live?

There has been some monumental work done with the history and agricultural accomplishments of Dixie. Theses by A. Karl Larson and H. L. Reid have made worth while contributions. But Dixie was settled primarily for the raising of cotton. This important agricultural product, and the sweat and toil behind the growing of it, have been referred to in treatises on this area only incidentally. Gone are the days when the white bolled cotton fields waved in Dixie; the creak of the back bent over a cotton plant bearing a burden of fluffy fleece, is no longer heard in the fields beside the Virgin; the gins are stilled, and the bales of snowy lint are not being hauled to Washington. The cotton factory, once the pride of Dixie, and the largest of its kind west of the Mississippi River, stands minus windows and doors on the west side of Washington near highway 91, a deserted and neglected relic of the days gone by.
But the history of this far reaching economic enterprise of the Mormon Church, the faith and brawn of those men and women called to bring about the realization of the adventure, should never be forgotten. Here is a phase of the self-sustaining plan of the Church, unique among all the economic endeavors of the West.

The writer, being interested in the agricultural project of cotton growing in early Dixie, and finding scarcely anything written on the subject, has gone into the original sources, histories, journals, diaries, etc., and found a reservoir of enlightenment regarding cotton culture in Utah's Dixie. He has tried to assemble from the most important sources, an informative yet interesting study of cotton culture in Utah. The writer in no wise pretends to have exhausted the subject, nor to have reached all the sources. Many of those early cotton growers who did most to produce this staple, kept no record of their achievements. Few are now living who participated in the cotton culture of Dixie during its most productive years, therefore, in many cases, the narratives of men who planted, picked and ginned cotton have passed into oblivion. Yet the records extant, convince the writer that the pioneer exertions in Utah's Dixie to raise cotton equals in many ways the cotton culture of the southern states.

The writer expresses gratitude to those who have assisted in any way during the preparation of this thesis. Apprecia-
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Ivan J. Barrett

Hurricane, Utah
March 12, 1947
INTRODUCTION

The satisfying of human wants was a major problem facing the Mormon Pioneers during the colonization of the Great Basin. Food, clothing and shelter are primarily the basic wants of man. Could the desert land of the Basin area sustain a large body of people? Men familiar with the country said no! But the Mormons knew that, isolated as they were from the world, their own wants must be supplied by themselves or they would surely perish. The saints recognized that the staff of life could be wrested from the native soil, that butter, cheese and milk might be had from their cattle which grazed on the range. Homes of mud and logs were constructed as temporary shelters, but their scanty supply of wearing apparel had to be augmented, if the colonizers were to remain clothed. The question arose: should the needed articles of clothing be the workmanship of their own hands, or should they be imported from the east? The merchants, finding the California emigrants glutted with eastern commodities, and anxious to exchange their goods at reduced rates, for food-stuff, favored the latter policy. Mormon leadership, on the other hand, persistently promoted the policy of a self-sustaining commonwealth. They were told that their clothing should be the creation of their own hands.

Fabrics used in making clothes must come from raw materials, usually taken from the soil. Of all the raw products
used in the manufacture of fabrics, the most useful was cotton. Could cotton be grown in the alkali valleys of the Great Basin? For cotton culture, certain conditions were essential, such as warm climate, low altitude, and the proper kind of soil. Could such an area be found in the Great American Desert? Furthermore, assuming cotton could be grown, would the manufactured articles compete with imported commodities?

As scouts explored the Rocky Mountain Area, land south of the Basin's rim was found, with climate, soil and altitude favorable to cotton culture. Experienced cotton growers were sent to this favored spot, to experiment with cotton raising. It was demonstrated that cotton would grow, and grow abundantly. The dream of a self-sustaining commonwealth had come a step further toward realization.

THE PROBLEM

Yet in this dream of independence, came many bafflements, especially in the manufacturing of the raw products into articles for home consumption. Never was the home manufacturer free from outside competition. In reality, the Mormon commonwealth never enjoyed exclusive home industrial independence.

Hence, the problem: What contribution did the cotton mission, and cotton culture, make toward the development of the Mormon commonwealth, and the policy of home industry?

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The writer, through painstaking research, has carefully
examined all available sources. It is doubtful, if any material of importance pertaining to cotton culture, among the Mormons, has been over-looked. The sources delved into during the preparation of this work, consisted of histories dealing with the colonization of the Great Basin, and particularly the settlement of the area south of the Rim. These histories were both primary and secondary. Journals and diaries, kept by pioneers who played vital parts in the cotton culture of the west, have been scrutinized with care. Letters and documents written by factory superintendents, bishops and stake presidents, have been studied, and valuable material obtained. Living participants in cotton culture have been interviewed, and their first-hand accounts have proved invaluable. Besides the above, the old cotton factory at Washington and various fields where cotton once grew, have been visited.

Finally the material gathered has been sifted and placed into categories, according to chapters. The arrangement has been primarily chronological, covering a period between 1849 and 1910. The history of the Cotton Mission, established along the Rio Virgin and the Muddy River, along with that of cotton culture among the Mormons, has been treated honestly and objectively.
CHAPTER I

HOME INDUSTRY POLICY OF THE MORMON LEADERS

AN EARLY POLICY OF THE CHURCH

In considering the history of the cotton mission and the cotton industry among the Mormons, one must treat them as part of the great program of the home industry policy, which was initiated and encouraged by the Church leaders to make the saints independent and self-sustaining. From the early rise of the Church until the present day, (as is evidenced from the extensive welfare program throughout the Church) the men at the head have considered the "bread and butter" problem a vital part of the Gospel. Edward Partridge, who was made Bishop, was the first general officer appointed, after the organization of the Church. The revelation calling him to this capacity stated that he was "to leave his merchandise and to spend all his time in the labors of the Church", which was to care for the temporal needs of the members. In an early revelation through Joseph Smith, the Lord instructed the members: "let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands." The Law of Consecration was designed to make the saints independent and equal in temporal things as they were in spiritual. The policy of dealing among themselves, having little or no com-

2. Ibid. 42:40.
3. Ibid. 51: 1-20 "let every man ** be alike among this people, and receive alike, that ye may be one."
mercial intercourse with outsiders, proved to be one of the causes of persecution which terminated in the saints being driven from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois.

After missionaries to England had converted hundreds, and encouraged them to emigrate to Nauvoo, plans were made before their arrival, which were designed to help them become self-supporting. As early as 1840, one year after the founding of Nauvoo, the Prophet Joseph in a letter to the "traveling high council and elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Great Britain, said:

As there are great numbers of the saints in England who are extremely poor, and not accustomed to the farming business, who must have certain preparations made for them before they can support themselves in this country; therefore, to prevent confusion and disappointment when they arrive here, let those men who are accustomed to make machinery and those who can command capital, though it be small, come here as soon as convenient, and put up machinery, and make such other preparations as may be necessary, so that when the poor come on, they may have employment to come to. This place has advantages for manufacturing and commercial purposes, which but very few can boast of, and the establishment of cotton factories, foundries, potteries, etc. would be the means of bringing in wealth, and raising it to a very important elevation. 5

This policy so auspiciously introduced into the doctrine of the infant Church by Joseph Smith, was carried on with enthusiasm by Brigham Young. He even advised the dest-

4. See Berrett. The Restored Church. pp. 152; 245-247
5. Documentary History of the Church. Vol. IV, p. 228
stitute saints, camped on the Missouri at Winter Quarters, to be self-supporting. A grist mill was constructed where grain, grown by the saints themselves, was ground into flour. Willows were gathered from along the bank of the river and made into baskets. Some of the men made washboards and these and other articles were sold to the people of Iowa and Missouri. Brigham Young, in a letter to the Apostles in England, wrote, in reference to these articles, that "hundreds of dollars' worth have already been completed and there is a prospect of quite an income from this source in the spring."

Brigham Young, like Joseph Smith before him, wanted the saints to be independent and develop every available resource for their benefit. One appreciative disciple wrote; "Our President does not stick at anything that tends to advance the gathering of Israel or promote the cause of Zion in these days; he sleeps with one eye open and one foot out of bed, and when anything is wanted he is on hand, and his counselors are all of one heart with him in all things." After leading his people to the vast wastelands of the great American desert, it would seem from his vast program for the independence of his people, that he had both eyes open and both feet out of bed, for in this utter isolation he and

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his fellow leaders realized that a self-sustaining economy was not only a good policy of the Church, but "It meant life or death to the people."

CONQUERORS OF THE DESERT ASPIRE TO COMPLETE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

The Mormons were driven from their homes in three states, before they could successfully work out their program of economic independence, through the means of home industry. Grim necessity, in an isolated desert abode, forced forward the initiative which was to make Zion a self-contained commonwealth. The saints were separated from the Market of the World by hundreds of miles and by two of the nation's highest mountain ranges. They had traveled, many on foot, over those tiring miles and climbed the mountain passes. Weary of such toil, the courageous, but penniless pioneers, were in a proper state of mind to prize the benefits of home industry. Their penurious condition depleted their power to purchase commodities from abroad, and the freighting charges of $250 a ton discouraged further the importing of needed articles. The saints were fortunate, never the less, in having among them, workers from a variety of manufacturing industries. "Over three hundred trades and occupations were represented." Of these, blacksmiths, butchers, candlemakers, cabinet

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makers, farmers, harness-makers, iron founders, millers, sugar-boilers, weavers, woel-dressers, cotton growers, and basket makers, predominated. Having such an array of skilled laborers, Brigham Young's dream of a self-sufficient people would go a long way toward realization. Nels Anderson wisely observed, "He (Brigham Young) prayed that the bars of isolation should be raised high, so that the saints would be forced to turn with diligence to manufacturing."

Besides this army of trained workmen, the new country offered vast opportunity for the development of economic independence. The soil was fertile and with aid of irrigation became very productive. The climate was variable so that not only temperate fruits and grains would grow, but even semi-tropical products, such as figs and cotton would flourish.

Along with the skilled laborers and the fertility of the soil, the saints, because of their vast missionary program, could draw on the storehouse of the whole world for the choicest of seeds, plants, new machinery and inventions. The missionaries served as collectors of the good things of the world as well as proselyting agencies. Likewise to the converts emigrating to the new world Zion, instructions were given to bring with them:

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10. Desert Saints. p. 142
All kinds of choice seeds, of grains, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines; also, the best stock of beasts, bird and fowl of every kind; also the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning or weaving, dressing cotton, wool, and flax, and silk, etc., or models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them; and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shellers, grain threshers, and cleaners, smut machines, mills and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, happiness, or prosperity of the people. 11

The saints were also advised to bring their gold, silver, and precious stones, likewise their "curiosities of science and art", that the desert Zion might be made beautiful. This wealth was to be used primarily for the adornment of the "House of the Lord". To these calls the converts and missionaries were exceptionally responsive.

Only through this principle of becoming completely self-supporting could the saints enjoy the life of a free and independent people, therefore, Brigham Young counseled his followers to

Produce what you consume. Draw from the native elements the necessities of life; permit no vitiated taste to lead you into indulgence of expensive luxuries which can only be obtained by involving yourselves in debt; let home industry produce every article of home consumption. 12

From almost the moment the pioneers set foot on the valley floor of Salt Lake, they were instructed by their leaders to devote themselves toward economic independence. It was considered their duty to raise every necessary article for food and clothing, and not this alone, but to adorn and beautify every location where in they may settle and make it a paradise on earth "where Gods will delight to visit". This noble aspiration of the desert conquerors to make themselves a self-supporting economy has been evaluated by Dr. Andrew L. Neff in this carefully worded sentence: "This noble dream for the upbuilding of industry in the heart of the desert richly deserves attention as the most determined effort in western annals to achieve quick economic independence."

**HOME INDUSTRY BEGINS IN THE HOME**

Before the importation of machinery and other implements with which to put home industry upon a large scale, among the saints, manufacturing of needed articles and clothing was carried on within the homes. Almost all of this domestic manufacturing was accomplished by the women. They washed and carded the wool, spun the yarn and made the wearing apparel for the entire family. After cotton was raised

13. *History of Utah.* p. 278
in the south and before gins, spinners and weavers were imported, the female part of the household prepared the cotton and made it up into clothing.

One reads from the journals of the pioneers, entries such as the following, written down with pride, because of the accomplishment of a mother, who was capable enough to make the clothing supply for her entire family. Said Christian Stucki, pioneer of Santa Clara:

My father made a loom and my sister Mary Ann learned to weave. We used the root of the dock weed to dye our cloth. Mother had a spinning wheel and we made our own clothes. The spinning wheel was made by my father in the old country.

Men coming home late from the fields would hear the spinning wheels in almost every home humming away as the housewife or grown daughter spun out the yarn in preparation for the weaving process.

President Young was rather proud of the accomplishments of this domestic manufacturing, for early in February, 1852, he wrote in his journal:

We are going in for home manufacturing pretty extensively. My own family alone have this season manufactured over five hundred yards of cloth, and the home-made frequently makes its appearance in our streets and in our gatherings.

He also had observed carefully the efforts of his people along domestic manufacturing lines and recorded

that Sister Hulde Duncan of Davis county, within a five
month period had woven 194 yards of jeans, 508 yards of
linsey and 64 yards of flannel, besides doing her house
work and other culinary duties. This he noted was achieved
with looms and spinning wheels of the most primitive char-
acter.

Wherever the president went he scrutinized, praised
and rewarded any unusual accomplishment in home manufact-
uring. Once while visiting in Southern Utah, he stopped
at Tonaquint, a settlement near the confluence of the Santa
Clara with the Virgin. While there he was introduced to a
woman, who for four years had made all the clothing for
her family of twelve persons. Brother Brigham was very
pleased. He presented her with ten sheep for her industry.

In order to make sure that everyone understood what he
expected of them in respect to their duty regarding domestic
industry, he said:

"...Deploring indeed must be the situation of
that people, whose sons are not trained in the
practice of every useful avocation and whose
daughters mingle not in the hum of industry. Far
be it from me to accuse this people of any lack
of industry but while every energy is brought into
requisition in the most extended labor, it will
become us to give the proper direction to that
labor, to that untiring and persevering effort
which so happily characterized the history of this
people. ***

Fathers, teach your children to practice agri-
culture, or some useful mechanical trade."
Mothers of Israel, you also are called upon to bring up your daughters to pursue some useful avocation for a sustenance, that when they shall become the wives of the elders of Israel, who are frequently called upon missions, or to devote their time and attention to the things of the Kingdom, they may be able to sustain themselves and their offspring. 16

When ever any of the prominent men came out in home-made attire, the Church Newspaper made special mention and praise within their columns. Captain David Evans, a Representative from Utah county, appeared in the Representative's Hall clad in his own family made toggery. Both he and his wife received full recognition. And later when George A. Smith made his appearance in a home-made woolen suit, the News ran the following item:

Elder George A. Smith lately greeted us in a full suit of good handsome home-made woolen cloth, spun, colored and woven by his wife, Hannah M. ** The suit was all home raised and made except the buttons and thread, and is not only very creditable, but the producing it here is taking the course, which, if each labors for and preserves in as fast as possible, will ere long result in financial independence and its accompanying conveniences and advantages. 17

The making and wearing of home made clothing was serious business with the Church leaders, and neglect to produce such materials at home in lieu of buying imported goods, was considered an evil fit for repentence. Brigham Young said he would sink all the imported "calicoes and ri-

bands" to the bottom of the Mississippi and not let a ribbon or a yard of calico be brought west. He exclaimed, "I do not want my wives to have any more, until they can make them themselves." During the October conference of 1869, Erastus Snow gave the people of Salt Lake City, a scathing rebuke for wearing imported clothing, calling it an evil and the sooner it was abolished the better. "Instead of our wives and daughters parading the streets, decked in the fanciful, ridiculous articles of dress that are imported from abroad," he reproved, "it would be much better to see them engaged in some useful occupation at home. Salt Lake City excels every other city or settlement in this Territory for these evils." President Young arose immediately after Snow's remarks and said that he for one, would take the rebuke for the "coat fits us so perfectly that I can not help wearing it. I will appeal to my brothers and sisters to see if it will fit them."

To further facilitate domestic manufacturing among the women and girls, classes were offered by converts from England, Scotland and other European countries, who had been trained in domesticities before their emigrating to Utah. As an example, James G. Brown, recently from Edinburgh, proffered classes in dress making. He was well prepared to

train women in this domestic art, as he had devoted forty years of his life to manufacturing silk and cotton fabrics. While in Edinburgh he had been hired by the town council to train four hundred young women in dress making. In the announcement of his classes addressed to the editor of the Deseret News, he said:

"You will observe by my advertisement in your paper that I am about to introduce into the valley a new and profitable branch of female industry, where by the wealthy may exercise their artistic ingenuity, and others not only decorate themselves, but work for their neighbors, and thereby gain a comfortable living at their own fire-sides and under the eye of their parents.

There is one valuable quality in this employment, viz., a strict attention to a new object every minute, hence, to be successful, they cannot enter into a long discussion on the good and bad traits in their neighbor's character, but mind their own business.

I will provide cloth, cotton and silk used during the time the classes are receiving instructions, and trust females will afterwards ornament themselves with the work of their own hands, rather than having it brought them some hundred miles, and pay the enormous prices demanded in cash."

While building their desert Zion, the Saints were plainly told that the most desirable of all objects, even to the exclusion of celestial salvation, was domestic manufactures, and home made goods. These they must have now, the other could wait.

HOME MANUFACTURING ON A WIDE SCALE

Successful as manufacturing in the home proved to be,

the skillful hands of the housewife could not possibly supply the great demand for necessary articles. Therefore, as soon as machinery could be imported it was put into operation. This not only increased the manufacture of needed articles but lent impetus to the growers of raw products. Heretofore, sheep raisers had not taken pains to care for their flocks, to keep them free from disease, or to have them properly wintered, because there was no market for wool. Likewise, cotton growers in Southern Utah had gone to raising molasses and wheat (in many cases) instead of cotton, for the same reason. With the importations of machinery and the setting up of factories, the demand for raw wool and cotton greatly increased. Matthew Gaunt's mill produced the first factory-made woolen goods in the basin. President Young persuaded Ebenezer Hank to divert his plans from going to the mines, and build a cotton factory at Parowan. This gave the cotton growers farther south a place where their lint could be made into cloth.

To meet the demand for ribbons, handkerchiefs and silk goods, the silk industry was begun among the pioneers. The women took the initiative in this enterprise. Mrs. Nancy Barrows, convert from Connecticut, came to Utah in 1858, bringing with her mulberry seed and silk worm eggs. While waiting for the mulberry trees to grow that she might obtain leaves for food to feed her worms, she hatched the eggs and fed the worms on lettuce. The following year, 1859, she
reeled silk enough to weave a dress pattern on a loom made originally for carpet weaving.

Later eggs were brought from Europe. Again the missionaries became collectors. An Elder Thurber brought silk worm eggs with him from England, upon his return from a mission. After they were hatched, some of the cocoons were sent to President Young. In almost every part of the Territory housewives had their silk worms and mulberry trees growing about their homes. Mr. John Lyle of Salt Lake City set up a silk manufacturing factory and according to a report found in the Deseret News, had a remarkable run of success. Silk products were sent east and exhibited in Chicago, New York and other large cities where wide acclaim was given the home industry of the Mormons. When the wife of President Hayes visited Utah in September, 1880, an elegant home manufactured silk lace fichu was presented to her. In a letter to the Chicago Committee on silk and Silk Culture, a writer from Salt Lake in 1893 says: "All things seem propitious to the development of an (silk) enterprise which ought to result in the ultimate wealth to those who are interested in the work, and a course of considerable revenue to the Territory."

21. Letter found in Heart Throbs of the West. Vol. I. pp. 301-303. The silk industry lasted in Utah for almost half a century, from the latter part of the 1850's to after the turn of the twentieth century. A successful silk enterprise was carried on by members of the cotton mission and will be treated in another chapter.
Flour mills had been in operation since 1848. The first grist mill was run by John Neff. By April, 1851 there were four grain mills grinding flour for the settlers in Salt Lake Valley and seven others located elsewhere in the Territory. More widespread were saw mills which required less capital. Wherever timber was found a saw mill operator was sent to make lumber. By March, 1848 the Gardner brothers, Archibald and Robert, were sawing lumber on Mill Creek. Within five years there were twenty seven such mills established.

The sugar supply brought with the Saints to the basin was soon exhausted. There was found no natural source for sweets to satisfy the sweet-tooth of the pioneer. There were no maple trees such as the New England Saints had once known. Nor did they find wild bees whose honey stores they had robbed with impunity while camped in Iowa. To import sugar was beyond the purchasing power of the Saints. Until sugar could be manufactured in the Territory, substitutes had to be found. Therefore, watermelon sugar was produced, and sugar cane seed was imported and planted in the warm southern climes of the Territory, and it thrived beyond expectation. Juice was crushed out of cane stocks and made into molasses.

22. The first honey was raised in Washington County. One visitor to Washington in Dec. 1862 mentioned being treated to honey. "Yes, sir;" he wrote, "we had Deseret honey fresh from the hive placed on the table, which was a new thing to most of us in Utah." Deseret News. 12:96.
As could be expected, none of these substitutes were satisfactory. While on a mission in France, as early as 1851, John Taylor studied the beet sugar industry. As a result of his study, an organization was effected in England, money raised, machinery purchased, beet seed procured, and all shipped to Utah under the supervision of a competent young Frenchman, Philip De La Mare. After many difficulties in getting the machinery west, coupled with trying years of seeming failure, sugar was finally produced. But due to "opposition from quarters unexpected", the organization became disheartened and broke up. It was not until 1893 that the sugar beet industry was successfully established by Wilford Woodruff.

Everything needful for the health and comfort of the saints was acquired through their own resourcefulness. The rugged out door life of the pioneer required good foot wear and other equipment made from leather. To meet these needs a leather industry was established. President Young had said, "Iron we need, and iron we must have. We cannot do without it, and have it we must if we have to send to England to get it." But iron ore was discovered by Parley P. Pratt's southern exploring party, and men were sent to engage their time and talents into making iron. Their efforts did not bring too encouraging results; yet their labors bear further

testimony to the undaunted vision and determination of the saints to make themselves self-sufficient.

In April, 1863, President Young in his instructions to the settlements south of Great Salt Lake City, said:

"The Lord blesses the land, the air and the water where the saints are permitted to live. The blessings of the Lord are great upon this people. * * * In Utah Territory they (the saints) are well located for a variety of climate suitable to reasonable want. So far as we have learned the resources of the country, we are satisfied that we need not depend upon our neighbors abroad for any single necessity of life, for in the elements around us exists every ingredient of food and raiment; we can be fed with the most delicate luxuries and be clothes almost equal to the lilies of the field." 25

**COTTON VITAL TO A SELF-SUSTAINING PEOPLE**

As time progressed one useful article after another was introduced into the isolated valleys. New enterprises, calculated to develop the resources, were entered into by these industrious people. Each of these new developments added to the wealth, comfort and independence of the pioneers. After

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24. As early as 1852, President Young reported a vast program of Domestic Manufactures. Through the Deseret News he wrote: "Domestic Manufactures, I am happy to state, are in flourishing condition; considerable quantities of leather and crockery having found their way into market, and a large amount of clothing has been made; * * * Specimens of iron have also been forwarded from the works in Iron County. * * I am also happy to announce the arrival in our territory of the machinery for the manufacture of sugar from the beet." Dec. 25, 1852.

the beginning of the Civil War, when it became almost impossible to obtain goods from the States, new interest and impetus was given the home industry policy.

The Deseret Agriculture and Manufacturing Society, organized in 1856 by a law enacted by the Legislative Assembly and endorsed by Governor Young, whose purpose it was to promote home industry, wrote an article addressed to the people of Deseret. In this article the society instructed the people in the following vein:

With regard to internal manufacturing the war-like aspect of the eastern horizon, and our multiplied wants, admonish us to go on in an increasing ratio. The injurious and expensive system of importing goods from the states threatens to be impeded by still higher prices or stopped altogether. We have paid our gold and sweat of the laboring man's brow; it has been expended too long for silks, ribbons, gewgaws, and other articles brought here by traders at enormously high rates. Let us manufacture what we need as far as possible and therewith be content. In this connection we are gratified to record that a factory for the manufacture of cotton yarn, owned by Governor Young and Mr. Hanks, is already in operation in one of our southern towns. We respectfully urge upon our brethren in the southern settlements to continue that important staple—cotton, also, indigo and other dye stuffs, and while the inhabitants make use of tobacco, enough should be produced to supply the market. 26

As has already been intimated, cotton was one of the staples indispensable to the Mormon common wealth. Before the

Civil War, as will be pointed out in later chapters, cotton had been raised on a small scale. Cotton was an infant industry, but the curtailing of this staple from the south sky rocketed cotton prices and placed King Cotton upon his rightly deserved throne. Thus the cotton industry became a most vital part in the home-industry program of the Church. President Young urged large scale cotton growing, for unless the saints produced this staple they would go naked, "as a consequence of the war." "We now meet men," he said, "who seemingly have very little clothing--they wear patch upon patch. I would not by this remark have it understood that clothing ought not to be neatly and somewhat extensively mended, but I have seen men wear pantaloons so patched that it would puzzle you to place your finger upon a piece of the original." 27

Because of this urgent need for materials to clothe his people, Brigham Young established the cotton mission and sent hundreds of missionaries south for no other purpose than to grow this necessary commodity. The following chapters will handle rather comprehensively the story of the cotton mission and cotton growing in Southern Utah.

CHAPTER II

MORMON EXPLORATIONS SOUTH OF THE BASIN

AND EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE COTTON COUNTRY

The Great Basin in which the Mormons found themselves on that warm July day in 1847, was quite well known to the trappers, traders, and scouts prior to that time, but to the saints, it was an entirely new region. It is true that the leaders of this pioneer group had taken every opportunity available to familiarize themselves with the country they planned to inhabit. Long before the saints left Nauvoo, Parley P. Pratt quoted Fremont's journal to the Twelve Apostles, in order to acquaint them with the explorer's knowledge of the West. "Hastings' History of Oregon and California was reviewed in the same way. In the light of this item there can be no doubt concerning the extent and

a. The writer is conscious of the early explorations of Father Escalante 1776, Jedediah Smith 1826, John C. Fremont 1844, and others who had explored the Rio Virgin long before the Mormons came, but it is his design to refer only to the Mormon Explorations south of the Basin and in the region of the Virgin River.

l. Fremont names it the Great Basin because of the fact of the whole area having no outlet to the sea.

Hunter. Mormons and the American Frontier, p. 92.

Dr. James E. Talmage described the Basin as follows: "The region to which this name is applied is of outline roughly triangular. ** It extends about 880 miles in greatest length, running east of south and west of north, and 572 miles in extreme width from east to west. The area thus included is about 210,000 square miles, comprising the western half of Utah, a greater part of Nevada, and portions of eastern California, south eastern Oregon, south eastern Idaho and south western Wyoming." The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past, p. 88, quoted in Berrett. The Restored Church. p. 365.
accuracy of information possessed by the Mormon leaders con-
cerning the Far West before they moved a step out of Nau-
-nef.
All along the western trek they gleaned information from men who had been in the Rocky Mountain area. This general information was second-hand, so the Pioneers, in order to locate suitable places to colonize, had to explore this region themselves, and ascertain from sight the lands capable of sustaining life.

Almost immediately after the vanguard had arrived in Salt Lake Valley, exploring parties were sent out to determine the resources of that valley. As the pioneers pushed out their lines of exploration, the same careful survey was made of each valley in which they hoped to settle. These determining explorations "rapidly multiplied information relative to the extent and nature of the Basin habitat."

As the steady stream of immigrants poured in to Salt Lake Valley, locations for homes had to be found for them. The Mormons wished to be the first to occupy every acre of tillable land in the Basin, so there would be no inducement for Gentiles to move into their midst. For they did not wish to experience the harrowing scenes of Missouri and

3. From Father Pierre Jean De Smet, a Jesuit Priest, and mountain men such as James H. Grieve, Moses Harris, Thomas L. Smith, and James Bridger, they obtained information about the Basin.
4. Neff. op.cit. p. 147.
Illinois again. This rapid colonization of all available agricultural parts, was a plan of defense as well as to locate homes for themselves. Especially did they desire to colonize the outposts of their Rocky Mountain region to prevent the encroachment of their enemies. In fact Brigham Young told a congregation of saints in St. George, "that the object of settling the south is to provide hiding places for those that will love and serve God". As indicated above, along with this defense policy, the dream of making themselves self-sustaining was uppermost in the minds of the Mormon leaders when sending out exploring parties.

THE SOUTHERN EXPLORING COMPANY

It was during this early expansion period that south-western Utah, later to be called Utah's Dixie and the cotton country, was explored and plans made for settlement.

The first Mormon to view this south-western region along the Virgin River was Captain John Jefferson Hunt of Mormon.

6. Mrs. Arthur F. Miles born in 1863, two years after the settlement of St. George, and the daughter of Charles L. Walker, pioneer of the 1862 Cotton Missionary Call, says, "Dixie means southland, but Utah's Dixie is more than Utah's southland. The origin of the name for St. George and vicinity is found in the cotton mission or cotton country as it was called".

7. The early missionaries to the cotton country spelled this river's name Rio Virgen. Albert Miller in his book *Immortal Pioneers*, says this is the plural spelling. James G. Bleak, however, gave the origin of the spelling of the Virgin River as follows: "The early Spanish Roman Catholic missionaries who labored among the Indians along this river are supposed to have named it 'Río Virgen'. In Spanish 'Río' is masculine, and 'Virgen' is either masculine or feminine. This name is, therefore, masculine." *Annals of the Southern Mission*. Book C.
Battalion fame, who, with a small party pushed to the Pacific Coast to procure provisions, seeds, and livestock. This was in the Fall of 1847. His party followed approximately the route which is now Highway 91, from Salt Lake to Little Salt Lake Valley in Iron County, where it joined onto the Old Spanish Trail and followed it to the coast. When he returned the following year by the same route, he carried with him details of his trip but no written account was preserved. We do read, however, from the Journal History in an entry of September 17, 1849, that a group of Church leaders met at Captain Hunt's house to "converse about the southern country and the prospects of settling it. * * * Many questions were asked in regard to the routes, traveling, locations, incidents, etc., and the prospects before the saints caused quite a good feeling."

Interest in the prospects of settling the south proved keen enough for President Young, acting in his capacity of Governor, to plan and prepare to send south, in that Fall and early Winter an exploring party under the leadership of Parley P. Pratt. Of this appointment the worthy apostle records:

I now received a commission from the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the State of Deseret to raise fifty men, with the necessary teams and outfit, and go at their head on an exploring tour to the southland.

This company was soon raised, armed, equipped and ready for a march into the dreary and almost unknown regions of Southern Utah.

This company was organized at the home of John Brown, one of the members, on November 23, 1849, and was given the name of the Southern Exploring Company. Elder Pratt was selected President of the expedition with William W. Phelps and David Fullmer, Counselors. The organization was the same as that which had worked so effectively among the saints while coming west from Winter Quarters. There were 9 to be a captain over fifty and captains over ten.

9. The following is a list of names composing the company:
   Parley P. Pratt, President
   W. W. Phelps, D. Fullmer, Counselors
   Robert L. Campbell, Clerk

First Ten
Isaac C. Haight, Captain
Parley P. Pratt
William Wadsworth
Rufus Allen
Chauncey West
Dan Jones
Hial K. Gay
George B. Mabson
Samuel Gould
William P. Vance

Second Ten
Joseph Matthews, Captain
John Brown
Nathan Tanner
Sterling G. Driggs
Homer Duncan
Wm. Matthews
Schuyler Jennings
John H. Bankhead
John D. Holiday
Robert M. Smith

Third Ten
Joseph Horne, Captain
Wm. Brown
George Nebiker
Benj. F. Stewart
Alexander Wright

James Farrer
Henry Heath
Seth B. Tanner
Alexander Lemon
David Fullmer

Fourth Ten
Ephraim Green, Captain
Wm. W. Phelps
Charles Hopkins
Sidney Willis
Andrew Blodgett
Wm. Henry
Peter Dustin
Thomas Ricks
Robert Campbell
Isaac H. Brown

Fifth Ten
Josiah Arnold, Captain
Jonathan Packer
Christopher Williams
Stephen Taylor
Isaac B. Hatch
John C. Armstrong
Dimick B. Huntington

from Pratt. Ibid pp. 365-366
The company took along with them, twelve wagons, one carriage, twenty-four yoke of cattle, thirty-eight horses and mules, an odometer to measure their mileage, a brass field piece, small arms, seven beehives, and enough flour so that each man might have one hundred and fifty pounds. Besides this, they were well supplied with crackers, bread and meal.

The purpose of the Southern Exploring Company was to observe the natural resources of the country over which they traveled, and to choose sites suitable for settlements. Isaac Haight, one of the fifty called to accompany Pratt on this expedition, writes in his journal for November 9, 1849:

"President Brigham Young desired me to postpone my intentions of going to the mines, and instead, accompany Brother Parley P. Pratt to explore the valleys south ward ** to find a valley for another settlement of the saints in the south part of the Mountains of Israel."

On November 25, 1849, this company of explorers left Salt Lake for the south. They followed the road traveled by Hunt until they came to Salt Creek (Nephi) where they left the main road and followed up Salt Creek Canyon into the Sanpete Valley and stopped at the new settlement of Manti. Leaving Manti the company traveled along the Sevier River until they entered the Circleville Canyon, where they turned to

the southwest and after some difficulty in locating a pass, made their way over the mountains and into the Little Salt Lake Valley. This was December 21. Two days later they camped on Red Creek. (Paragonah) The cattle were so foot sore, lame, and reduced by the rough, hard traveling and scanty grazing along the way, that it was considered essential to the well-being of all, for the majority of the brethren to remain while twenty men were to push on to the Rio Virgin. Therefore, on the 26th of December, the men selected to continue the journey to the Virgin River, with Pratt at their head, mounted their horses and rode south from the Red Creek Camp.

As they traveled toward the Rim, they observed the luxuriant growth of cedars and pines on the mountains, the richness of the soil of the valleys, the size, depth, current, and content of the streams, with possible sites for settlements in mind. On December 28, they camped on the Rim of the Basin and the next day reached Ash Creek, which they called Southern Creek. They recognized it to be a tributary of the Rio Virgin. That night Pratt dreamed about talking to the Indians who grew corn a little further South. As they

12. They were most extravagant in their praise of Cedar Valley and Little Salt Lake Valley. This was their report: "On the southwestern borders of this valley are thousands of acres of cedar, constituting an almost inexhaustible supply of fuel, which makes excellent coal. In the center of these forests rises a hill of the richest iron ore. The water, soil, timber, fuel, and mineral wealth of this and Little Salt Lake Valleys, it was judged were capable of sustaining and employing from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, all of which would have their resources more conveniently situated than any other settlements the company had seen west of the states." Journal History, Dec. 28, 1849.
descended the left bank of Ash Creek, they were doubtful as to whether or not a wagon could be brought down the canyon through which the stream ran. After crossing a black volcanic ridge, they camped, probably in the vicinity of Pinta-
tura. They observed signs of Indians as they traveled fur-
ther south through "grass eight inches high, prickly pears, soap mastual, cactus and tamimump, a weed used by the Indians as a substitute for tobacco." The explorers were not favor-
ably impressed with the scene before them, as they scanned the country through which the Virgin River ran. Even Parley P. Pratt, with his poetic talent and aesthetic inclination, could see only a country:

Showing * * * a wide expanse of chaotic matter * * consisting of huge hills, sandy deserts, cheerless, grassless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose barren clay, dissolving beds of sandstone and various other elements, lying in inconceivable confusion—in short, a country in ruins, dissolved by the peltings of the storms of ages, or turned inside out, up side down, by terrible convulsions in some former age. Eastward the view was bounded by vast tables of mountains one rising above an-
other, and presenting a level summit at the horizon, as if the whole country had once occupied a certain level several thousand feet higher than its present and had been washed away, dissolved or sunk, leav-
ing the monuments of its once exalted level smooth and fertile surface. Poor and worthless as was the country, it seemed everywhere strewn with broken

pottery, well glazed, and striped with unfading colors. 14

To one not bent upon finding fertile lands for new homes and cultivation, this scene before them, as one expressed himself years later, "is calculated to excite the wonders of romance, and bring the powers of imagination into lively 15 exercise."

Nevertheless, as the company traveled into the valley and down the river, they became more favorably impressed. They passed the stubbled corn fields which the Indians had abandoned, and noted all along the fertile valleys of the Virgin River, until they came to the Santa Clara Creek. Parley P. Pratt in his report to Brigham Young, George A. Smith, and others on January 31, said:

On the first of this month (January 1850) the company traveled down the Virgin River, the bottom of which expanded a mile in width, and several miles in length; there was loose sandy fertile, soil easily watered, sometime subject to overflow; also some cotton woods along the river. The explorers soon encountered a range of hills which divided the valley from another, both containing some four or five thousand acres of desirable land, at the lower termination of this second valley, a tributary from the north called the Santa Clara, entered the Rio Virgin. ** *

The climate at this point appeared that of early spring, the buds of trees swelling and the new grass

14. From Parley P. Pratt's report of the Southern Exploring Expedition presented to the Legislative Council of Deseret, Feb. 9, 1850; also found in the account of the travels of the exploring company in The Journal History. Dec. 31, 1849.

15. L. D. Littlefield writing "Incidents of Travel-President Young's Trip to Dixie" published in Deseret News, May 7, 1863.
springing up. The weather was warm and pleasant during the day, and at night moderately cool. 16

When the explorers reached the Santa Clara, their animals were in such a bad condition that they were unable to travel further. They, therefore, turned to the north up the Santa Clara. While in the Virgin River and Santa Clara region, they made friends with the Indians, fed them, and sang Parley Pratt's new song, "O Coma, Come Away From Northern Blasts Retiring." While they camped on the Santa Clara, the Indians came among them. The chief made a speech bidding them welcome and urging the Mormon people to come and settle with them and raise "tickup" (food). These aborigines cultivated small patches, and from all appearances raised good crops by irrigation.

Continuing up the Santa Clara, the company arrived at the new wagon road made by Captain Jefferson Hunt, and traveled it over the divide into the Great Basin passing through the Mountain Meadows which Pratt considered the most beautiful place in all the route." After reaching the base camp in Little Salt Lake Valley, they celebrated with a "most substantial public dinner," commemorating the peopling of Little Salt Lake Valley.

On January 10, the company started home. It proved to

be a hard journey. They were forced to plow through snow in zero weather and their supplies ran low. When they reached Rock Creek (where Fillmore now is) it was decided to camp in for the winter. There were some, however, who pushed into Provo and sent a relief posse back with provisions for the ones left behind. Finally the exploring party, having covered a distance of seven or eight hundred miles, arrived back in Salt Lake City, February 2, 1850, without a loss of life.

JOHN D. LEE'S EXPLORATIONS

After the reports made by the Southern Exploring Company, plans began to materialize for the settling of various locations recommended by the expedition. The first colony was to be established in the newly formed Iron County, primarily because an abundance of iron ore had been found there by Pratt's men. George A. Smith became known as the Father of the Southern Mission because of his energetic championing of these settlements. He led the first group of colonizers into Little Salt Lake Valley and settled them on Center Creek, later called Parowan. This settlement had its start on Jan. 13, 1851 when Smith and other leaders arrived.

The following fall at the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church on October 6th, George A. Smith made a strong appeal for more saints to settle in the southern section of the Territory. It was proposed that John D. Lee lead a company
of pioneers and form a settlement at the junction of the Santa Clara Creek and the Virgin River. Here they were to raise grapes, cotton, figs, dates, raisins, and other crops adaptable to a warm climate. Accordingly, in less than two weeks, a company was organized with Lee at its head. The exact number of men comprising this party is not given, but Lee reports having nineteen wagons. After three weeks of travel, they arrived in Parowan on November 5, 1851. Lee was very proud of the fact that the group had reached their destination in good health and high spirits. Not a single animal had been lost.

The orders from President Young to Lee were that he should remain in Parowan until he had sufficient men to make a battalion strong enough to protect themselves against the Indians, before continuing their journey to the Rio Virgin. Lee, in a letter to Young on November 5 reports:

I have but 17 persons here that I can rely upon for that point (to go down to the junction of the Clara and Virgin Rivers) and I have the names of about 11 more that I can expect on this fall. ** The persons whose names I have are anxious and are making preparations to situate their families here while they go and build a fort. I am doing the same and I yet believe that a sufficient number will be raised to form a settlement at that point, although it has as yet had poor encouragement from men in high places. 17

Lee preferred to have forty men when he went south of the basin, but felt safe with twenty. However, he was "as clay in the hands of the Potter," and awaited orders from his chief.

17. Ibid. Letter dated at Parowan, Iron County, Utah, November 5, 1851.
For a year John D. Lee and his party lived at Parowan, helping in the establishment of that settlement. Finally preparations were made in November of 1852, after the fall harvest was garnered, to push south and settle in the Virgin River basin. The date of departure was set for November 22, and the company consisted of 31 able-bodied men. Mail arrived from Salt Lake City on November 20, and with it a letter from Brigham Young asking Lee and his company to remain another year and help strengthen the Iron County settlements. Naturally Lee was disappointed, but being a man willing to obey counsel from those over him, he "sacrificed" his "feelings, believing it was for the best".

During the early winter of 1851-52 the canyons were blocked with snow and ice which made it impossible to penetrate into them, for logs and poles, so Lee considered himself justified in exploring the south country where his settlement plans had been thwarted. Consequently on January 27, 1852, with provisions for fifteen days, he led a party of twelve men, four wagons and thirteen horses, out of Parowan for the Rio Virgin. His party followed the route of the Southern Exploring Company down Ash Creek. They were forced to leave their wagons near the present site of Pinture, and

19. According to Woodbury. op. cit. p. 139.
continue on foot and horseback in their descent to the Virgin. Half of the group were left in the charge of Chapman Duncan, to guard the wagons. Lee reports his travels in a letter to Dr. Willard Richards, editor of the Deseret News, as follows:

On foot and horseback (we) traveled down Ash Creek over sand hills the distance of twelve miles which brought us near its junction with the Levar-skin River (La Verkin) ** Being unable to cross this stream, we ascended one of these mounds, from which we discovered a stream running a southwest direction which we supposed to be the Rio Virgin; and from the shape of the country we concluded that we could take our wagons to it: Feb. 2nd day, though in temperature more like May."

To the Grape vine springs 5 miles; these springs boil up at the foot of a large sand mound and mois-ten about one acre of land which is completely inter-locked with vines. A good place to camp. To the Rio Virgin River 5 miles, mostly over yellow land; this stream is about 2 rods wide and 3 feet deep, narrow bottom, shut in on both sides with low mountains.

To the Otter Creek 3 miles; stream 15 feet wide, 1 foot deep; abundance of otter and beaver along these streams; as we descended this stream (the Virgin), the bottom continued to widen out, and the amount of timber increases affording land and other facilities sufficient in many places, to warrant small settlements. ** At the distance of 15 miles, from camp we found ourselves in one of the most pleasant, lovely valleys that the mountains afford; (Washington fields) it is about 5 miles in diameter. The soil is of a lively alluvial nature; and of a black chocolate color, and easily irrigated; banks of the stream low. The climate is of a mild temperature; the sun here rises without being hid behind the moun-tains so that its morning and evening smiles are fully appreciated by the favored vegetation of this valley.

Feb. 3, the grape vines and cotton-wood are al-most leaved out; the dock and other early herbs are in bloom. **

This valley lies rolling toward the south with occasional springs of pure water breaking out at the distance of from 1½ to 1 mile from the river, convert-ing that portion of the valley into a rich meadow and vineyard. **

Two miles over a small range of mountains brought us in full view of the Santa Clara country and valley. This valley is about the same magnitude as the one
described. The soil is equally as good and the climate as pleasant; beautiful springs, grapevines and meadows not excepted.

The Santa Clara River is 1 rod wide and 20 inches deep, pure, clear water, rich bottoms, though narrow, and heavily timbered for the distance of 30 miles. On this stream we saw about 100 acres of land that had been cultivated by the Piutes Indians, principally in corn and squashes; and judging from the stocks, the conclusion would be that heavy crops are and can be raised in these valleys. This tribe is numerous and have quite an idea of husbandry. 20

Although the Indians appeared frightened, Lee spoke to them in their native language and assured them that he and his companions were their friends and would not hurt them. Bread was given to these red men, and when the brethren were about to leave, the Indians expressed a desire to have Lee and his men return and live among them.

Leaving the Indians, the six men went up the Santa Clara until they reached the California road which they followed down to the Virgin River below the Beaver Dam Mountains. Here they hoped to find a road up the river to the mouth of the Santa Clara. In this they were disappointed, for they discovered that the river ran through a box canyon of perpendicular cliffs which Lee estimated as being 4,000 feet high. The trip back was a laborious one. The explorers, thinking to shorten their journey, took an Indian trail instead of the California road. This trail proved to be a dangerous and difficult route. They were forced to cross the river a

20. Deseret News for April 3, 1852; also parts quoted in Woodbury. op. cit. pp. 139-141.
21. Angus M. Woodbury estimates these cliffs to be about half the height of Lee's calculation. op. cit. p. 141.
dozen times, and in all their wanderings were without food for three days. After having been away fifteen days, the party arrived back in Parowan on February 10. Lee and his company were "highly delighted with both the climate and the country".

In his letter to Brigham Young of March 17, 1852, after reporting his exploration, Lee wrote:

Some times I think that I am more than anxious about the formation of new settlements south. But when I was there the fore part of February and saw the trees putting forth their green foliage and the herbs almost in bloom, the rich soil and the abundant streams of pure water and many other advantages that to us as a people are desirable, how convenient such a climate and facilities are to a people isolated as we are.

There we can raise cotton, flax, hemp, grapes, figs, sweet potatoes, fruits of almost every kind, and be independent from our kind Christian friends who drove us from their midst. When I stood in the midst of these valleys and contemplated upon the work of the Latter Day Glory it was like fire shut up in my bosom. I scarcely could content myself to stay the blow for that part of liberty and freedom till another fell. That is laying the foundation for that part of home manufacturing which to us is so needful. 22

EXPLORATION OF J. C. L. SMITH AND PARTY

In early June, 1852 J. C. L. Smith, presiding elder at the Parowan settlement, organized a party of eight men for the purpose of exploring the upper Sevier and the country south. This group included Smith, the leader, John Steele,

22. Journal History, item for March 17, 1852. Ms. John L. Smith in writing the Deseret News on above date spoke of Lee's explorations in the following words: "Bro. J. D. Lee and a party took a trip out to explore the country south. In their excursions they found a beautiful country at the junction of the Rio Virgin and Santa Clara; many thousands of acres of rich land well watered, good range and plenty of cottonwood on the Santa Clara. They found the wild grapevines around the springs; he seemed well pleased with it as a location as it possessed many advantages." Deseret News.
John D. Lee, John L. Smith, John Dart, Solomon Chamberlain, Priddy Meeks and F. T. Whitney. They left Parowan on June 12 and crossed the mountains by traveling up the Little Creek Canyon and down into Panguitch Valley. Then traveling up the Sevier River for two days, they explored its head waters, noting suitable places for settlements. The party at this point changed their course to the southeast, passing along the heads of the main divides into Pleasant Valley (Duck Creek) with which they were very much pleased. From this valley they crossed the divide and came into the Long Valley Canyon. Here they mistook the south fork of the Virgin River for the Levierskin, (LaVerkin Creek) down which they traveled for about fifty miles before they were compelled to leave the stream because of drift wood and the narrow passage of Parunuweap Canyon. The party climbed the mountain and traveled south. After considerable wandering and difficulty they came into what they called "the Virgin bottoms". (now Canebeds) At this place they met some friendly Indians who, in the words of J. C. L. Smith, "brought us to the jerks of the Virgin, LevierSkin and Ash Creek where

23. Priddy Meeks, a member of the group, gives an account of their wanderings; themselves and animals famishing for want of water. It was only through the hand of Providence that water was supplied. He recorded years later, "And today when I think about it (the providential giving of water) my heart swells with gratitude to my Heavenly Father for His kindness and mercy over us on that trip." "Journal of Priddy Meeks." Utah Historical Quarterly. Vol. 10. Nos. 1,2,3,4. p. 188.
we found a number of Indians raising grain." He describes their crops and cultivation as follows:

Their corn was waist high, squashes, beans, potatoes, etc., looked well. They had in cultivation four or five acres; their wheat had got ripe and was out. I looked around to see their tools, but could not see the first tool, only their hands to dig the ditches, make dams or anything else. The Piute Chief made us a speech showing us their destitute situation, without clothes or food. Bro. Lee told them we would learn them to work and raise breadstuff, make clothing, etc., at which they were well pleased, and wanted us to come soon and make a settlement among them. This point is some 30 miles above where Bro. Lee intends to settle. 24 (on Santa Clara)

The Party then crossed over Ash Creek, took the old trail which was traveled before them by Pratt's company and by Lee a few months previously, and soon arrived at Parowan. They had been gone twelve days and had traveled 336 miles.

**FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE RIO VIRGIN**

One can not read the original accounts of these early Mormon explorers without being aware of the anxiousness of the Indians to have them live near their villages. They could hardly content themselves until the Mormons settled in their country. Lee told Dr. Willard Richards of Chief

Toquer and thirty of his Pah Ead warriors, coming to Parowan and begging him to settle among them. He related with much feeling Toquer's "great anxiety to have us settle in the Virgin River region".

He threw his arms around me and wept, wrote Lee, and said, "Come, go now; we will be lonesome over there by ourselves, we won't have anyone to talk to us about Shinab". (Piute Indian god) I must confess that I was troubled to the center and prayed in my heart that the Spirit of the Lord would continue to rest upon these poor creatures. 26

Accounts such as this undoubtedly led to the establishment of the Southern Indian Mission on the Santa Clara. This was the beginning of the settlement of the Rio Virgin country called by the Indians, Warm Valley. John D. Lee, however, was not permitted to start the colonization in this region so dear to his heart. Actual colonization had to await preparatory labors, to be accomplished by missionaries, who were to make friends with the Indians, teach them habits of cleanliness and industry, and thereby create peaceful surroundings for the settlers who were to follow. Lee received consent from headquarters to locate on Ash Creek, north of the black ridge and about twenty-five miles

25. Toquer, whose name signifies black was an industrious chief, who had a farm of 5 acres on Ash Creek, on which he raised wheat, corn, pumpkins and melons. J. V. Long says, "He was somewhat aristocratic, when compared with his brethren, living in a respectable sort of a shanty covered with broad-leaved cane, which grows in abundance on the bottoms adjacent to the river". Deseret News. Oct. 1, 1862.

from the Virgin River. Yet he could not keep away from the warm country over the ridge, and in January, 1853 in company with Peter Schurtz, rode through it for the third time, finding the climate mild and pleasant. In his communication to President Young, he pleaded: "Brother Brigham, if it is not asking too much, please drop me a few lines relative to your feeling of forming settlements south, and the probable time of settling the Warm Valley that I may be ready to meet your expectation *** Please make known thy will and with pleasure I will try to obey it."

Action was taken shortly after this letter was received by Brigham Young, for at the October Conference of 1853, a group of fifty families and missionaries under the leadership of Rufus C. Allen were called to strengthen the southern settlements, and labor among the Indians. The settlers left almost immediately, but the missionaries tarried until the following spring before going south. These families located themselves at Lee's new settlement on the Ash Creek, strengthening this location. When the missionaries arrived the following May, they found that an Indian school had been

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27. Ibid. March 6, 1853.
begun and ten redskins enrolled. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and others visited Harmony on May 19, and among other instructions and inquiries, asked regarding the possibility of a road being built over the black ridge to the Virgin below. They received many discouraging replies. In spite of these pessimistic opinions concerning the seeming impossibility of constructing a road, Kimball predicted that a good road would be made, and that a settlement having in its center a temple, should be built along the Rio Virgin.

A few days later a number of the missionaries, under Allen pushed south, going by way of the Ash Creek, where they met Indians at the present site of Toquerville, who sent a runner to the neighboring Indians with the good news of the Mormons' coming. Other natives were met at the present location of the Washington fields, and a friendship was established with them. The missionaries then went on to the Santa Clara, where they built a fort and made a dam for irrigation purposes; also several acres of land were brought under cultivation. This was the first attempt by the Mormons to settle in "Warm Valley". These missionaries also proved that cotton could be grown well, which furnished the incentive for an extended series of settlements up and down the Rio Virgin.

After cotton raising became a reality in the vicinity of the Santa Clara and Washington areas, further explorations

29. James A. Little. Jacob Hamblin. p. 34.
were made along the upper Virgin to designate other possible locations suitable for the growing of cotton. Sometime in August, 1858, George A. Smith wrote to Jesse N. Smith, residing at Farowan, instructing him to organize a group of men to further explore the head waters of the Rio Virgin, and the land above the newly formed Toquerville settlement on Ash Creek.

In accordance with these instructions, Smith organized a company consisting of eleven men and fifteen animals and left Farowan September 6. They followed pretty much the same route taken by the J. C. I. Smith party in June of 1852. After going around Parumawheap Canyon by way of the table mountains to the south, they came back to the Rio Virgin about twelve miles above Toquerville and followed the stream up to within sight of the north fork of the river, but did not explore it. All along they noted possible locations for settlements, considering the climate, soil, etc. for cotton raising. Their report to George A. Smith, in a letter written September 21, was not too encouraging, in respect to establishing colonies along the upper Virgin. They found several hundred acres of tillable land but were not pleased with the brackish taste of the river water. They were gone sixteen days and traveled 245 miles on their animals, besides exploring much on foot.

30. See Chapter IV for account of the settling of Toquerville.
31. Account of exploration found in a letter to George A. Smith from Jesse N. Smith copied in Journal History, September 21, 1858.
In the same month that the Jesse N. Smith party was exploring the upper Virgin, Nephi Johnson, Indian interpreter and missionary, was called by Brigham Young to explore the river farther upstream and select possible sites for settlements. He left Cedar City and went to Toquerville, where he associated with the Indians and persuaded them to guide him up the river. His redskin guides led him over the Hurricane fault, which heretofore had been a barrier to would-be missionary explorers. With his guides, he explored in the upper Virgin country, and is today considered to be the first white man to enter both the Parunuweap and Zion Canyons. He reported a possible site up the left fork of the river, which later was settled and called Shunesburg. When he began his exploration of Zion's Canyon, his Indian guide refused to go with him, but agreed to wait until sundown for his return. How far up the canyon he went, one will never know. After his return to Cedar City, he was sent to found a settlement on the upper Virgin.

From the above accounts of Mormon explorations in the Virgin River region, one notes the care taken by the Church Leaders to first gain full knowledge of an area before colonizing it, making certain of the resources and the adaptability of the country to sustain life. These explorations along the Rio Virgin confirmed the dream of the Mormon Leaders, of a warm country where cotton, grapes, and semi-tropical

32. See Angus M. Woodbury. op. cit. pp. 147-148; also for settlement of Virgin city see Chapter IV.
fruits would grow. Therefore, these explorations made possible further contributions toward making the saints a self-sustaining people.

The Virgin soil now awaited the industry of the cotton farmer, to make it blossom as a veritable Dixieland.
CHAPTER III
COTTON AND ITS HISTORY

Several years ago Henry Grady, a newspaper editor in Georgia, wrote regarding the wealth of cotton as being "the heritage that God gave us when he arched our skies, established our mountains, girt us about with the ocean, tempered the sunshine and measured the rain". Editor Grady's exultation over cotton's boon to man was justified, for as time marches on the benefits of this staple increases innumerably in serving mankind.

Few outside the cotton growing areas know much about cotton other than the fact that their clothing is made from this product of the soil. It is by far the most useful and the most valuable agricultural crop of any grown on the American farms when gross income is considered. Cotton brings almost one billion dollars a year to the growers. Today this "white gold", as it has been rightly called, clothes four-fifths of the world's population. Besides clothing, countless other articles are manufactured from cotton. A list of such things made from this valuable staple would cover pages; to mention a few: there are dynamite, cattle feed, face cream, salad dressing, paper, varnish, fertilizer, medicine, and roofing tar. It is estimated that one third of America's farmers are engaged

2. Ibid. p. 5. see also Farm Production, Farm Disposition, and Value of Cotton and Cotton Seed and Related Data. 1928-44, pp. 1-44.
in growing cotton for the world market. In reality about fourteen million people in the United States alone depend directly on cotton for a living. Today the United States produces three times as much cotton as her closest rival, India, which is the country where cotton was first known.

**INCREASE IN IMPORTANCE OF COTTON**

The importance of cotton increases yearly. There is no part of the cotton boll wasted now, whereas formerly the only valuable part was the lint and enough of the seed for the next year's planting. Today, cotton cord is used to strengthen automobile tires. Cotton being a non-conductor of heat is used to insulate houses against heat and cold. Waste cotton is made into rugs, mats and mops. The fine silky cotton is made into typewriter ribbons. Cotton reinforces overshoes, garden hose, and electric wires. During the war it proved invaluable to the armed forces.

A valuable oil is now crushed out of the cotton seed, which was formerly wasted or just used for fertilizer. This oil is used in making soap and also for grease for automobiles and industrial machinery. As a food this oil is widely used in salad dressings and vegetable shortenings. Much of it is made into Oleomargarine, which is in great demand today, because of the high price of butter. The kernel of the seed is made into feed for domestic animals and fowls, and also into meal for baking cakes. Even as late as 1870 only four per cent of the seed produced in
this country was used for oil; by 1890, twenty years later, twenty-five per cent was used; and by the turn of the twentieth century over fifty per cent. Today every seed is of value.

The heretofore wastes of cotton go into the making of photographic film, cosmetics, baseballs and fountain pens. But, as one writer has said, "the story of cotton is in itself so fascinating that one doesn't need a practical reason for wanting to hear it".

As all Americans know, cotton has caused at least one great war. Men have gone hurrying overseas to plant colonies and grow this commodity. They have traveled oversea and land and have transported millions of black men from their jungle fastness in Africa to work in the cotton. The quest for cotton played a vital part in the discovery of America, for one of the reasons Europeans had such strong interest in India, was for their coveted cotton fabrics. And in our own land cotton has in a very literal sense directed the course of statesmen and changed our history.

WHAT IS COTTON?

As mentioned above, very few people outside the cotton growing regions know anything about this farm product. The writer has seen it grow, picked it, mostly out of sheer

3. Ibid. p. 6.
curiosity, and felt of its soft fibers; but regarding the process of planting, harvesting, ginning, and preparing it for cloth or other products, he knows only that which he has obtained from research in printed or written matters.

Cotton is a plant belonging to the order of *Malvaceae* and grows both in the temperate and tropical climates. Both its fiber and seeds are produced in pods. As the seed matures the cylindrically formed fibers which are filled with sap become dry. The fiber is a soft carbonaceous material which is silky and "one of the purest forms of cellulose". The fiber is tenuous but stronger than iron thread of the same diameter. Each fiber interlocks with the others which greatly facilitates spinning. In one five-hundred pound bale of cotton there are about forty-five billion of these fibers. The seeds are everywhere within the lint, and before the days of the cotton gin, required tremendous labor to pick these from the bolls. In one day a man could scarcely clean more than a handful of cotton.

Three varieties of cotton are widely cultivated. The most abundantly grown type is known as the Non Keen which is dirty yellow in color and brings a low price. The green seed variety known as the Herbaceous cotton is the most important and useful of the varieties of short staple

4. "a cosmopolitan order of herbs, shrubs or trees—the mallow family—with alternate palmately nerved leaves and regular flowers of purple, red or white". Standard Universal Dictionary.

cotton. This variety attains to the height of from one foot to five feet, but the size of the plant has nothing to do with the abundance or value of the cotton fibers, as generally the bigger the stocks the poorer the quality of cotton yield. Long-staple cotton is the finest cotton grown because the fibers are long, strong, silky and whitest in color. However, the production of long-staple cotton is limited to the low lands near the sea.

There is yet another variety of cotton not generally cultivated because of its low value economically. This is the tree cotton which grows to the height of from twelve to twenty feet. The tree cotton variety is found mostly in Guiana, Brazil and most of the West Indies. The Mormons during their cotton growing experiments were contemplating the growing of this tree cotton variety, as it was considered to be hardy enough to flourish in cold latitudes.

Cotton is grown under certain climatic conditions restricted primarily to southern climes where the average summer temperature is between 80 to 85 degrees. Although the temperature in Utah's Dixie during the growing season was somewhat under this, averaging around 76 degrees, cotton grew well as will be noted in a later chapter. The best conditions for cotton growing are found in climates

6. Ibid. called Sea Island Cotton
7. Ibid.
having mild spring weather with light frequent showers. Summers should be warm both day and night, with plenty of moisture, and ending with a dry cool prolonged autumn. A cool spring retards the growth (the Cotton missionaries experienced several such set backs); too much rain rots the seed rather than causing germination or later causes the development of surface roots, which results in the wilting and shedding of the leaves along with the drooping of the bolls during the heat of the summer. Plenty of sunshine is vital to the growth of the cotton boll, especially in June and July when the plants are in bloom.

With warm climate and moisture cotton will grow on almost all well-drained land. The yield is usually smaller in sandy soils and in heavy clays during wet seasons. According to a government prepared atlas on agriculture, "The most productive soils in the normal season are the dark colored clay lands, particularly those rich in lime, such as the black prairies and the red, brown and black well-drained river bottom land and second bottoms."

Where there is little or no frost the cotton plant is perennial for at least six seasons. Daniel Bonelli, a cotton missionary of 1861 who was well acquainted with cotton culture, wrote in an article entitled Cotton Culture in

10. Ibid. p. 8.
Southern Utah in 1868, the following:

The cotton plant is a favorite of the sun, flourishing under ardent skies and reaching its perfection only within a few degrees outside the tropics. In those regions where little or no frost occurs, it is perennial for at least six years, though commonly the fourth season begins to show a decline, and it is mostly replaced the 5th and 6th season. The less favored regions have to plant their fields every year, as the frosts of the winter destroy the vitality of the stalk, from which in tropical countries the side shoots spring forth anew in January. 11

The Mormon cotton planters entertained hopes that the cotton plant could become perennial in the Muddy Valley. If such had been true, this would have given an advantage of several weeks growth in the early spring and would have increased the yield from thirty to forty percent. Due to trouble with the state of Nevada the Mormons were obliged to move from the Muddy Valley back into Utah before this above was definitely proven. In the northern parts of "Dixie", around St. George and Washington, cotton continued to be an annual plant.

Cotton is usually planted in late spring when the weather is sufficiently warm to germinate the seed and danger of frost has past. Several seeds are dropped in each hill to assure growth through the soil. The seed is not planted more than two or three inches in depth. There must be sufficient moisture in the ground to last eight or ten days which is the period required to bring up the cot-

ton. The cotton growers of Utah's Dixie thoroughly irrigated their land before planting so that the soil retained its moisture until the young plants put forth the fourth or sixth leaves, after coming through the surface of the ground. Early waterings before the tender plants put forth several leaves often chilled them and retarded their growth.

The seeds were usually planted in rows three to four feet apart and the plants about two feet from each other. However, in solid soil such as that around Toquerville, the rows were usually only two feet apart and the seed a little less than a foot in distance. "When the cotton is a few inches high the rows need to be thinned, which process is known as 'chopping out', and is the most laborious task in the cultivation of cotton except that of picking." The most vigorous plants were left, that is, one to each hill, however, some cultivators preferred to let two plants remain for several weeks as a safeguard against any plant being destroyed accidentally.

Frequent cultivation with the hoe or cultivator called among the pioneers a "bull tongue" induces the growth of the roots and quickens the thriving outside branches to nature. Weeds must be cleared constantly if the grower is to realize a good yield.

Near the middle or latter part of June the cotton plants begin to bloom. There is a bright yellow bell-shaped flower, with further opening it turns a reddish lilac or a reddish blue color the next day, later it is pushed off by the boll which grows forth from the center of the flower base. Bonelli gives a vivid picture of the formation of the cotton boll in the following words:

The fiber is formed by the milky secretion, that is hermetically sealed in the green boll, hardening up. The rind of the boll is of a tough, elastic consistency, when approaching maturity, and is divided from the stem to the apex by a number of sutures, generally four, often five, held together by a natural glue. As the boll approaches maturity, proper moisture being supplied, the fiber will attain a full expansion and a silky texture, the glue in the sutures of the rind will be dissolved, and the boll will begin to open at the apex, the several divisions of the rind rolling out-wardly beyond the point of intersection at the base, thus leaving the fiber free to be plucked out with care. If proper moisture be not present, the bolls will open unevenly, the pieces of rind being entangled in the fiber, making it troublesome to pick, and piercing sharply against the fingers of those engaged in gathering it." 13

The cotton plant continues to yield its fleecy "white gold" until frost kills the growth of the bolls. The cotton missionaries of "Dixie" realized from 250 to 600 pounds of cotton lint free from the seed per acre. In the cotton belt of the United States the yield per acre varies

14. Ibid.
from 100 to over 400 pounds.

The greatest labor connected with the culture of cotton is the picking of the crop which is done by hand and usually consisted of three or four pickings to each field. Yet it is not necessary to pick the cotton as soon as the bolls open. Many in the cotton country of Utah deferred their gathering until late in the winter "without material injury to the crop". Down South even to this day the growers prefer hand picking to machinery (a cotton picking machine was invented in 1935 by two brothers named Rust), primarily because of the serious problem of caring for all the people thrown out of work by the mechanical pickers. An average cotton picker (person) can gather from 150 to 200 pounds of cotton in a day.

After the cotton is picked it is taken to the gin where the seed is removed from the lint. After ginning, the cotton is baled and made ready for the spinners and then taken to the weavers. This process will be discussed in a later chapter.

BRIEF HISTORY OF COTTON

Thousands of years ago we find on record poets of the Orient singing songs about cloth which they described as fine as "webs of woven wind". Beyond recorded history,

even, men knew about cotton and prized it. Traders risked lives and fortunes to carry the treasured fabrics from India, where cotton was first made into cloth, to their own countries. The naive natives believed that the silky fibers came from a living thing which was part animal and part plant. "The plant developed the fruit like a melon, and when the fruit was ripe it burst open, revealing a little lamb with fleece of surpassing beauty. The lamb fed on the surrounding foliage, and when it could get no more it died. From its fleece was woven the beautiful cotton fabrics." The father of history, the Greek Herodotus, after a visit to India wrote, "There are trees which grow wild there the fruit of which is a wool exceeding in beauty and goodness that of sheep." This was in the fifth century B.C.

In Bible times cotton was used by the people whose names are now almost household expressions. The country around Jericho was especially noted for this product, as was Hierapolis in Syria which was formally known as Magog. According to the opinion of some modern Bible scholars, the word Magog would be more properly spelled Mabog which literally means cotton town.

Knowledge of cotton finally spread to Europe and cotton fabrics were among the coveted treasures secured from the East for which explorers were sent out to find trade.

18. Ibid. p. 6.
20. Ibid. p. 23.
routes to the Orient. As mentioned above, in a sense, the search for cotton led to the discovery of America.

When Columbus, Cortez and other explorers came to the Americas they found cotton growing in Mexico, South America, and the islands off the coast of the continent. Cortez gathered cotton in Mexico and used it to stuff the jackets of his soldiers so that they might resist the arrows of the aborigines. Later cotton was found grown by the natives of the south western part of the United States. As early as 1540 Cardenas mentioned the Moqui Indians of Northwestern Arizona raising cotton.

Then in the 19th century when the Mormon missionaries went among these Indians, cotton was found growing. President Wilford Woodruff writes in his journal, speaking of the Moqui Indians of Arizona, "they raise cotton * * **. Spin and weave their own cloth." Scientific examination of this cotton raised by the Indians of the Southwest shows it to be a distinct species from ordinary cotton. The natives used it especially to make cloth for their ceremonial dancing costumes.

Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, as well as other members of the Mormon Battalion refer to cotton being

21. Ibid. p. 28
raised by the Maricopas Indians of Southern Arizona, near the junction of the Gila and the Salt Rivers. They grew considerable cotton as is evidenced from the fact that part of the Battalion purchased cotton blankets from the Indians. One member of the company states that when he reached Salt Lake City the best preserved part of his clothing equipment was the Pima blanket of cotton which indicated the enduring quality of the Indian made product.

It is quite probable that while Europeans were seeking the cotton fabrics of India, cotton goods were being made by the aborigines of America from cotton grown by themselves.

**EXTENSION OF COTTON CULTURE IN AMERICA**

During the colonial period cotton was not of particular importance agriculturally, although South Carolina was exporting a million pounds each year, by the end of this era in our history. The money crops of the period were rice and indigo---along with tobacco. One of the reasons for cotton's lack of importance was the tedious task of hand picking the seed from the fiber. It took a person an entire day to clean a handful of cotton. There was grown sufficient cotton, however, during the colonial period for domestic use. Then in 1786 the Sea-island cotton with its long fibers was introduced. Its seeds were

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much more easily removed than the short stapled variety. Yet it was not until the Civil War that the long-stapled variety was grown in large acreages due to the fact that it could only be successfully matured on the lowlands along the south eastern coast.

The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 solved the painful problem of hand picking the seeds from the lint and placed the green-seed short stapled cotton on a large scale production. This invention not only made possible the turning point in Southern agriculture but in the history of our nation as well. One agricultural economist has written: "Upland or short stapled cotton became the largest commercial crop in the south and the basis of its economy. Each decade cotton production approximately doubled." Tobacco the chief product of export during the colonial period lost its principal position of economic importance. The cultivation of indigo waned, and rice farming dwindled. It was cotton which predominated.

Least one is led to believe that Whitney's gin was solely responsible for this agricultural revolution, the writer must hasten to state that during the last half of the eighteenth century the inventions of Crompton, Hargreaves, Arkwright and Cartwright had entirely changed the textile manufacturing in England, which welcomed an

27. Ibid. p. 209.
28. Ibid. p. 209. Cotton during the period of 1800-1860 overflowed the domestic market and became the largest single export of the United States.
abundance of cotton to keep their steam or water driven machinery operating. Then Samuel Slater who had been a pupil of Arkwright came to America, and although the English law forbade the communication of inventions such as the new spinning machine of Arkwright, he, from memory, reconstructed a model of the spinning machine at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, on December 21, 1790. This naturally gave impetus to the cotton culture of the South.

Then along with the cotton gin and spinning machine inventions which brought the insatiable demand for cotton, there was the great westward movement which assumed such momentum after the turn of the nineteenth century, especially following the Louisana Purchase in 1803. With this western migration went the cotton growers.

"Planters pushed westward," writes the economist Edwards, "seeking land on which they could grow the staple more cheaply and in doing so displaced the pioneer farmers who had preceded them. Unable to refuse the relatively high prices offered by planters, many sold out and retreated to the mountains to become 'poor whites' or pushed on north of the Ohio River or across the Mississippi. * * *

"Between 1800 and 1850 Tennessee's population grew from approximately 106,000 to over a million, while Arkansas, having only 14,000 inhabitants in 1820, boasted more than 200,000 three decades later. Simultaneously with the expansion of population westward went the development of cotton production." 30

After the ushering in of the new century cotton production increased remarkably. To state a few figures; in

1800, 73,222 bales of cotton were produced; forty years later, 1,347,640 bales were raised; and in 1860, the year before the Civil War, 3,841,416 bales were grown. By July 1, 1861, the cotton output represented 61 per cent of the total exports, or more than $333,000,000. American raised cotton not only fed the mills of England but those in New England as well.

The cotton crop of 1861 was again a large one. The war brought out the fact that the South had large stocks of this staple on hand. During the war very little cotton was grown for the agricultural activity was diverted to the production of food supplies. In fact the blockade during the Civil War temporarily ruined the cotton industry of the South.

Because of the cotton blockade the Mormons, realizing the utter futility of expecting this staple from the East, began a cotton raising project which was to extend almost a half century and involve hundreds of men and women, as well as to bring under cultivation thousands of acres of land. Men with teams and wagons were sent east to bring back heavy machinery, looms, spinners, and dyers to be used in the manufacture of the raw cotton into clothing. It received such

31. Ibid. p. 209. With cotton expansion revived the institution of slavery, also brought into prominence the plantation, and these three wielded considerable influence in the South, politically and socially as well as economically.
attention from the leaders as to assume the importance of a mission. The chapters which are to follow will discuss in a comprehensive manner cotton raising among the Mormons after their coming to Utah.
CHAPTER IV

EARLY COTTON GROWING IN UTAH

THE EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD

When the Mormon Pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley and began their conquest of the Great Basin, they found themselves almost as destitute of clothing as they were of food. President Brigham Young said that he had but a scanty supply of clothes when he came into the Valley and that there weren't two of his wives who had shoes to cover their feet—their clothing was equally sparse. They did make moccasins for their feet and some clothing from skins of animals, but cloth was what they needed and cloth they had to have. Next to food, clothing is man's most essential article and is an important development in any region.

These dauntless men and women had faith in the resources of their new country. They believed it could, and would produce not only food, but materials from which to clothe them. William Clayton in writing George Q. Cannon, then in England on a mission, said: "You know they told us in 1847 that an ear of corn would not grow here. We know that not only corn, but everything else necessary for the saints can be raised within our blessed Territory."

CHURCH LEADERS PLAN FOR COTTON CULTURE IN UTAH

Hundreds of sheep had been brought into the valley from which wool could be obtained but this would not begin to

clothe the thousands who would soon find themselves in the Rocky Mountain Area. From the beginning of the settlement of Utah, the leaders planned to grow cotton for clothing purposes. However, they were not sure that cotton could be successfully cultured in this new region, but they were optimistic. Brigham Young said to the saints in January of 1852:

There is scarce a thing that can be named, which is indispensably necessary for our growing Territory, but that can be produced by our own industry within one year. Suppose we can not raise the cotton we can raise the flax, spin, weave and wear it, which is a good substitute. 3

Flax had been raised in Utah County since 1849 and was being woven into cloth which was made into clothing, table cloths, sheets, and towels; leaders were hopeful that cotton could be grown in sufficient quantities to supply all their needs.

After reports of the mild climate had come from men who had been south of the great basin, interest ran high that cotton could be cultivated in that region. Wilford Woodruff writing from Cambridge, Massachusetts, early in 1850, to Orson Pratt in England, said that the First Presidency "want cotton and woolen manufacturers to come and set up business. * * * They expect to form a settlement

3. Latter-day Saint Journal History, Ms January 24, 1852.
in the spring, south of the rim of the basin, where cotton, rice and sugar cane will flourish." A petition sent to the Territorial Legislature, January 10, 1854, from John D. Lee and 85 others requested a company of 150 men to establish cotton plantations and vineyards in the southern parts of Utah Territory. However, the first cotton grown in the Territory was not cultivated in the sunny south but north of Salt Lake City.

THE FIRST COTTON GROWN IN UTAH

Reddin A. Allred of Kay's Ward, Davis County, was the first to grow cotton. This was as early as 1851. To the editor of the Deseret News he writes on October 16, 1852, of his successful experiment:

Last season I came to the valley and brought with me two or three dozen cotton seeds which I planted on the 15th of May, and to my satisfaction, it grew and matured before the frost interfered. It must be remembered that all the farms in the valley will not mature this crop, from the fact the frost makes its appearance early on the low lands. My farm is situated on the bench near the mountain, where the frost did not make its appearance up to the 6th of October to injure the most tender plant. 6

He was confident that at least a thousand acres of cotton could be raised every year upon the bench land. Not only did he feel that it could be matured but if the "seasons are like the present or previous ones, it will come to perfection". After his successful demonstration that cot-

5. Journal History. 1852.
ton could be matured, others were anxious to raise the plant. Allen Taylor would plant five acres the coming season, as would several others if only the seed could be obtained. Allred had one pint of seed which would be planted. He was soon to go into the mission field, and he hoped when he returned that the high lands would be "covered with cotton resembling the snowy mountains for whiteness", for he was positive that cotton raising, from what he had already seen, "can be made a profitable crop".

A pod of the cotton he had grown was presented to the Deseret News and was out on exhibition. It was examined by many southern planters who pronounced it "equal to the average of the Southern States". The editor of the News commented: "If a crop of such could be raised in this valley, it would be one of the greatest improvements for these people."

As little seed was available, a writer of the News makes the following suggestions to his readers:

That the cotton can be raised in the valley is beyond question. It has been raised and can be again, and if there are those who will go into the business no time need be lost. Any one can write to their friend for a pound (or as many pounds as they please) to be forwarded this winter, by mail, inclosed in tin boxes, which will cost only $1.00 per pound, and a few pounds sown next spring will produce the bushel our correspondent proposes to be had from Mr. Brown, and save the cartage to pay the postage; and probably $1.00 postage this fall, will be worth more one year hence than $10.00 cart-

age next spring. As soon as cotton grows we can have all the comforters; quilts, batting, etc. we need, with no machinery more than the common wool cords, the course yarn for carpeting, etc. on our common wheels. Who will begin it? Now is the time. Don't let another mail pass without sending your orders. 8

Many farmers took this advice, sent for seed and planted it. Jacob Workman raised "as good cotton as could be raised anywhere," on his lot in Salt Lake City. Others raised it in Ogden and in Tooele, some was raised on Summit Creek in the southern part of Utah County, but the leaders' eyes were fixed on the sunny lands south of the basin for large quantity growth of cotton culture.

COTTON IS GROWN SOUTH OF THE RIM

In December, 1854, while Jacob Hamblin, Ira Hatch, Thales Haskell, Samuel Knight, and Augustus P. Hardy were establishing a nucleus for a permanent colony on the Santa Clara, the hard labor, exposure and poor nourishment caused Jacob Hamblin to be come ill. Augustus P. Hardy was sent to Fort Harmony to report this sickness and to bring back with him much needed medicine. He was also to obtain "more nourishment than the new camp could furnish." Being unable to secure the needed articles at the Fort, Hardy continued his journey to Parowan where he acquired the necessary comforts. While there he visited Mrs. Nancy Anderson, a Southerner, who inquired about the newly established Indian

8. Ibid. Nov. 6, 1852.
Mission on the Santa Clara. When she learned of the mild climate and long growing seasons, she gave Hardy a quart of cotton seed which she had brought from her old home in the south. She told Brother Hardy to plant the seed, for she believed that the climate would be suitable for cotton culture. He lost no time in getting back to Santa Clara with the medicine for Hamblin, and the cotton seed. This was the first cotton seed to be brought south of Parowan.

The missionaries having completed the dam across the Santa Clara by the early part of 1855, cleared land for a farm of one hundred acres, "which was cultivated con-joinedly by the missionaries and Indians. During the season of 1855 very good crops were raised. The quart of cotton seed referred to, as being brought from Sister Anderson of Parowan, was carefully planted and cultivated

10. The building of this dam, which was 100 feet long and 14 feet high "was a feat which aroused much enthusiasm among the Indians, five hundred of whom gathered to watch its completion. When the dam was finished and the water began to rise and run out, half on one side for the Indians and half for the whites a great shout of exultation went up from the dusky spectators". Angus M. Woodbury. "A History of Southern Utah and its National Parks." Utah Historical Quarterly. Vol. 12. Nos. 3-4. p. 145.

11. According to James Mc Knight, writing to the Deseret News on October 1, 1858, after a visit to the cotton country, two other quarts of old cotton seed were obtained from various quarters. One of the missionaries who professed a knowledge of cotton growing recommended that the seed be soaked in new milk which would give it better germination. A large amount of this seed was soaked in milk but not one seed came up. Of that which was not milk-soaked about one hundred plants grew from which were raised seventy-five pounds of seed cotton. Journal History. July-December 1858.
and yielded enough lint to produce thirty yards of cloth.

Sisters Caroline Beck Knight, Marie Woodbury Haskell, and Sister Lyman Curtis carded, spun and wove the cotton into the said thirty yards of cloth. James G. Bleak, who was shown "a specimen of that piece of cotton cloth", in the winter of 1896, said it "was an exceedingly creditable piece of work". A sample of this first Dixie-raised cotton was sent to Salt Lake City, where it was exhibited in Governor Brigham Young's office. While on exhibit Major Hunt, Indian agent and a Virginian, examined the sample and asserted it was as good as any he had ever seen in the south. The Deseret News of October 3, 1895 was highly commendatory when it observed: "In Governor Young's office there is a sample of cotton raised on the Santa Clara. * * It is beautifully white, fine and silky and proves that another branch of home production can be added to swell the channel of Utah's prosperity." Samples of this cloth found their way into England and "were said to compare favorably with cotton grown elsewhere".

The mission historian, Bleak, tells in the following vein of the manner in which the first manufacturers of cotton fabrics in Utah's Dixie, brought forth their product: "The workers had no gin to separate the lint from the seed; and the hand spinning wheel and treadle loom

13. Ibid. p. 20.
were of the most primitive make." This was the beginning of cotton culture in Utah's Dixie, and finally led to a string of settlements along the Virgin River. Moreover, the successful cultivation of cotton in the warm country farthest south from Church Headquarters, greatly encouraged the authorities of the church and they "at once began to look upon cotton as an important Utah production in the future."

Encouraged over their successful attempt to grow cotton during the season of 1855, missionaries to the Lamanites renewed their efforts and planted a bushel and a half of seed on a five acre piece of land. From this they raised about two hundred pounds of seed cotton, which was not a good yield, but the brethren experimenting with "King Cotton" were not disheartened. In fact, even years later, after many seasons of experience with cotton growing, the planters were satisfied if they raised one-third of a crop. Seth M. Blair, an important citizen of Southern extraction, in June, 1856, rated the Santa Clara and the Rio Virgin as a "Medium" cotton district and predicted that the area along these streams "ought to yield 1,000 to 2,000 pounds per acre from the appearance of the lint, quality of the cotton and the appearance of the seed."

15. Ibid. op. cit. p. 20.
16. Ibid. p. 20.
17. Deseret News. October 20, 1858.
During the summer of 1856, President Young requested Jacob Hamblin to select several families from Harmony as missionaries to join and strengthen the Santa Clara group. The coming of these additional helpers renewed the determination of the men already located on the Clara, "if possible, the next year, to do something in cotton raising". Accordingly, they prepared and planted fifty acres into cotton only to realize almost a total failure. The Santa Clara Creek went dry, the seed they had planted was poor and failed to germinate; the new comers were inexperienced, and due to the above adverse conditions along with bad management the entire crop from the fifty acres yielded only 650 pounds of seed cotton.

Up until the fall of 1857, the cotton raised in Utah's Dixie had to be ginned by hand which was a slow and tedious process. Days and even weeks were required to separate a few pounds of lint from the seed. While President Jacob Hamblin was away escorting a company of emigrants to California, Zadoc K. Judd was busy in the Santa Clara settlement. Before coming to southern Utah, he had gained from some acquaintances who originally came from the South,

19. Journal History, op. cit. Amasa Lyman reporting his visit to the Santa Clara settlement in 1857 says: "Brother Hamblin had planted some cotton which was not looking very well--perhaps in consequence of the rude manner which they had adopted in their planting: for they had adopted the Indian manner of planting which the cotton growers told me was not a good one". Journal of Discourses, Vol. 5, p. 80.
"a description of a little machine which was used there, in an early day, to separate cotton lint from the seed". He made several of these for the people of Santa Clara. He became in very deed the Eli Whitney of Utah's Dixie. Judd gives us the following description of what he made:

Two small rollers 3/4 of an inch in diameter, 7 or 8 inches long, set in two up right posts; the rollers keyed snugly together, a crank on the end and the rollers made to turn in opposite directions so as to drop the lint through while the seed would drop through on the feed side. 21

This machine required two persons to run it, and by diligently working all day they could gin, according to James G. Bleak, "two pounds of lint, yielding four pounds of seed". After the cotton was ginned, the women carded, spun and wove it into cloth. One enthusiastic champion of home industry wrote to the Deseret News, "The Spirit of home manufacturers seems to be on the increase among us, and the hum of the spinning wheel is heard in nearly every home, giving promise of an increase in the substantial comforts of life."

21. Ibid. p. 35. Mary Minerva Dart Judd, wife of the builder of Dixie's first cotton gin tells about the making of it: "My husband, Z. K. Judd made the first cotton gin in the mountains. It was somewhat rude of construction, but it was many times better than picking the seeds out with the fingers. It was made of oak timber and steel, and turned with a crank. We furnished the first settlers of Washington and other places with cotton seed." Mrs. Judd's Autobiography, typed copy in St. George Library.
22. op.cit. p. 35. From the records it is almost impossible to determine the number of pounds ginned in a day. James Mc Knight who saw the gin in 1858 writes that it "cleans 200 pounds per day", which seems to be too many pounds to be ginned on such a small contrivance as Judd's gin.
INDIGO PLANTED

President Brigham Young believed that indigo could be grown on the Santa Clara as well as cotton, and could be used for dyeing purposes. William Willis, who had recently returned from India where he had served as a missionary, brought indigo seed with him from the upper provinces. This he gave to President Brigham Young, who sent it to Rufus C. Allen, President of the Santa Clara Mission, on March 1, 1857. It was planted, and when Willis visited the extreme southern settlement in June of that year, he reported it to be "up and flourishing". Brigham Young, in his Governor's Message to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, on December 15, 1857, said that "a few stalks of Indigo" were successfully cultivated "in our southern settlements during the past season", and preparations were being made to produce enough to "supply our demands", as speedily as indigo seed can be procured in sufficient quantity. Although the indigo flourished well at first it never yielded seed, the reason being that the seed having been brought from India, "did not seem suitable for this country". Finally the seed was lost and no more could

be obtained. Even if indigo could not be grown, the ingenious cotton missionary found other substitutes for dye from the native soil.

While cotton was being grown with some success on the Santa Clara stream, other Mormon settlements in the southland were likewise experimenting with it. William Bringhurst, who had been called with others on a mission to the Indians at Las Vegas in the early summer of 1855, wrote under date of December 10, 1855:

> that the brethren in that region continue to enjoy peace, health, union and plenty, and have nearly finished their fort walls to the height of eight feet. The letter inclosed a specimen of cotton of very good quality, planted on the first of July and gathered on the first of November, affording a fair indication that any required staple and quality can be raised in that locality.

Little cotton, however, was grown here as the Mission was abandoned in 1858 "on account of the thieving dispositions of the Indians". Yet these early attempts at growing this necessary staple convinced the First Presidency that

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27. Geo. A. Smith had written Dr. John M. Bernhisel in Washington D. C. for Indigo seed, but Bernhisel replied "there is no indigo seed at the Patent Office". Journal History. July-Dec., 1861.

28. Materials used for making various dyes by the cotton missionary will be discussed in a later chapter.

29. At the April conference of 1855, a number of missionaries were called by Pres. Young, (thirty in Number) to found a settlement at Las Vegas and form friendly relationship with the Indians and to teach them the Gospel. They left Salt Lake City May 10, 1855, and arrived at Las Vegas June 14, the temperature ranging around 115 F. see Hunter. Brigham Young the Colonizer. pp. 322-333.


more extended experimenting with cotton culture in the warm climes of Southern Utah should be undertaken.

FIRST CALL FOR COTTON MISSIONARIES

During the General Conference of the Church, held at Great Salt Lake City in April of 1857, some twenty-eight families and several young unmarried men were called to settle in Washington County. The instructions of President Young to them were to go and supply the Territory with cotton. The group was organized in Salt Lake City with Robert Dockey Covington appointed to take charge of the traveling company. Previous to this call, Jesse N. Smith was delegated by the First Presidency to select the cotton missionaries. He made the selection and on March 22, 1857, submitted the list of names to President Young and Counselors for their approval. Many of them "were southern men who had been gathered from Texas, Alabama, Mississippi, and other parts of the Southern States. They were accustomed to raising cotton." Those selected and called to experiment with cotton raising on the "Rio Virgin" were: J. B. Region, John Thomas, Richard Creer, W. H. Crawford, J. D. McCullough, James Mattas, Wm. Slade, Jr. Robert Lloyd, Joseph Hadfield, John Freeman, J. M. Couch, John Hawley,


These missionaries started for the South on the 6th of April, and one month to the day later camped at Adair's Spring on the Rio Virgin, about a half mile below where the present town of Washington now stands. There they found Samuel Adair, who had been the first called to go south and further the experiment of cotton raising. He had been instructed to bring with him ten families and "endeavor to produce cotton in Southern Utah. These families left Payson, March 3, 1857 and arrived on the present site of Washington, April 15, 1857." When Covington and his group reached their destination, the population of the cotton missionaries was increased to about 50 families. John D. Lee who had wanted to settle on the warm lands of the Virgin since 1852, moved from Harmony in April and was there with Adair to welcome the Covington Company. (supra. Ch. Two)

From Cedar City, Covington and his companions had been under the direction of President Isaac C. Haight, then presiding over the settlements in Iron County, who came with the cotton missionaries for the purpose of organizing them into an ecclesiastical unit.

W. H. Crawford, writing to the editor of the Deseret News, gives his impressions of the country in which the missionaries found themselves and an account of the first meeting held by them at which an organization was effected:

I drop a few lines to let you know that we have arrived at our place of destination and thinking you would like to hear from the saints that were called to come to this place for the purpose of raising cotton and such things as could not be raised in other parts of the valleys of the mountains, and so far as we have examined, I pronounce this a good place for that business. There is plenty of land, water and timber about 20 miles. I will give you a sketch of our travels to this place. We left Great Salt Lake City on the 6th of April, came to Parowan without any serious accidents, we stopped three or four days for the purpose of getting grinding done, we then came to Cedar City, where we met President Haight who had been looking for us for several days. We finished up our business as speedily as possible and left for this place under the direction of President Haight. It taking us about 6 days to get here, having to make roads over the roughest ground I ever saw in my life; but thank the Lord, we are here, and all the company are in good spirits, and are well pleased and commenced work.

We arrived here on the 6th of May. On the 7th we were called together for the purpose of organizing a branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. We numbered about 160 men, women and children; and about 200 head of cattle, some sheep, pigs and chickens.

Minutes of the proceedings of a meeting on the Rio Virgin to transact business for the purpose of raising cotton.
President Haight called the brethren to sing, "Oh My Father Thou That Dwellest"-etc. Prayer by Brother Haight.

President Haight moved that we form a conference which was sustained. Also moved that President Haight preside over the conference. It was moved and seconded that W. H. Crawford act as secretary.

President Haight made some remarks, showing the duties and privileges of the saints and further stated that it was the people's right to elect a president. It was moved and seconded that Brother Haight choose or appoint a President. He appointed Robert D. Covington which was unanimously sustained. The President stated that it was Brother Covington's right to choose two counselors. Brother Covington said it was his mind that the President choose them. Brother Haight nominated Harrison Pierce to be First Counselor and Jonathan R. Region Second Counselor to Robert D. Covington which was unanimously sustained.

President Haight made some remarks showing the necessity of obeying the President and those holding the Priesthood over us and gave us some instructions concerning the treatment of the Indians with which we were associated and further exhorted the brethren to be united and keep the spirit of the Lord and live their religion.

After the organization of the missionaries was completed, work began. The first work they did was to construct irrigation ditches. They then built a temporary dam across the Virgin River, about a mile south east of the present town of Washington. This dam was soon washed out and another, which they built was also carried away by the turbulent Virgin; but the majority of these cotton missionaries were not discouraged. They plowed and planted, made shelters for themselves and families, and located pasture land for their cattle. "This body of workers brought a small quan-

35. History of Brigham Young. 1857, p. 205. At this meeting settlement called Washington.
tity of cotton seed with them but it only amounted to about a pound per man. This, however, was carefully planted, watched, and cultivated and yielded fairly well." So records the mission historian.

When Amasa Lyman visited these cotton growers on the 19th of May, he found them happy and in "excellent spirits". They were busily engaged in making ditches for their cotton and getting the water out of the Virgin, to irrigate the newly planted patches. Although these men were accustomed to raising cotton in the South, they did not know how to irrigate it, and had to learn by experiments. These experiments amounted to failure in many instances. They had planted their cotton in patches of a quarter of an acre each, scattered over a field of 400 acres. This would enable the planters to care for their cotton crop more conveniently. The land first brought under cultivation by these missionaries was that found on the river bottoms south of the town of Washington. It was level and the soil was of a good quality. After the cotton and other crops began to grow, night watching was necessary to guard off the invasions of stray animals. Fencing was a big problem, as there was little material other than sand stone, which was plentiful, to be used in building fences. Until se-

36. Bleak. op.cit. p. 27- A writer with the pseudonym of Ego writing in the Yepricula, an early manuscript paper of St. George, writes on March 1, 1865, referring to the above mentioned missionaries cotton seed supply; "There were but two pounds of cotton seed to the family".
cure enclosures could be made, stock was herded from the crops.

Elder Lyman gives an account of his visit to the cotton farm and speaks of the optimism generally manifested by the cotton missionaries. He journalizes as follows:

Tuesday, May 19, 1857—This morning we traveled over a succession of low ridges, a distance called 10 miles, (he was coming from Santa Clara on his way from San Bernardino to Salt Lake) 37 which brought us to a point on the Rio Virgin where the mission for raising cotton has located a farm. This mission consists of some fifty families under the Presidency of Elder Covington, who informs me he thinks they can secure in their present location 1000 acres of good land. He reported having found a good herd ground in the vicinity with plenty of grass, water and wood. 38

In conversing with the men, he ascertained their opinion regarding the soil. Some said that the soil in appearance resembled that in Texas where many of them had grown cotton. They believed it would grow good cotton. There were a few, however, who didn't feel this way about the soil nor' had they any desire to stay. To try to raise cotton in such a desolate, barren looking country "was only a hoax to think of it", they said.

To any but the bravest heart, the country was forbidding to say the least. George A. Smith said, "It had the appearance of a barren country generally. The moun-

37. He was accompanied by Charles C. Rich. Both of them had been called to preside over the European Mission. "Eight years these men had been on the frontier, and now they were to taste life among the cultured peoples of the Old World."—John Henry Evans. Charles Coulson Rich. Pioneer Builder of the West. pp. 219-222.

38. Amasa Lyman's Journal. p. 10. Typed copy in St. George Library. The farm established at Washington was known as the Cotton Farm.
tains were barren and bleak in appearance; red sandstone, and black volcanic rock, and a variety of grey colored clay prevailing, altogether giving it a kind of sombre deadly appearance." * * * When they arrived in this desert region, they were terribly homesick and discontented. The people of this settlement were to experience other disadvantages besides nature's desolation. They were compelled to go from 50 to 90 miles to get their wheat ground, and this was up hill all the way over the rim of the basin. Before blacksmiths came among them, they had frequently to go that distance to get a little job of blacksmithing done.

Some grew discouraged and left, but others like W. H. Crawford stayed and fulfilled their missions. He took pride, like many others, in his new found home. After almost three years in Washington, he wrote: "We calculate that Washington shall not be behind other settlements, if perserverance and industry will prevent it. A few are dissatisfied and are moving away. But that is the case of other settlements as some people think they can better themselves by continually moving about. I was among the first who came here, and I can live easier here than any other place I have seen in these mountains".

As the season of 1857 progressed, the cotton missionaries discovered that but a small part of the seed planted had come up. It was several years old and much of it failed to germinate as it had been brought with them across the plains from their southern homes. But the missionaries, because of the sulphureous taste of the water of the Rio Virgin, believed it must be poisoning the cotton. The cotton which had come up, although planted late, looked healthy and the old cotton growers were pleased, declaring "they had never seen cotton looking more thrifty or with more bolls". It was only natural, however, for them to feel chagrined over the failure of the majority of the seeds planted to come through the soil. Reports had gone north that the cotton missionaries were failing in their attempts to raise cotton. Apostle George A. Smith, the indefatigable "Father of the Southern Mission" hearing these reports, visited the cotton farm in the middle of August to give cheer and offer counsel to the struggling cotton planters.

Colonel W. H. Dame, accompanied by Captain C. C. Pendleton, Elias and Jesse N. Smith and James Martineau started from Parowan August 15 on a military inspection tour through the southern portion of their Military District. Apostle Smith, being in Parowan at the time, desired to

visit the new settlement at Washington as mentioned above. They stopped at Harmony where Mrs. E. N. Groves proudly showed them a piece of cloth which she had made, the warp was cotton grown at the Santa Clara, and the filling was made of the bark of a species of milkweed, "the fiber being long and almost as strong as silk". The skill of the maker and the excellence of the material made, awakened in those who saw it appreciation for the industry of the Mormon Pioneer. The company traveled down the narrow canyon which cuts through the black ridge and every account left, mentions the rough road and the great difficulty they had in traveling. One of the party afterward wrote: "At one place the traveler suddenly finds himself upon the brink of a high ledge of rocks nearly perpendicular. This is called 'Peter's Leap', and at first view of it who would think of such a thing but the hardy sons of Utah, who have got used to it."

Elder Smith and party arrived at Washington on Tuesday, August 18, and were cordially welcomed by President Covington and the rest of the brethren who did all in their power to make their visit pleasant. In reporting this visit to the brethren in Salt Lake City, Elder Smith said:

< When I reached the cotton country I had previously learned that they were failing in their

42. Journal History. July to December 1857. George A. Smith said it was "the most desperate piece of road I have ever traveled in my life". Later aided by an appropriation from the Territorial Legislature it was made quite passable.
attempts to raise cotton, and that the waters of the Rio Virgin were poisoning the cotton. But I learned that the seed had not come up, but what had come up, perhaps 1/3 of it was exceedingly fine. The difficulty was that their cotton was planted very late, and the sun heated the sand; for the soil is nothing but the red sand of Sahara. They planted in the sand as there was nowhere else to plant it, and the sun was scorching it; but they found that all that was necessary was to keep the sand wet; and when they poured on the water the cotton grew. And old cotton growers told me that they had never seen a better prospect for cotton, for the time it had been planted, in the world; and this is the condition of things in that country, and the prospect is that they will have pretty good cotton and about 1/3 of a crop, and the next year they will be able to raise lots of cotton; for they will be there early enough and have seed that can be depended upon. 43)

There is no report extent giving the amount of cotton raised this first year on the Washington Cotton Farm but missionaries were much encouraged from the success which attended their labors in raising cotton on the Rio Virgin, and were anxious to raise all they could the following year. Their seed supply was limited, however, which prevented them from growing as large a crop as they desired. Many of them made clothing from the cotton they raised and the workmanship of their own hands looked "exceedingly well". A few samples of their home manufacture were sent to George A. Smith and were reported to be "excellent for rough service".

During the winter of 1857-58 some fifty families ar-

43. Ibid. Sept. 13, 1857. An early Dixie Settler Writing in 1865 reports that the cotton raised the first year at the Washington Farm was not only a small yield but yellow in appearance. "A View of Dixie". The Yerpricula op. cit.
rived at Washington from California. By spring all of them had gone to other parts of the Territory or back to California, except "William (sometimes called 'Buck') Smithson. He had been a southerner and became the most energetic and successful provider of cotton in the settlement".

In the Spring of 1858, the cotton missionaries on the Washington farm planted 130 acres into cotton. The more optimistic predicted this had a fair chance to yield 156,000 pounds of seed cotton. Again one finds all records of cotton yield for this year missing. We do discover that Robert D. Covington preserved specimen of each year's crop and he found that every year the staples were improved and the seed became more natural to the climate. These improvements "appear to give manifest evidence of success, as well as encouragement for the continuance of the enterprise".

The year of 1858 found other settlements established. Heberville, southwest of the Washington farm, was begun as another experiment cotton farm. A new settlement on Ash Creek called Toquerville, named after the Indian chief Toquer, was established in the spring of this year by Joshua T. Willis, John M. Higbee, Sam Pollock and others.

44. The authorities of the Church had issued a call asking for all outlying settlements to abandon and move into Utah Territory because of the misunderstanding between the Church and the Government—-to help defend Zion against Johnston’s Army.
45. Bleak. op.cit. p. 27.
These men for the most part had families, and had been there the previous fall making ditches and clearing land preparatory to settling. This new settlement was located in the bottom of Ash Creek about three miles above its junction with the Virgin River and about twenty miles south-east of Harmony. The settlers here planted eight acres into cotton which showed promise of a good yield but a hail storm came in June and cut down almost the entire crop. Although for several years some cotton was grown at Toquerville, the yield was never as heavy as the cotton grown further down the Virgin River. The reason was not due to the climate, although it is somewhat cooler than that found at Washington, but the soil was not the best for cotton growing. The land at this location was a compact clay and granite mixture which is not suitable for cotton culture. The cotton missionary found that "a light sandy loam with considerable of vegetable mould * * * the best cotton ground of any".

The Authorities of the Church who had watched with keen interest and expectancy the foregoing experiments with the cultivation of cotton, were dissatisfied with the results. However, taking into consideration the adverse conditions under which these early cotton missionaries had to labor, the tests were far from being failures. Being

thus discontented over the outcome of the early cotton growing in Southern Utah they decided to sponsor another thorough-going effort in the early part of the year 1858.

**JOSEPH HORNE SET TO ESTABLISH A COTTON FARM**

President Brigham Young, having always the welfare of his people uppermost in mind and being anxious that they should have the raw materials needed to make themselves self-sufficient, secured the financial assistance of Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, G. L. Grant, A. R. Carrington, and Feramorz Little. They organized a party of sixteen men and sent them down on the Rio Virgin to establish a cotton farm. Bleak writes regarding this as follows:

> In order to satisfactorily, and more fully test the practicability of producing the staple of cotton in Southern Utah, Pres. Brigham Young, his counselors, Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells, and some few others of Salt Lake City fitted out a small party early in January 1858, and sent it in charge of Elder Joseph Horne to establish a cotton farm on the Rio Virgin. These departed from Salt Lake City January 28, 1858. Arrived at Tonaquint, the junction of the Santa Clara and the Rio Virgin on the 10th of February. On the 13th they located the site for a dam to take out the waters of the Rio Virgin. On the 28th of February work was commenced on the dam and on the 19th of March it was finished.

> Cotton seed was obtained from Santa Clara and from Washington and planting began on Thursday, 6th of May. 48

The men selected to go with Joseph J. Horne to the Virgin River were: William White, Richard Benson, David Miller, Joseph V. Perkins, James Richie, George Pectol, Jacob

Peart, Junior, Abraham Hardman, Henry Dixon, Barnabas Stevens, Casper Bryner, Andrew Baker, John Leatham, Wm. Teeples, and James Stevenson. Elder Horne who had been a captain of ten in the Pratt Exploration of 1850, knew something of the country. He and his party stopped at the Washington Cotton Farm and John D. Lee suggested that they establish the experiment farm at the mouth of the Santa Clara River. They traveled down to this location but upon examination found it undesirable and impractical for farming, because the banks of the river were so high above the water that it would be almost impossible to get a stream out for irrigation. After some exploring around this locality, they examined the river below the fork and found a suitable location for the cotton farm. This was about one mile below the confluence of the Clara with the Virgin. Here they stopped their wagons and called the place Heberville after President Young's First Counselor, Heber C. Kimball, who had been one of the promoters of the experiment.

Horne writing Wilford Woodruff from Heberville, Washington County on April 10, 1858, after reporting that "we arrived here in good health", describes their location and the country around them. He wrote as follows:

It (the farm) is on Rio Virgin which is a large stream, supposed to be as large as the Jordan. Its bottoms are fertile and from half to a mile in width. There is not much grass, it is chiefly
covered with brush. There is plenty of building rock within a mile of our camp, and an abundance of limestone about four miles from here. There is no timber in this valley except a few scattering elderwoods. There is a mountain south of here supposed to be 15 or 20 miles distance, that is covered with timber. The Indians say it is pine. I have sent a man with an Indian to ascertain the particulars relative to the timber, roads, etc. While digging out our water ditch yesterday, we found a piece of stone coal. There may be coal in the mountains near by, but we have had no time to explore any since we came here yet. We have built a large dam of buck brush and gravel; it is about 70 feet long and from 10 to 15 feet high, also a levee near the bank of the river about 40 rods long from 4 to 5 feet high. We have had the water running in our farms for three weeks. We have planted some peas and other garden seeds. Some are up and look good. We have also planted some potatoes and have set out some 400 peach trees. We have about 25 acres of land grubbed and cleared and ten planted. We have built a log house 16 by 27 feet. I suppose there is about 1000 acres of land that can be brought into cultivation in the valley. The Indians are very friendly. Three of them worked with us when we were making the dam. I let them have a piece of land to work. There is a small band about 6 miles down the river. They came to see me the other day and wanted to know if I would help them a little with a team to build a dam, where they could get a piece of land to work without troubling or being troubled with the Mormons. They had previously been with the brethren of the Clara Mission, but as there were so many of them there they thought they would rather be alone. After consulting Bro. Hamblin, President of the Mission on subject; I sent a team and two men three days to haul rock for them. This will enable them to get the water out, and I thought the cheapest way to feed them was to help them raise their food. They were satisfied and worked well themselves.* * *

We have had some stormy weather here and a little snow. The brethren who have spent the winter at the cotton farm (Washington) say that the weather has been more severe during the month of March than any other time during the winter. It is not a very good place for stock here, although ours have done better than I expected they would, from reports I had heard of the place of the brethren told me upon leaving the city, that we ought to carry the land
along with us, for we should not find enough to make a farm of. But this, I have proven, not to be true. 49

The first year at Heberville, the group of men under Horne planted 33 acres into cotton from which about a half stand was realized. This was much better than that grown by the Covington missionaries at Washington the year before. An experienced cotton raiser who visited Heberville in October about the time picking began, estimated that the Horns group would harvest "an aggregate of about 19,200 pounds of seed cotton". But in raising this crop they experienced many obstacles. First, they had their trouble with the mineral found in the soil. The tender plants were greatly injured whenever the water touched them. This was avoided by hilling up the plants and keeping the water away from the stalks. One careful observer of cotton culture in Southern Utah, said:

I have observed on land where there is considerable mineral, that when water is applied so that it reaches the stem of the plant its effects are disastrous, but in rows ridged so that the water could soak to the roots without touching the stem the plant was healthy and strong.

In some places upon the application of water the surface was changed to a cement, caused by a superabundance of lime in the soil. **

The common enemies and diseases to which cotton is subject in the Southern States have caused little or no alarm here. Our chief enemy, thus far, has been the mineral in the soil which by adoption of modes of culture suited to the soil may to some extent be overcome. 50

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This same year a portion of the cotton planted at Washington was destroyed by alkali and salt in the soil or carried in by water. The following year some of the land there had to be abandoned because of the mineral which came through the soil. Many of the cotton missionaries believed that the sulphur springs up the river about fifteen miles were responsible for the poisonous effect of the water upon the cotton plants. If this were true, the settlement at Toquerville, being off the Virgin River, should "succeed best" in the growing of cotton. Yet as the seeds became acclimated and hardened to the soil of Utah's Dixie, they proved invulnerable to the injurious effects of the mineral. However, in the early establishment of Heberville, the water was not only detrimental to the growth of cotton, but distasteful to the men who were forced to drink it. Many of them became sick from having to drink the river water and they dug a well, but the water which came forth was no better than that found in the river. After the Santa Clara Creek dried up, they found a spring in the bed from which they were able to get palatable water and were thankful for it, even though they had to haul it three miles.

The River Virgin proved to be the cotton missionaries' enemy number one. Not only were her waters hard on tender

51. Andrew H. Gibbons, writing from the Muddy to Church Headquarters said: "Cotton will grow on land so strongly impregnated with minerals that scarcely anything else will grow on it". Document on file. Documentary History. p. 1039.
cotton plants and men's stomachs, but her pet pastime was washing away their hard-made dams. Keeping this unruly stream dammed up was the early cotton grower's biggest headache.

The cotton required frequent hoeing, but care had to be taken while the plants were young lest one be cut or bruised by the hoe or the hoer. "Wounds produced by the hoe are called 'Sore Shins' by which the plants are permanently injured."

True the early cotton missionaries had their obstacles in experimenting with Cotton Culture in Utah, but no worse than the growers of flax in Utah County had before they became successful. As one of the early settlers put it, "When we consider the disastrous failures that have attended similar attempts in other countries (that is, with cotton raising) as also in this Territory in raising other crops, we can not but congratulate ourselves, thus far, upon our success". The writer referred to above goes on to say that in Washington he saw one and a half acres of cotton on the upland which the owner said he would not exchange for one thousand pounds of ginned cotton.

In order for those not acquainted with cotton growing, to visualize the cotton culture in the warm land of Utah's

53. *Deseret News.* October 1, 1858.
Dixie during the experimental season of 1858, James Me-

Knight has left with us the following word picture:

The plants when young are extremely tender, does not require much water and is often injured by too early and too frequent irrigation. The water should not be applied in the opening of the season, till the plants show they need it. ** **

About the middle of July the plants were in nearly every stage; some blossoms pods just forming, some in white, (first day's blossom) some in red, (second day's blossom) others with bolls forming, half formed, full size and hard.

Cotton commences ripening about the first of September and continues till frost comes. The seeds come up best when not planted more than two inches deep, care being taken to have sufficient of moisture in the soil to bring it up. The seeds should be planted from April 1, to middle of May. The rows should be three feet apart. Its average heights when mature is from 2-4 feet. This, however, need not be considered any detriment, for the finest article grows on the smaller sized plants. Extremely large plants yield a course cotton and frequently yield nothing.

The green seed variety has superseded all others, experience as yet having proved that it is best adapted to our climate and soil. ** **

Cotton is by some entitled 'King'. Shall not Utah share in its benefits, even though its cultivation is attended with so many disadvantages and losses? 54

The year of 1858 was the first time a standard price for ginned cotton was quoted. It was 75 cents per pound. Also in that year it was reported that seed cotton raised per acre could be "set down at 1200 pounds". The seed, however, averaged about two thirds of the whole weight.

During this year, generally among the cotton settlements, the average cost of preparing the cotton for market was

54. Ibid.
rather trifling, estimated at $10.00 or $15.00 per 100 pounds. However, the cotton raised at Heberville was considerably more expensive. Bleak has this to say about the cost of growing cotton by the Horne party of Heberville:

Owing to the distance these missionaries had to travel from their homes in the north, some 330 miles, to where this experiment might be properly tried, together with the difficulty incidental to settling in such a new country—the making of a dam in such a changeable stream as the Rio Virgin and the making of canals, from the river to the cotton farm, the cost of this experiment was great. The cotton produced this first year cost $3.40 a pound. 55

On July 31, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, and others visited the cotton farm at Heberville and found the brethren there in good spirits. They found the cotton that had come up, in a very healthy and promising condition. Of their visit, Elder Smith writes:

Saturday, July 31—Distance from Santa Clara about 9 miles is Heberville, which we visited for a short time, arriving there about noon, we partook of, with Brother Horne, an excellent bachelor's dinner. Visited the big dam on the Rio Virgin which was carried away by a recent flood. We took a bath. Another dam was built above by which, through a deep cut 3/4 of a mile long, they now obtain their water for irrigation. 56

After rather a difficult season fixing dams, cutting canals, irrigating and cultivating the cotton, the brethren here, realized 575 pounds of lint and 160 gallons of mo-

55. *op.cit.* p. 50. The cost per pound of the cotton raised on the Heberville farm has been estimated from $3.40 to $3.80. President Young said: "The first cotton raised in this country cost the company that made the experiment $3.65 per pound." "Instructions to Settlements South of G. S. L. City." April 20, 1863. *Journal History*. Jan.—June. 1863.

lasses they had raised. Accordingly he and his men left Heberville a few days later with the intentions of returning next year in time to prepare and plant more land into cotton. It was November 22, 1858 when they delivered their products to the General Tithing Office in Salt Lake City.

THE EXPERIMENT PERIOD COMES TO A CLOSE

On the 18th of March, 1859, Joseph Horne returned to Heberville with instruction from the sponsors of the cotton experiment, to grow more cotton and less molasses as this product was being well grown in Toquerville. Only eight men accompanied the superintendent this second year. They were: John Leatham, John Bkaer, James Stevenson, Alexander Calderwood, Lewis Grant, George H. Peterson, George Pectol and his son from Sanpete County. This season proved almost as exhausting as had the previous year. Although their dam held the ravages of the treacherous Virgin, yet heavy rains filled their ditches with debris and mud which entailed great labor. The missionaries at Washington suffered worse than the missionaries at Heberville, for not only were their ditches filled by the frequent storms, but their dam across the Virgin was washed away three times. To add to this discouraging condition, the missionaries both at Washington and at Heberville were attacked by chills and fever. Joseph Horne, himself "was very sorely afflicted". If it had not been for the timely visits of Apostles George A. Smith, Amasa
Lyman, and Franklin D. Richards, who gave "encouragement and joy to those early settlers", many would have abandoned the cotton farms, leaving them to the despoiler of man's efforts--the Rio Virgin. One has written, "The comforting ministry of those visiting came none too early." This was in the latter part of July. These men reported, that in spite of the obstacles which the planters had had to contend with, the cotton crop looked much better than the year before.

After the picking and the ginning of the cotton at Heberville, Horne and company returned with the products of the season's toil to Salt Lake City. From the Journal History is found the following account:

Elder Joseph Horne and company arrived from Heberville. Elder Horne and six others started from this city on the 18th of March last year for the purpose of raising a crop of cotton on the Rio Virgin. Brother Horne reports that the results of their labors has produced 3700 pounds of cotton which they brought to this city. They also raised about 15 gallons of molasses. This company was fitted out and sent by President Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, and Feramorz Little. Several of the settlers at Washington have had to abandon portions of their farms on account of the mineral raising on the surface of the land and that at Heberville they had great difficulty in getting water for family use, as the river has been so high it has covered all the springs. They report that all the dams on the Rio Virgin have been carried away by high water.

This year the cost of producing one pound of cotton at Heberville, according to President Young's estimate,

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57. Bleak. op.cit. p. 74.
58. November 30, 1859.
was $1.82. Others have concluded that it cost $1.90 a pound. Either amount was almost two dollars less than the cost per pound for the previous year.

The experiment with cotton at Heberville ended with the year 1859 and the farm with its log cabin was temporarily abandoned. It wasn't until 1863 that this place was resurveyed and reoccupied. During the early winter of 1861, when St. George was first settled, some of the early colonizers went down to the old experiment farm and found some unpicked cotton and the old log house which stood near the cotton field. Since that time nearly all of the land where the farm was, including the site upon which the old log house stood, have been washed down the river. This was during the great flood of 1861-62.

In March, 1860, Joseph Bull who was sent into the Southern Country for the purpose of transacting business for the Deseret News, reported that the average amount of ginned cotton raised per acre in the settlements of the cotton growing area was about two hundred and fifty pounds. He visualized a prosperous future for cotton culture and encouraged "enterprising and practical men who have the means to bring machinery for the working up of cotton into the various articles for which it is useful. Capital thus invested would bring as sure returns, and be of much more benefit to the community than if thrown into many other
channels". But such enterprises were not to materialize during the experimental period of 1857 to 1861. The only attempt made to bring machinery into the Cotton Country during this early period was at Toquerville in March, 1860, during a meeting presided over by Bishop Joshua T. Willis, the people voted to unite their means and efforts to import machinery with which to spin their cotton. "This good resolve, however, was not carried out."

While cotton was being grown at Washington, Heberville, and Toquerville, other settlements were being established where cotton was also being cultivated. In the fall of 1858, young Nephi Johnson, twenty-year old pioneer of Southern Utah, (supra—chapter Two) who, when but seventeen, had helped George A. Smith settle Parowan, journeyed with some Indians up the Indian trail, which afterward came to be known as Johnson’s Twist. Here he looked over the land in the upper valley of the Virgin River. He later returned to Cedar City and reported his findings to President Isaac Haight, who had John M. Higbee make a wagon road up the Twist. Seth Johnson, Anthony Stratton, Samuel Bradshaw, James Willard Bay, and Andrew Jackson Workman, assisted Dodge in this undertaking. In the early part of December, after considerable difficulty, they succeeded in getting their wagons up, and made their way to the mouth of North

Creek, a tributary of the Virgin River. Here they surveyed an irrigation canal, dug ditches and selected farming land. Sometime in April, 1859 they laid out a site for a town which was first called Pocketville, later given the name of Virgin City. The first spring, the settlers under Nephi Johnson, planted crops on over twenty acres of land, part of which was cotton. The following year, seventy acres were cultivated which included eight acres in cotton. Nathan C. Tenney and four other men with their families, pioneers of Pocketville, pulled out in December of 1859 and commenced a settlement six miles up the river which they named Grafton. The next season they planted ten acres into cotton.

By the summer of 1860 cotton was found planted along the Virgin River for a distance of over forty miles. Not only was it found planted, but it was also seen growing profusely. The experiment with the cotton culture in Utah's Dixie had proved a success.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COTTON CULTIVATION

Governor Young had appointed a committee with George A. Smith as chairman to investigate the practicability of growing cotton in Washington County. Smith visited the cotton country every season during the early years of the experimental period. He knew as well as anyone how successful cotton raising was in the Virgin valleys. Certainly

61. From the Indian word meaning hole which sounded similar to the English, pocket.
he knew of that which he spoke, when as Chairman of the committee on Cotton Cultivation, he reported to the Legislative Council of the Territory of Utah, the following:

Your committee is of the opinion that the cotton in the county of Washington is not impracticable and that the experiments which have been are so far from being failures, that they give good reason to hope for sufficient success to enable the Territory at no distant day to supply itself without importation. The difficulties that have been experienced by the Pioneers in cotton raising have been of no ordinary character. They were unacquainted with the nature of the soil of Washington County and could not at once determine the kind of land best suited for the cotton plant. Many of them had never planted cotton and were entirely unacquainted with the correct manner or proper time of applying the water and much of the land thus planted was found unfit for cotton by the presence of mineral substance in the soil.

The irrigation dams have been hurriedly built and being but temporary at best have been carried away by flood or accidently, thereby depriving the plants of water for a time when they most needed it.

Late planting has subjected the plants to destruction by frost. Many of the fields where cotton has been planted have been destitute of fences, and even where fences had been put up they were insufficient to protect the crops so that much loss and damages have been sustained thereby.

In one instance a good prospect for a crop was destroyed by a hail storm. Not with standing these and several other obstacles, every year’s experience has shown a decided improvement in the quality of the cotton produced and we see no greater reason for discouragement in the culture of cotton in the county of Washington than there existed for several years in the culture of flax in Utah county. This cotton produced this year is of much better quality and greater in quantity per acre than any previous year, though the quantity shown was much less in consequence of the great influx of merchandise into the Territory destroying the market for that raised the previous years; few in 1859 planted more than they needed for their own consumption.
Cotton was successfully raised last season at Fort Clara, Washington, Reberville, Harrisville, Virgin City, and Toquerville.

Your committee are of the opinion that the appropriation of a small sum to be expended for premiums, would induce experiments on different kinds of soil, of watering and culture and cause a knowledge of the management of the cotton crop to become more generally diffused by which means many obstacles to the cultivation of cotton would be overcome and our mountain home be made to produce the necessary articles in sufficient quantities and on such reasonable terms as to insure successful competition with the imported article. 62

During this experimental period in cotton culture, the planter had learned from experience how to irrigate properly his cotton plants for highest results and that mineral soil was deleterious to King Cotton's growth. Also, he had discovered the length of the growing season, thus he knew when to plant his seed for largest crop maturity. But best of all, he had demonstrated that cotton could be grown in Southern Utah. All he needed now was more help to make the cotton country along the Virgin second to none in the production of cotton per acre. He needed hundreds more cotton farmers.

62. History of Brigham Young. 1859, p. 759.
CHAPTER V
THE COTTON MISSIONARIES OF 1861

On Sunday April 21, 1861, while the saints were gathered in the tabernacle, William Clayton read an express from the east announcing to the saints that the threatening clouds of civil war had finally burst in all their mad fury upon the North and South. This outbreak of hostilities abruptly cut commercial intercourse between the Northern States and the South. With this cessation of trade came a blockade of cotton traffic. From the days of Joseph Smith, the saints had been looking for such a rupture between the states. Their Prophet had predicted this bloody strife. Now, isolated as they were in the mountain fastness of arid western America, the Mormons were faced, more than ever before, with the absolute necessity of supplying their every need. Brigham Young had long warned them of this very day when all importation of goods would be cut off. "At no distant period merchandising in imported goods will cease in this Territory," he had said, "and the fabrics we wear will be manufactured by ourselves--imported fabrics will not be here." Many heeded their leader's warnings and worked toward economic independence while others continued to buy imported goods. Now these goods would no longer be available.

BRIGHAM YOUNG VISITS COTTON COUNTRY

George A. Smith said in a discourse at Logan, September

1. Journal of Charles Walker. April 1, 1861-March 5, 1866. Typed copy in possession of Mrs. Arthur F. Miles, St. George--also original.
2. Journal History.
10, 1861: "All enlightened nations have endeavored to get control of a northern and southern climate. The God of heaven in his abundant mercy, has given us the control, in these elevated valleys of a northern and southern climate." In the southern recesses of the Territory men and women, sent by Church authorities had demonstrated that cotton could be grown; but could the land suitable for cotton culture produce this necessary staple in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of the saints? If it could, the Mormons would be able not only to relieve themselves from suffering because of the blockade, but to supply their cotton needs as well. This was a blessing which control of a warm climate would give the saints.

In order to determine whether the saints could supply their cotton needs from the southern lands and to see for himself the resources of the Dixie country, Brigham Young, with a corps of high Church men, visited in the month of May 1861, the settlements south of the rim. Approximately twenty miles south of Cedar City the country drops rather markedly. The climate becomes much warmer and the streams run toward the south. From this point, known as the rim of the Great Basin, the elevation drops over three thousand feet to the junction of the Santa Clara and the Rio Virgin. George A. Smith gave the following description of the south rim:

In some ancient period, the south rim of the Great Basin was a series of burning volcanoes, immense streams of lava running down the mountain sides in rivers of liquid fire, filled to overflowing the canyons and deep gorges with which the mountain sides were serrated; the lava cooling broke into fragments, the winds and floods continued their wear upon the soft mountain soil, and what were mountain spurs have become deep valleys, bounded on each side by high ridges, crested with black volcanic rock. 4

Among those in the company were such notables as Daniel H. Wells, George A. Smith, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Edward Hunter.

They traveled down the Santa Clara from Mountain Meadows. They noted the fertile bottoms near the Santa Clara settlement, were delighted with the "fine vineyards", and estimated that the inhabitants of this settlement would raise over one thousand bushels of peaches that season. Especially were they pleased with the cotton prospects. "The cotton crop looked well", reported the company scribe. At Santa Clara there were only thirty-four men. They had about two hundred and fifty acres under cultivation. Brigham Young was surprised to find that notwithstanding the efforts he had put forth during the past seven years to settle the region south of the basin rim, the population was very small. He found only seventy-nine families, all told, in Washington County. Twenty were located at Santa Clara, and only twenty remained out of the original fifty who had been sent to Washington in 1857 for the purpose of experimenting with cotton. In Virgin City there were eleven families and in

5. History of Brigham Young. Ms. 1861 p. 213.
Toquerville ten. Grafton and a new settlement called Adventure boasted of six each, while Gunlock north and west of Santa Clara had four families, and Harrisburgh had only two.

President Young visited all the settlements along the Virgin River, from Tonaquint eight miles south of Santa Clara, to Grafton about forty-five miles up the river east from the confluence of the Santa Clara Creek with the roily Virgin. He and his companions were well pleased with the resources of the country. They concluded that it should be more fully developed, especially in the cultivation of cotton, as this staple was so gravely needed now that it could not be obtained from the south.

It was during this trip that the site for a city was chosen by President Young and later named St. George. Mr. Bleak, Cotton Mission Chronicler, records that after Young and his party had left Tonaquint, he stopped his carriage and with a group of the brethren around him, pointed toward the north, "up the little valley, between the two volcanic ridges-* * and said with a sweep of his arm, 'There will be built, between these volcanic ridges, a city with spires, towers, and steeples, with homes containing many inhabitants'."

Many of those present expressed doubt that such a prediction could ever come true for the valley was a very dreary, desolate spot.

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7. Ibid. p. 48.
After the company's return to Salt Lake in June, plans were made during the summer to send many hundreds down to Utah's Dixieland for the purpose of supplying the cotton and other staples for the Territory.

**THE CALL OF THREE HUNDRED FAMILIES TO GO SOUTH AND GROW COTTON**

The First Presidency of the Church appointed members of the Twelve Apostles to select capable persons who could go south and grow cotton to be called at the October Conference of 1861. The apostles chosen lost no time in informing the saints located in the various settlements of the Territory of the plans of the Leaders. They impressed the saints with the hard reality that "we need not expect to get cotton from the southern states for they are fighting with the north and have not time to raise it", therefore, the settlers must of necessity provide for themselves as a great family or go without. Even if cotton were available, the war had brought the market price, according to the New York Market, up from eight cents per pound to over twenty-four cents. By the time it was freighted to the Territory of Utah, it was beyond the purchasing power of the citizens.

George A. Smith, foremost exponent of the cotton expedition, told a congregation of saints in the Bowery,

Now we are under the necessity of paying in coin 80¢ a pound for cotton, while at the same time there are thousands of acres of land in the southern part of the Territory that we can raise it on and we are told it is our duty to lengthen out and spread the curtains of Zion. I do not know but some people came here to build up themselves but I believe the majority came to build up Zion. 9

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Almost the whole of the October Conference held in the bowery from the 6th to the 8th was spent with the planning for and the calling of missionaries to go south to grow cotton and other products of the warm climates. The minutes of that conference record the following:

During the morning session of the second day (October 7), Elder George A. Smith was in favor of sending down two or three hundred families to the cotton country this fall to raise cotton, indigo, figs, grapes, etc.* * *

At the second day of the Semi-Annual Conference the 2:00 P. M. session held in the Bowery, Pres. B. Young "Alluded to his late visit to the extreme northern and southern settlements of the Territory, and their adaption for producing everything that is necessary to sustain human life. * * *

President B. Young called for volunteers to go to Washington County and raise cotton, indigo, figs, grapes, sugar, olives, and all the products of the southern climate. 10

The President met with a very poor response to his call for volunteers, as almost all present thought he did not mean them for they were well established in Salt Lake Valley, having good homes and tilling large acreages. Wandle Mace, who was present at the conference and who later was to find himself one of the cotton missionaries, said, "Only one man 11 volunteered".

Meeting such an unexpected rebuff, the President turned to Elder George A. Smith and directed him to get up a company of missionaries for the south. Accordingly, Smith began his selection and about two hundred names were read off from the stand the following Sunday, October 13.

12. Documentary History. op. cit.
NOT ALL RECEIVE CALL WILLINGLY

Because of many adverse reports coming from the south depicting the Dixie country as only a place of desolation and starvation, together with the fact that only a small portion of those sent previous to this time had remained, filled the people of the north with a strong disinclination to go there. Such expressions as "Oh, how I pity anyone having to go to that poor country, he will surely starve in that miserable country", influenced many against ever desiring to go south. Robert Gardner, a cotton missionary of 1861, called them "yarns". He didn't believe them and proved them false. Of these yarns he wrote:

There had been several yarns about Utah's Dixie, one was 'the sheep done pretty well, but they wore their noses off reaching down between the rocks to get the grass'.

Another yarn was about the weather, 'it changed so fast in a short distance that 30 miles from St. George (it was so hot at St. George that water put out in the sun for a few minutes was hot enough to wash dishes in) it was so cold that the people had to wrap up in bed quilts or blankets to keep from freezing. 14

Such tales were bound to create extreme repugnance for the cotton country and those finding themselves called sensed that to go would be a sacrifice for them.

There are writers who have built up the cotton missionary call; have lead their readers to believe that this call was received with enthusiasm and that it took on an aspect

14. Ibid.
not unlike that of the gold rush of '49. Naturally there were those who received the call joyously. They were the ones who were willing to build up Zion instead of their own interests. Such men were Robert Gardner, John Pulsipher and Wandle Mace. This cotton missionary summons proved to be a test of faith. Wrote Mace of his reaction to the call:

To my great surprise my name was among the number of 300. When on the previous Sunday volunteers were called for, I supposed only those who were familiar with the cultivation and manufacture of those products were wanted. I had not the remotest idea that I would be needed, nor did I feel the least inclination to go. But as soon as I heard my name called, my feelings changed, and I not only felt willing, but anxious to respond to the call. 16

John Pulsipher, although surprised to be called, felt he might "as well go as any body". "I saw the importance of the mission to sustain Israel in the mountains—we had need of a possession in a warmer climate". He went home and told his wife about the call and expressed himself as being satisfied to go. "She said she wanted to go too—would leave parents and friends and prefer to go and help me make a home in the far south".

These men were the type grounded in the doctrine of being obedient to those in authority. Their willing compliance was prompted by long experience in the Church and the conviction that their first duty was to build up the Kingdom of God—raising cotton was part of it. Goudy Hogan, another

18. Ibid.
missionary called, said, "I have learned that it was profitable to accept all calls made of me by the authority of the Church".

But there were those whose reactions to the call are not recorded in their journals, who received it with reluctance and made innumerable excuses--many of whom did not respond at all. Elder George A. Smith some years later reported that less than two hundred out of the three hundred families selected, accepted the call and fulfilled it. He has left on record a vivid picture of the ones who received their call unwillingly.

"Why I have seen faces look longer than a sectarian person's face, comparatively speaking; I have seen diseases appear in men that had heretofore been considered healthy, and that, too, as soon as they heard they were wanted to perform any unpleasant mission. I have sometimes argued the case, and tried to persuade them, in regard to this mission that it would do them good. Oh, but they will reply, I have always been sick in a warm country. Well, I have told them, we can, in the cotton country, in a few hours riding, give you any climate from the torrid to the frigid zone. But this is not the difficulty. This cotton mission rouses up covetous feelings, for it must be remembered that the prospects for a large farm are not very good there. We can make more here; we can get more wealth and get along faster if we stay here, than we can raising cotton in Washington County. And, in fact, a few of the brethren feel disheartened about going south to raise cotton, indigo and such other articles as we can not raise in this part of the country. A brother came into the office the other day and volunteered to go south to the cotton country, then he came in the next day and said he had been too fast in volunteering, that he had not got sufficient

clothes to wear. I told him that it is a great deal warmer in that country than it is in this, and consequently he could do with less clothing. But he felt that he must go to work and get more clothing for his family before he could go. I replied that the best thing he could do was to raise a quarter of an acre of cotton. I showed him some cloth my wife had been spinning and weaving. Then he said his wife did not know how. I told him mine did not until she learned.

The leaders fully realized the sacrifice, people called, would have to make if they left their well-established homes and farms to go south; therefore, they were careful in selecting those who appeared to be of the most "sturdy character, courageous, thrifty, obedient, faithful and honest". And many of them faltered.

THE CALL TO OTHER SETTLEMENTS

All those selected were not to be taken from Salt Lake City nor vicinity. John Taylor, an apostle, and Henry W. Lawrence were sent to Utah County to pick out fifty families who were subject to President Young's approval. They returned on October 17, 1861 with the list of fifty names. The President approved of every person and letters were written to all the bishops of Utah County, advising them to notify the selectees of this appointment. The records available do not give the actual number of these fifty who responded to the call.

In Sanpete County there were thriving communities under the leadership of Apostle Orson Hyde. One week after the

Semi-Annual conference President Young wrote to him asking for fifty families. Other types of workers were needed in the cotton country besides the ones adept in the cotton business. Carpenters, mechanics, blacksmiths, manufacturers, and surveyors must be had if a commonwealth were to be founded there. In his letter to Hyde, the President writes:

The resolution of the general conference, passed on Monday 7; in relation to the cotton settlements on our southern borders is being acted upon.

You are hereby requested to raise and organize in the county of Sanpete, thirty to fifty families for this mission. Send good and judicious men, having reference in your selection to the necessities of a new colony, and including a sufficient number of mechanics such as coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, plasterers, joiners, etc., if you have them that you can spare, without robbing your settlements.

It is desirable that they be on the road at the earliest practicable date, as it will be much more pleasant traveling before winter sets in, and winter in Washington County is the season of the year for men to labor. Fencing, building, plowing and sowing, and all other necessities for the winter, must be attended to in the fall, winter, and early spring.

It is expected that the brethren will become permanent settlers in the southern region, and that they will cheerfully contribute their efforts to supply the Territory with cotton, sugar, grapes, tobacco, figs, almonds, olive oil, and such other useful articles as the Lord has given us, the places for garden spots in the south to produce. 23

Other families were selected from Davis, Weber, Tooele, Juab, Millard and Beaver Counties. Their leaders were chosen from the General Authorities, Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow of the Twelve Apostles and Horace Eldredge, Jacob Gates and Henry Harriman of the Council of Seventy. These men were to accompany the cotton missionaries and become perma-

23. Ibid.
nent citizens of the Sunny South. Elders Pratt and Snow were to superintend the settlements assisted by the other three. The first party of missionaries were expected to start from Salt Lake City on the 28th of October.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COTTON MISSIONARIES

The missionaries were told that the purpose of the call was to strengthen the Washington County settlements, raise cotton and other products suitable for warm climate, and build a new city which was to become the principal settlement of the Cotton Mission. Several meetings were held with the cotton missionaries in President Young's School house located in the 18th Ward, "at which the President presided, and gave much instructions to the missionaries who had been called for the south. * * He wished a city to be located on the slope north of the junction of the Senta Clara with the Rio Virgin." He named the city after George A. Smith who was the real father of the southern Utah settlements---St. George.

The men were told that their mission to raise cotton should be considered as important to them as if they were preaching the gospel among the nations of the earth. He also said that the wives were to go with their husbands in the "spirit of joy, cheerfulness and feel a pleasure in

24. Journal History. July to December. "Elder George A. Smith was visiting with President Brigham Young. The petition for a post-office about to be located at Washington City was read and Pres. Young was asked to name the city. He told George A. Smith he would name it, if Brother Smith would be satisfied, Brother Smith said he would, whereupon the President named the city St. George."
Each person called, either male or female should feel honored that he or she had been chosen to build up Zion.

Besides cotton-raising, which was the primary reason for the call, the missionaries were to grow figs; grapes for raisins and wine to be used for sacramental purposes, and exportation; olives for oil; indigo and madder for coloring of the cotton cloth; cane to be made into molasses, a substitute for sugar; and tobacco. The Church authorities were practical men. They knew many among them were users of tobacco in direct violation of Church teachings, and that thousands of dollars were spent every year out of their common wealth for imported tobacco. This suicidal economic practice was to cease. President Brigham Young said to a congregation of saints in the tabernacle on April 7, 1861:

How much do you suppose goes annually from the territory and has been for ten or twelve years past, in gold and silver to supply the people with tobacco? I will say $60,000. Brother William H. Hooper, our delegate to Congress, came here in 1849, and during about 8 years he was selling goods, his sales for tobacco alone amounted to over $28,000 a year. At the same time there were other stores that sold their share and drew their share of the money expended yearly. * * The traders and passing emigration have sold tons of tobacco, besides what is sold here regularly. * * Tobacco can be raised here as well as it can be raised in any other place. It wants attention and care. If we use it; let us raise it here. I recommend for some man to go to and make a business of raising tobacco and stop spending money out of the territory for that article. 26

The cotton missionaries were instructed to supply the
territory with the tobacco needed.

Erastus Snow, an apostle, was one of the leaders of
the cotton missionaries. He was a man of keen human under-
standing and practical sense. He was ready and apt in de-
ciding the proper course and advice for the benefit of his
fellow missionaries. Some of the most useful instructions
imparted to those going to Utah's Dixie were given by him
on October 20, 1861, just one week before the first mission-
aries were to depart for the south. He was willing to lead
the way and asked them to follow. He said:

I feel to speak encouragingly to my brethren,
so far as our removal from this to the southern part
of the territory is concerned. I feel to go body and
spirit with my heart and soul, and I sincerely hope
that my brethren will endeavor to do the same; for so
long as we strive to promote the interests of Zion at
home and abroad, we shall be happy and prosperous; and
what seems to be a temporary leaving and loosing of
present comforts that we have gathered around us, will
be like bread cast upon the waters, which after many
days shall be gathered like seed that brings forth
much fruit. If any suppose they are making a tempo-
ary sacrifice, let them come before the Lord and claim
one hundred fold. "But he that receiveth a commandment \( xx \)
with a doubtful heart, and keepeth it, with slothful-
ness, the same is damned." Those who complain of their
condition are miserable and their reward lurketh from
beneath and not from above. Brethren, God forbid if
this should be the case, with any that are called to go
on this southern mission. We will accomplish more good
for the Territory and enjoy much more happiness than we
could by staying here. To you that think you can not
bring your feelings to go upon this mission like men,
so far as I am concerned, I will vote to release you.* *

I wish to say a word more to our brethren who are
expecting to accompany me south: I do not feel it will
be wisdom to load ourselves down with household furni-
ture, but if a woman wishes to take her rocking chair along, why, let her take it, for that will probably make her more comfortable than any other article of household furniture; but leave the heavy furniture behind, and go with that which will be useful to you. **

In reference to timber for making our bedsteads and other articles of furniture, we can find plenty of it. But I will tell you what I wish our brethren to understand that it is their business to supply themselves with good tools to work in the ground, such as shovels, spades, picks, and also a general supply of quarry tools will be wanted. If we have any on hand we want to take them along; all kinds of tools suitable to splitting and dressing the rock, and if we have not got the means or the tools, let it be made known.

We want every mechanic to take with him his tools; and if for want of a team, he cannot take them along, let it be reported, and we will take them along, for it is the tools we want and not the manufactured goods, and we will take pleasure in arranging to carry down the tools of the mechanics who can not take along their own.

There is a good saw mill in Pine Valley, Washington, County, but this will not supply us. We expect two or three new saw mills will be in operation before next spring, for we shall take the irons along with us this fall. Those brethren who can will do well to take along tents, particularly those who have large families. **

All kinds of choice seeds should be taken along, particularly those that are adapted to that part of the territory.

It is expected that next spring we shall have a carding machine; hence those that have sheep should take them along with them. And if any are not making their calculations to take them out at the present, let them shape their course and arrange their affairs so as to take them along as soon as possible, for we not only want to raise the cotton, but the wool. We shall also want the linsey woolsey and the jeans, therefore we want the wool as well as the cotton. **

I hope also that all musicians that are called will take their instruments with them, and if there are musicians called who have not got instruments, and if there is any way by which they can procure them, it is my particular request that they take some along, also their music books.

I also wish to say to the brethren and sisters that, so far as practicable, it is advisable to take school books along with them. ** It is my desire to have our children in school soon after we get down
there, and if we have no school houses we will pitch
our tents and set our sisters to work to teach our
children. 27>

From the instructions given, the cotton missionaries
knew that their call to raise cotton and other products, and
to build homes in southern Utah, was of a permanent nature.
There were many of them, even years after the cotton-raising
on a large commercial scale was discontinued, who went along
raising small patches of cotton in their lots because, they
reasoned, "we have never been released from our mission". 28

THE SWISS COMPANY

Besides the three hundred and nine families selected
from among the settlements in the territory to go south,
there was sent a group of Swiss converts who had recently
arrived from Switzerland. As the majority had come the
summer before the call, they were not identified with any
of the wards or branches.

They had been a hard working people, frugal with their
means, and thereby had saved enough to emigrate to the new
world. The majority of them had been farmers. Many like
the Hafen family who came from the canton (a district of
the Swiss confederation) of Thurgau in Switzerland, had
raised grapes from which they made wine. The women were
skilled in spinning and weaving for they had made their
own clothing in the Old Country from home grown flax, hemp

27. Deseret News. 11:338. Remarks given in the Bowery
Sunday Morning, October 20, 1861.
28. This was as late as 1912. See Desert Saints. p. 369.
and cotton. These Swiss emigrants came to Utah, not with the intention of gaining wealth as they were comfortably established in their homeland, but with the desire to "sacrifice all for the Gospel".

After arriving in the United States they met with many difficulties. Their inability to speak English was an encumbrance. At Florence, Nebraska, their journey began across the plains. They were poorly equipped for such an arduous trek. Very few had oxen and wagons on which to convey themselves and possessions. Many were forced to dispose of their extra bedding and clothing and travel with a handcart company. Nothing daunted their spirits. They came.

When Daniel Bonelli, who understood Swiss as well as English, read their names during the October Conference 1861 as having been chosen to go and settle in the southern part of the territory, they responded willingly. Bonelli had been appointed leader of the Swiss emigrants by President Young. After the call they all joined together and by themselves formed a company. Teams and wagons were provided by the Church to carry them south. President Young advised all of marriageable age, not then wedded, to yoke themselves with companions before leaving Salt Lake. In compliance


with this suggestion several were married in the Endowment House.

The reason for sending these Swiss people to Dixie was similar to that for which the three hundred and nine other families were sent. John S. Stucki, a hand cart pioneer of 1860 and one who received the "special call" from President Young to journey south, wrote:

The main object of President Brigham Young in sending our people to Dixie was to raise cotton for the people to make clothing from. We also were to raise wine to be used for the sacrament of this people, although water was to be used until this people could have wine of their own making which was to be the pure wine of the vine. I had the chance to furnish the first wine for the Holy Sacrament in Santa Clara, which was a great pleasure for me to have the right to do. 32

This Swiss company was noted for its musical talent. In it was George Staheli who had served as bugler in the army in Switzerland and later organized in his new home in Santa Clara, a brass band and a choir. Gottlieb Hirschi and his wife Mary Ann were beautiful singers who could attract listeners whenever they blended their voices in song. All along the way during their journey south the Swiss company furnished entertainment with their singing and music—a much needed diversion from the monotony of the tedious travel.

Before the Swiss company left Salt Lake City preliminary arrangements had been made by Apostles George A.

Smith and Erastus Snow with the old settlers at Santa Clara to relinquish their rights to the land south of the fort in favor of the new comers. This land was to be divided among the Swiss settlers when they arrived.

The company consisted of about thirty men, the majority of whom had families. The names, as given by Bleak are as follows: Solomon Bliggenstorfor, Andrew Feldtman, John Enz, Rudolf Frei, Casper Gubler, John Gubler, Conrad Hafen, John G. Hafen, Gottlieb Hirschi, Henry Hug, John Hug, John Rudolf, John R. Itten, John Keller, Henry Kuhn, Christian Moosman, Henry Muller, Conrad Naegle, John Reber, Samuel Reber, John Riedell, Fredrick Roulet, George Staheli Sr., George Staheli, Niklous Stauper, John Stucki, Samuel Stucki, Jacob Tobler, and Ignatz Willi. These sturdy Swiss emigrants started from Salt Lake City on October 28 with Daniel Bonelli at their head. As they traveled south, fellow-church men in the settlements along their journey assisted them with needed commodities. A. Karl Larson, a qualified student of Southern Utah history, speaks of these hardy folk as follows:

They had no means to speak of; but it must be said they possessed an asset that more than counterbalanced all their handicaps. They knew how to work, they had the will to achieve, and they possessed an ingrained sense of thrift born of long necessity.

With these inherent firm and unyielding characteristics they would succeed anywhere.

33. Annals of Southern Mission. Book A. p. 81. This land was known as the "Big Bend" or "Bottom".
34. Ibid. p. 65.
One month after the commencement of their journey they arrived at Santa Clara. (November 28, 1861) The old settlers who yielded their claims to the Swiss people received compensation according to the valuation placed upon the land by a select committee. Some of the original settlers lingered a few years but only Samuel Knight and Lemuel Leavitt with their families remained permanently.

This newly acquired land was surveyed in the month of December (22nd) for a town. Vineyards were planted and a dam was built and ditches completed for the new townsite, by Christmas day. The labor cost, during the construction of dam and ditches, was estimated at $1030. This labor ended the very day the forty day rain began which created a flood of such destructive violence as to destroy their dam and ditches. "The Clara Fort and most of the surrounding houses were washed away, also, the school and meeting houses together with a large body of valuable land." So writes the Mission historian. This destructive deluge changed entirely the aspect of the country and reduced the first settlers to almost the position of the Swiss colonizers. It wasn't until the 17th of February (because of the continuous rain) that work could begin to reconstruct the

dam and ditches. By the 16th of March the work was so far completed that water was taken into the new town.

After the survey was made and the lots and vineyards were divided among the new settlers, their new homesites were dedicated with prayer. John S. Stucki, one of the members present writes in his journal: "After the people had been given their lots, Daniel Bonelli went with a bunch of good singers to dedicate the lots by singing and dedicatory prayers."

The new settlers were greatly handicapped in their struggle to subdue the land of their new environs. They were hardy, industrious and willing but they possessed few tools, little or no farming equipment and scarcely any work animals. Some of the land was so saturated with alkali as to render it worthless. Those destitute of teams leveled the land with shovels after the brush had been grubbed off. This work was tedious and laborious. Next they had to work for those with teams and plows to pay for the plowing of their cleared acreages. More than one season's promising harvests were devoured by ravenous hordes of grasshoppers. One of the Swiss group records in his journal that his father's corn crop was destroyed by the grasshoppers as in about three days were every one's crops.

37. Ibid. The expense for this labor was estimated a $4000 "Computing a full day's work for a man at the usual rate of $2.00 per day".
38. "After the lots and vineyards had been platted corresponding numbers were written on sheets of paper and placed in a hat. Bro. Bonelli drew the numbers from the hat and allotted them to the various families". Sketch of John G. Hafen. p. 26.
As soon as they could procure seed, cotton was grown with little more success than that which they experienced with the corn. By 1866, a little over four years after their arrival, they had thirty-two acres of cotton. Little is said from the journals of these Swiss folk about how successful their cotton culture proved to be. The fact that few acres could be brought into cultivation along with the dire necessity for growing foodstuff, reduced the cotton acreage considerably. John S. Stucki, Joseph Graff, and others say that "we raised cotton".

Stucki goes more into detail and informs the reader of his journal that,

As soon as we could get some cotton seed we began to raise a little cotton. At first we would pick cotton from the seed by hand and spin it into yarn. Then a man by the name of James McClellen came to Santa Clara. He had enough money to buy a cotton gin. My father and his brother built a gin house and a water wheel to furnish power to run the cotton gin. Quite a few people got spinning wheels and others got looms to weave the yarn into cloth. 41

Like the other pioneers of Southern Utah before them, they had little money with which to buy clothing. Calico was selling for a dollar per yard and other goods in proportion were the same. Grim adversity forced them to make their own clothing. Before cotton was raised by them to supply their needs, wagon covers and tent canvass were made

41. Ibid. p. 47.
into clothes. Few, if any shoes were had by them. One young man herded sheep for Jacob Hamblin two weeks for a pair of shoes. Men and women alike went barefooted.

John R. Young, who had arrived with the three hundred families in Dixie the fall of 1861, and had purchased an Indian farm on the Santa Clara Creek, was sent in the spring of 1862, with ox team to Omaha to obtain some cotton gins and spinning jennies to facilitate the making of cotton into cloth. After traveling twenty-eight hundred miles with four yoke of oxen, he returned in the fall with the machinery. With this machinery home manufacturing of cloth began to meet the demands for home consumption. Until the factory was built at Washington, the crafty settlers of Santa Clara utilized their cotton lint within the confines of their own community. Some was shipped north but not a large quantity.

Near famine came with the failure of food crops. In order to survive, the Swiss searched for pig-weeds and green lucern, also for wild berries known as "pout" berries, which when sweetened with molasses made quite a palatable dish. Some became sick on nothing but a pig-weed diet while others went hungry. "It was very hard to get flour".

That they might secure the staff of life, these saints from the Old World went forth like Ruth of Old, and gleaned in the wheat fields of their brethren living in Cedar City and New Harmony. Harmon Gubler tells of gleaning wheat:

42. John R. Young. Memoirs of John Young. pp. 118-123.
We gleaned wheat in New Harmony for about two weeks and then we got an offer from Cedar to come over there and glean. It took us two days to go from New Harmony to Cedar. Here in Cedar we gleaned about ten or twelve bushels. This was very welcoming. * * We did not have any wheat sacks to put the wheat in and mother took the old linen tick, put the wheat inside of it and sewed it up. This made a very good sack. We had the flour milled in the old factory at Washington. We had been in Santa Clara for several years and this was the first flour we had ever had that we hadn't had to work very hard for. We had been without bread for about three weeks. 44

They also had their struggle with malaria which was commonly found among the early settlements of Dixie. But finally the people, believing a slough near their town lots to be responsible for this plague, drained the swamp. Later John Staheli filled it up with soil and made it into a desirable farm. When this was accomplished, the malaria no longer afflicted the inhabitants.

Despite these trying adversities, the Swiss colony never swerved from the purpose for which they were sent to Dixie. After 1864 the crops improved each year. About 1867 wine making began, which brought in some revenue. The settlers acquired cows, pigs, chickens, and work animals, and as a result of their industry and tenacity, the Swiss colony became one of the most prosperous communities in the entire Southern Mission. Brigham Young, in a letter to Edward Hunter, presiding Bishop of the Church, commended

46. Letter found in *History of St. George Stake*. Ms.
the accomplishments of the Swiss people at Santa Clara. Although twelve out of twenty of the families had been brought to Utah from Switzerland through the help of the Perpetual Emigration Fund, by 1873 all had built homes, secured land, cultivated vineyards, acquired horses, wagons and cattle. Also at this time they were sending one hundred children to school. The President wrote that their Bishop proudly reported no poor among them.  

**COTTON MISSIONARIES GO SOUTH**

At a meeting held in President Young's school house on October 26, 1861 with the cotton missionaries who had been called to go south, seven reported that they were ready to start the following Monday. (October 28) Seventeen others said they would be ready to go Tuesday, while twenty-five would leave Salt Lake City within a few days. There were many uncertain regarding the date they could depart. They were having difficulty selling their homes and property. In a letter to John M. Bernhisel, Territorial representative at the Nation's Capital, George A. Smith stated that he was sure one hundred families would be on the road by the 8th of November.

In an article written to inform the British saints about the developments of the cotton mission, a writer in the *Millennial Star* for October 23, 1861, expressed confidence that all three hundred families selected would go

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south before winter set in; but actually only about one hundred families made the journey the fall of 1861.

To prepare the way by exploring the Virgin River country and to select the best place to make a city, George A. Smith, H. G. Eldredge, Dr. J. M. Whitmore and Israel Ivins were to start as early as the first company and get into Dixie one week before the rest arrived. Ivins was unable to accompany them and Isaac Stewart went in his stead. They left on October 29 and arrived at Toquerville on November 12. At Parowan they were overtaken by Erastus Snow who continued with the preparatory vanguard, and accompanied them on their explorations. George A. Smith, in a letter to John L. Smith written from Salt Lake City, December 5, 1861, one day after his return from southern Utah, tells of the company's explorations:

I left this city on the 29th of October for the cotton country, accompanied by Erastus Snow, Horace S. Eldredge, Dr. J. M. Whitmore, Robert J. Golding, and Isaac M. Stewart. We visited the settlements, examined many of the facilities afforded in the valleys of the Rio Virgin and the Santa Clara. I have been to the forks of the Virgin, but did not find the water brackish. The company were disappointed for the better; they found the water more susceptible to irrigation than they had expected, and of much better quality; they found more water than they anticipated, and which was also of a better quality; fuel more convenient and a larger supply of building timber than had been reported, and much more convenient; while the

49. Former explorers had discouraged settling on the upper Virgin because of the brackish taste of the water. Supra. Chapter 2.
amount of grass and other facilities for stock raising are inexhaustible to all appearance. * * There was but a small amount of cotton planted, but in every settlement the results were highly satisfactory. The brethren that accompanied me agree that the soils that can be irrigated are of the richest description not surpassed in quality by any they ever saw in their lives. 50

On his journey back to the north, Smith passed about four hundred wagons, twenty of which he reported had reached their destination. The first family to arrive in Dixieland was that of William Pulsipher who reached Toquerville on December 12, 1861. The other brethren who had been with Smith accompanied him on his return as far as Cedar City where they met the advance companies of missionaries. They had not decided just where the city should be located so their instructions were: "Go on to St. George." It was generally understood, however, that St. George would be located somewhere west of Washington.

The Company continued on south. They had considerable difficulty traveling the steep road over the black ridge. At Peter's Leap some of the wagons had to be lowered with ropes. After descending from the ridge they came to the forks of the road. One fork led southeast to Toquerville;

52. Mary Ann Bentley in her life sketch relates: "There was sort of a road most of the way, they could average a little better than ten miles a day. The women and children who were able, walked along ahead of the oxen and threw some of the rocks out of their way that the wagons and contents would not be shook to pieces before the journey's end, and also that they might escape some of the continual jolting. When they came to Peter's Leap they had to unload their wagons, take them apart and lower them a piece at the time with ropes over the ledge, the people climbing down the rocks as best they could. Life Sketch of Mary Ann Mansfield Bentley. 1838-1935. p. 7.
the other southwest toward Washington. Word had reached them of the malaria which was plaguing the settlers at Washington and many were desirous of getting on to higher ground and escaping the disease. The Mission historian writes that:

A general halt took place. Two questions were debated; "Shall we go south and be subject to the chills and fever said to infect Washington and vicinity, or shall we go up the Rio Virgin to greater altitude, and be, consequently, more free from chills?" 53

A goodly number decided to go up the river and more were thus inclined when Apostle Orson Pratt and family took the southeast road leading to the settlements on the upper Virgin. This division of the missionaries caused considerable ill will and hard feelings.

Robert Gardner who had met George A. Smith at Parowan and was told by him to go where the new city was to be built, and to explore the country for timber and set up a saw mill, relates that more travelers were taking the road to Toquerville than were going toward the new city site, but having been told to go to St. George, he and his companion, William Lang, said "We will go where we are told to go". To stop the missionaries from going up the river and to turn more of them toward Washington, Erastus Snow left a letter of advice signed by himself and Orson Pratt,

53. Bleak. op. cit. p. 66.
at the mouth of Ash Fork with Bishop Willis of Toquerville, directing them to go to St. George as the central community.

**FOUNDING OF ST. GEORGE**

The first missionaries to arrive in the valley where St. George was later to be established, were William Fawcett and Robert Thompson. These men with their families arrived on November 25. Two days later the Swiss company stopped on their way to Santa Clara, sang some Swiss songs, and resumed their journey. A large group of missionaries arrived on the first of December with others being added to the camp daily. A temporary camp was set up about one half mile east of where the temple now stands. It was later called the "adobe yard" because the clay there was used for adobes out of which many of the homes in St. George were built. Two long rows extending north and south were formed of wagons and tents with a space between them. Father Wm. Carter with his "historic plow"—the one which broke the first furrow in Salt Lake Valley in 1847—plowed a straight ditch down the street between the wagons and tents into which water from a nearby stream was run supplying the cul-

55. Hannah Fawcett Nixon—a girl of thirteen when her father, William Fawcett, moved to Dixie, relates these items to Zaidee Walker Miles which are typed in a Miscellaneous collection of Pioneer incidents owned by Mrs. Miles. see also Sketch of Mary Ann Mansfield Bentley. p. 7.
inary needs of the camp.

By the second of January 1862, the two rows extended over a quarter of a mile and contained ninety tents, several hundred wagons and eight hundred persons.

On December 4, Apostle Erastus Snow called a meeting of all the missionaries. The purpose of the meeting was to appoint committees: (1) to ascertain the best point to take water out of the Virgin River with which to irrigate land, (2) to choose a site for the city of St. George, and (3) to find the nearest and best road to timber. Snow had explored the Virgin valleys from the forks down to Tonaquint. In the valley where St. George was to be built he estimated there was tillable land containing four or five thousand acres. While on his explorations up the river he had found several thousands of acres comprising good fertile land but situated too high above the river bed to be watered. He visioned the time, however, when energetic men would convey the water on to this land. Snow was very pleased with the soil he found in the St. George valley. He said from what he could determine regarding the land that it was well adapted to the culture of cotton, tobacco and Chinese sugar cane; while the soil down by Santa Clara

57. Camp census reported by Bleak op. cit. p. 82. showed 376 males, 370 females, 209 wagons, 121 horses, 34 mules, 569 oxen, 677 sheep, 32 pigs, 92 plows, and 33 harrows.
would grow small grains and early vegetables in abundance.

Two days after the meeting the three committees made their reports. The water committee reported they had found a place along the river where water could be taken out by making small cuts in the bank in order to convey it on to the land. The town site committee after extended examination of several likely sites selected land east of the camps as the best location for a city. Finally, the timber committee had located a road to timber which could be made passable by applying some labor. The dispatch with which these men carried out their assignments indicated unequivocally that the cotton missionaries of 1861 were capable of handling all their problems.

Snow later made a second trip down the Santa Clara where he examined the land and found that his former estimate of cultivable soil was too small. He calculated the Santa Clara bottoms would sustain twice the number of people he had formerly considered possible. He, therefore, ordered the land resurveyed so that farmers might begin their tillage of the soil and plant grain. It was decided that each field should be apportioned to the missionaries in two and one half acre lots. This land was much more accessible to irrigation than that lying along the Virgin, and as food crops were imperative to the welfare of the settlers, they had to be planted

59. Ibid. p. 67
without delay. Thus one hundred and seventy acres were claimed by the cotton missionaries before they left the adobe yard camp. The historian Bleak, records:

While yet in camp the matter of sowing wheat was discussed in councils and in public meetings. President Erastus Snow suggested as the waters of the Santa Clara can be more easily gotten for irrigation it would be more advisable for those desiring to sow small grain to do so on the Santa Clara bottoms for this season, not yet as permanent settlers of the land but to use it for this year.

He further suggested, while advisable to sow wheat, we must not lose sight of our duty to raise cotton, indigo, fruits and other crops adapted to this warm climate. 60

This temporary occupancy turned out to be permanent, however. More than ninety-two family heads requested lots varying in size from half acre to five acres. All winter, men worked on the ditch out from the Virgin with the hope of getting water on to the St. George bottoms, but their failure to complete this necessitated more extended use of the Santa Clara lands.

At a meeting held on January 12, the final decision of the committee was made in respect to the location of the city of St. George. Instead of being situated east of the camp as their former recommendation advised, it was to be "in a northwest direction from the camp near the upper gap leading to the Santa Clara". This new location was approved and three days later Israel Ivins began the survey.

60. Ibid. p. 78.
61. Ibid. p. 78.
After the survey was made President Snow, who had been unanimously appointed as a committee of one to give out the lots, apportioned them to each family head. Each family received with thanks and gratitude its allotted portion. The removal from the camp to the city lots began January 23, 1862. David H. Cannon, one of the 61 missionaries, tells of his wife and himself receiving their spot of ground. He writes:

We knelt down together in the evening shade behind a large chaparral and thanked the Lord for the land that was ours. We dedicated it to him and asked his blessings upon it and upon our endeavors to make it productive. The next morning we drove our wagon on to it and I have lived there ever since. We planted trees and flowers and shrubs and the Lord made them grow and out of our poverty we were able to build a comfortable home.

Before the survey of the city was made, a petition was drafted, signed by a committee appointed, and sent to the territorial legislature requesting that St. George be granted a city charter. Likewise, petitions had been sent, even before the missionaries left Salt Lake City, to Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General, asking for the establishment of a Post Office at the city: having a semi-weekly mail

62. The first survey, Plat A was not large enough in extent and was laid out in blocks 32 rods square, each containing 8 lots. The streets 90 feet wide, including 12 feet sidewalks. Thirty-six blocks were in this Plat, of which one was set apart as the public square. In all two hundred and fifty-six lots 8 x 16 rods. Three of these lots were reserved for school purposes. Bleak. *Ibid.*

service. A ten cent postage charge on letters conveyed from Salt Lake City to the remote southern settlements was also solicited. These petitions were granted. The city charter was approved January 17, 1862.

In section I of the charter, the boundaries of the new city are given. They are stated as follows:

Beginning at the first point of rocks below the mouth of the Santa Clara and the west bank of the Rio Virgin in the county of Washington, thence, running due west, 2½ miles, thence, due north 5 miles, thence south 5 miles, thence, due west 2½ miles to the place of beginning shall be known and designated by the name of the city of St. George, and the inhabitants thereof are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic by the name aforesaid.

The city council was to be composed of one mayor, two aldermen and three councilors who should have power to regulate the running at large of cattle, horses, mules, sheep, etc.; also to have power to grant license or prohibit the manufacture, selling or giving away of alcohol beverages. The affairs of the city generally were under their direction. City courts were also granted by the charter.

The first citizens were deeply concerned over the education of their children and measures were taken for their secular training. Haden W. Church was employed as the first teacher. A school census was taken and it was found that

64. Letter to Blair found in Documentary History. 1861:469. also letter from Dr. John J. Bernhisel in Journal History. December 9, 1861. (original letter on file in Historian's Library).
65. Bleak. op. cit. pp. 82-86. There are 16 sections all together in this charter.
one hundred and three attended the day school and forty-eight were enrolled in the evening school. Contributions were made toward building a school house. One hundred and twenty men contributed from five dollars up to fifty dollars. "Not one of these subscribers had a roof over his own head yet."

At the first conference held in St. George in a bowery erected on the northeast quarter of the Public Square, the city of St. George was divided into four wards with Robert Gardner sustained as presiding bishop of the new city.

The city grew; homes were constructed--the first built were rather crude and temporary in structure. One of the first settlers said they were "built of willows plastered with mud". The new city had grown to such degree that the mission Chroniclor states: "St. George already assumed the appearance of quite a city--all but the houses". But within eighteen months after its incipiency a visitor was moved to say,

The citizens have made most wonderful progress in building up their city, which has already become a pleasant habitation for the Saints. The city is already ornamented with shade trees, which give it a green and cheerful appearance. There are some good houses completed and more in progress of erect-

66. Ibid. p. 77. The estimated cost of the building was between $3,000 and $3,500. The 120 subscribers contributed a total amount of $2,974.
67. From Mrs. Hannah Fawcett Nixon's account as told to Mrs. Miles of St. George. op.cit. p. 157.
68. Bleak. op.cit. p. 87.
They have extensively started the cultivation of almost every variety of fruit. 69

And by 1867 Apostle Wilford Woodruff praised the cotton missionary city from the pulpit of the Tabernacle in the following manner: "The city of St. George is second to none in the Territory unless it be Great Salt Lake City; and I doubt the latter being equal to St. George." The cotton missionaries accomplished remarkably well this part of the mission, but how did they succeed with the paramount purpose for their coming south—that of supplying cotton for the Territory?

COTTON: PRIMARY CROP

The primary crop of the missionaries of '61 was to be cotton; other products of the soil were to be grown only to meet extreme necessity. That the missionaries might devote their energies and time to the culture of this prime staple, tithing grain was to be theirs. This supply proved to be insufficient and the cotton missionary was forced to furnish the "staff of life" as well as "King Cotton". Realizing that more and better seed was needed if sufficient cotton were to be furnished the people, the Church leaders wrote to their Territorial representative in Washington D. C. to have him send all the cotton and indigo seed he could procure from the Agricultural Division of the Patent Office or from seed stores. Especially were they anxious to obtain the

70. Quoted in Neff. History of Utah. p. 907.
green seed variety which had proved to produce the heaviest yield of cotton crop. Because of the existing war with the South, Dr. Bernhisel, their representative, was successful in obtaining only three quarts of Georgia Upland and the same amount of Sow Tow cotton seed. There was no indigo seed to be had, and he expressed his doubt that any more cotton seed could be acquired, as he had contacted every "respectable nursery and seed man of the city" without success. He recommended that seed obtained from North Carolina or Tennessee (if it were obtainable) would be preferable to that raised farther south, as those states were situated in the same latitude as Utah's Dixie.

According to plans made by the leaders, cotton would soon be grown widely in the Territory. A perennial cotton tree had been introduced into the northern states in the hope of relieving their cotton shortage, and President Young expected to plant seed sent from the east; cotton would then be grown in all parts of Utah. The perennial cotton tree which attained a height of from twelve to twenty feet was well adapted to cold climates. Until this could be realized the cotton missionaries had the responsibility of producing all necessary cotton. All surplus

71. This species had been demonstrated during the experimental period as yielding the best cotton. It is commonly called Herbaceous Cotton, and is considered the best inland variety. Sea-Island cotton is long stapled and is by far the best grown but production is limited to lowlands near the sea.

was to be sent to the eastern market, thereby bringing Gentile Lucre into the Mormon coffers.

DIFFiculties ExPerienced By Cotton Missionaries of '61

Before cotton could be planted by the missionaries, especially those who settled in St. George, dams and fences had to be constructed and land had to be cleared of chappar-
el, brush, rocks, etc. These tasks were not peculiar to the cotton country. Every new settlement has had these jobs to accomplish before cultivation of man's life necessities could begin. But from the data left by those who were participants in the cotton business, the cotton missionaries had a double portion of difficulties attending their preparations for crops. One of the early settlers of St. George writes, "Owing to peculiarities in our rivers, our soil, and our country these labors with us have been particularly on-
erous".

The river banks and bottoms were sandy and flood waters destroyed their dams and filled up their ditches. Levee banks made by hard toil melted like wax before a fire when the angry flood waters swept by. The land to be watered by the St. George colonizers lay west of the Black Ridge be-
tween Washington and St. George, while another part lay east of this. To bring the water out of the Virgin River on to these acreages necessitated the making of a dam a consider-

73. Article in Yepricula. op.cit. p. 86.
able distance up the river in order to cover all the tillable soil. It was found that a tunnel would have to be cut through the solid rock cliffs along the river bed. The tunnel, when completed, would be nine hundred feet long. Through arduous toil the tunnel and ditch were completed by the end of February, 1862, but when the water was turned into the ditch it immediately filled with sand. This happened again and again. It was found that the grade of the ditch was not sufficient to carry the heavy sand along with the water.

After many attempts to control the unruly Virgin, in the effort to get water on to the St. George fields, it was decided that as each attempt had met with failure and as the season for planting was growing late, the cotton missionaries should turn their attention to the Santa Clara fields and plant their cotton before seed time was past. This decision was reached at a public meeting held May 24, 1862. Later the missionaries learned that "dams built between rock bound shores" were sufficiently strong to prevent the floods washing them away and that stone bottoms were less likely to be cut away by the currents of the river.

Another barrier in the progress towards large cotton production was the impregnation of minerals in the soil.

75. Bleak. op.cit. p. 95.
77. Ibid. June 1, 1865. p. 9. These minerals were similar in their constituency to saleratus and glauber salts.
When the ground was irrigated this alkali would come to the surface and form a hard crust, shutting out the warmth of the sunshine and thus preventing the seed from growing. If the seed forced its way through the crust, as it sometimes did, the minerals formed a tight band about the stem which soon burned through and the tender plant died. The farmer then must replant, and labor with the soil in the hope of realizing a harvest. By dint of hard work and perseverance, the soil was greatly subdued.

The cotton missionaries had been instructed prior to their departure from Salt Lake City to bring with them ample farming equipment. (supra) Many of them had never farmed before, others were all but destitute of tools, while a few had some antiquated plows and other farming implements. In their struggle with the soil of Dixie they found them very inadequate. One progressive colonizer doubted if there were a half dozen plows in St. George which were worth using. Another had endeavored to borrow a plow from his neighbors but was amazed at being unable "to find a plow fit for us". He estimated there could be found one "bull tounge" to every thirty families, and one shovel plow to every one hundred families. There were a few draggs, cultivators, and harvesters, but these were very poor. Even small tools such as the shovel, hoe, axe and spade were scarce. They had been sent to grow cotton with a dearth of

78. Ibid. February 1, 1865. p. 74.
tools—they didn’t have a cotton scraper in the entire county.

After the cotton was picked, the cotton missionaries either separated the lint from the seed with their fingers or with the aid of small home made gins. The first power gin was set up in the fall of 1863 by James Richey and Benjamin F. Pendleton at Washington. Handicapped as they were, the cotton missionaries accomplished much with the little they had.

The Rio Virgin is notorious for its disastrous floods but seldom if ever has she been on such a rampage as during the winter of 1861-62. Every resident of Washington County who has left a journal or memoirs speaks of the forty-day rain and the calamitous effects of the floods. Farms, orchards and homes were swept away in the deluge. Even some lives were taken by the ravaging waters. Because of these continuous rains almost all work was suspended. One eye witness has said that "the whole country seemed as if the bottom had fallen out". It was not until after the first of June that cotton was planted.

**FIRST COTTON CROP**

As before mentioned, very little seed was brought with the cotton missionaries. Six pounds received from the east wouldn’t plant a fourth of an acre, and ordinarily a bushel of seed is used to plant one acre of land.
the bulk of their seed was obtained from Santa Clara and Washington. Even though the cotton seed was not planted until June, the first year's total yield of seed cotton was 100,000 pounds, which was very encouraging to the cotton missionaries.

Today when cotton seed is drilled with mechanized equipment, one is prone to forget the tedious back-breaking task of sowing cotton seed in the hey-day of Utah's Dixie. One who participated in the culture of cotton describes the work:

I with my older sister assisted by planting and dropping the seed in hills made by a hoe. Many a day I walked by my father and dropped three seeds in a hill. ** When the plants were a few inches high we had to go all over and pull up all but the thriftiest stocks of cotton. 82  ** **  **

The young plants had to be irrigated, weeded and cultivated. When the cotton was ripe, we children did most of the picking. With a bag tied to the waist, we walked along the row and pulled the white fleecy lint from the bolls. At first the seeds had to be picked out by hand, but soon there was a cotton gin established on the west stream near the point of the Red Hill. After the cotton was ginned it was ready to be carded, spun, later to be woven into cloth. 83

Some of this cotton raised was made up into clothing by the missionaries themselves; President Brigham Young purchased a little at forty-five cents a pound, but the Dixie farmers were still unable to dispose of a large portion of it. Because of this, the cotton crop of 1863 was

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84. *The Yepricula.* June 1, 1864. p. 16.
much smaller than the first year's harvest. (The problem of marketing will be discussed in a later chapter.)

Some became discouraged and leave

The one hundred thousand pounds of seed cotton harvested the first year by the missionaries was grown along the Virgin River over a distance of forty miles. When the cotton missionaries came into the Virgin River region many, as noted above, went up the river to escape the malaria which infested the low lands of Washington. Some of these were asked to come down to St. George while others remained to strengthen the upriver settlements. All of these grew a little cotton which contributed to the aggregate yield. The largest crop was harvested at Washington where the experiment with cotton first began. (supra. Chapter Four) Many of the cotton missionaries were asked to stay there and strengthen that settlement. Before the arrival of these reinforcements, the few families living there were so discouraged they were "ready to desert the place".

Before the first season was over, many became disheartened, as the ardor they possessed when they left the north was dampened. There had been a scarcity of bread and other

85. See Journal of Mrs. Albert Perkins from October 29, 1861 to December 26, 1861. in Journal History. 1861. She writes on Dec. 13, 1861: "It seems Grafton is not the place of our destination. Half of the families are wanted down at St. George". Apostle Pratt moved to St. George March 1, 1862. see Bleak. op.cit. p. 88.

provisions. The season was too far along when they arrived to mature a wheat-crop; there had been no feed for the teams; the heat was intense; and the incessant labors during the hot summer had been more than they could endure. Feeling that life was too short for such an existence as the cotton country could offer, they moved elsewhere. The census taken showed in October 1862, that there were three hundred and ninety-five families living in the vicinity of the Virgin River.

Although (considering the handicaps which the cotton missionaries had to overcome) their first year's efforts presaged a fruitful future, the mission needed more help if it were to succeed in the cotton industry. The country proved larger and much more obstinate in its yielding to the hand of the subduer than the cotton missionary had ever anticipated. Besides men skilled in special fields of labor, the mission needed five hundred common workers. The stubborn earth and turbulent Virgin were to feel the taming hand of man, and these five hundred, together with those already in the cotton country, were to do the job. Then King Cotton would reign among the staples of the Mormon commonwealth, supplying their raiment and comforters.
CHAPTER VI

COTTON GROWING IN UTAH'S DIXIE-1863-1900

The cotton missionaries who arrived in the early winter of 1861 were scattered along the Virgin River Basin, a distance of some fifty miles. In each of the settlements where they located, fertile land was found and cotton grown. Some had moved to Pine Valley, a distance of about thirty-five miles northeast of St. George where they were engaged in sawing lumber for the new settlers' homes. Where ever the missionary located he found the land more extensive and difficult to subdue than he had even remotely anticipated. As late as 1866 in the fields south of St. George, only one third of all the tillable land was utilized. This was land which could easily have been cleared and made useable by simply grubbing out the rabbit brush. The only reason it had not been made ready for cultivation was simply lack of manpower. Reference was made in the previous chapter to the fact that the missionaries had not been in the Virgin River Basin two months before they realized the urgent need for more help. When President Young and his co-leaders received the cry for reinforcements, they promptly made an

additional missionary call. This call came during the month of October 1862, and proved to be as great a surprise and sacrifice to those called as had the one the previous year.

**TWO HUNDRED FAMILIES CALLED TO COTTON MISSION**

George A. Smith, who had been given the responsibility of selecting and directing the first general call for missionaries to make their homes in the cotton country, was again assigned the task of drafting a list of two hundred family heads to reinforce the struggling settlers of southern Utah. Assisting him in this duty was Franklin D. Richards. Men with families and having varied occupations were chosen, and the list of names was read to President Brigham Young on October 15. The President directed them to read the names from the stand in the bowery on the following Sabbath day which fell on the 19th. Later, the missionaries chosen were to be called together and those whose circumstances prevented their accepting the call were given the right to suggest others able and capable of going in their stead.

During the meeting held on Sunday the 19th, President Heber C. Kimball told the missionaries that "God is inspiring this mission", and that only those should go who can be relied upon, for the leaders had been careful to select good men. No man had been called with the thought of getting rid of him.

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The call was to be considered as an honor. President Kimball said it should not surprise anyone if he and President Brigham Young were to move down to the cotton country with those already called.

George A. Smith had assured the people of Salt Lake during the general conference held earlier in the month, that the mission of the previous year had been a "decided success". "That mission has proved the nature of the climate more perfectly than it has before, it has tested the soil and accomplished many other things of immense advantage and worth." He pointed out that the soil and water in the Dixie country were "actually aching" for man to combine them together into the making of good cotton and other choice productions of a mild climate. It was decided that those called to reinforce the cotton mission should leave in the fall, for winter was the time for making preparations for crops and they could raise cotton their first year there. Although excellent cotton had been grown in Dixie, more was needed, for the proposition was presented to the missionaries: "Clothes or no clothes." If raw materials could not be home grown, the saints would of necessity go without.

It was very good psychology to give such propaganda as the above, for without this the Church Leaders would have experienced a much more difficult and discouraging task of build-

ing up a country as desolate, bleak, and uninviting as was the Virgin River basin.

Many of the cotton missionaries of 1862 were residents of Salt Lake Valley, well established, having good homes and fertile farm land. James Jepson, pioneer resident of Hurricane, Utah, in age well over ninety, was eight years of age when his father, one of the missionaries called, came to the cotton country. His father was a prosperous farmer, having forty acres of land a few blocks south of the temple block. He knew little about growing cotton, but his mother was a convert from England where, before her emigration, she had been employed as a weaver.

Charles Walker, gifted with the talent of poesy and later to become poet laureate of the cotton country, was a blacksmith owning a comfortable home and a blossoming orchard of fruit trees. He wrote in his journal Sunday, October 19, the evening after receiving his call:

Well, here I have worked for the last seven years, and at last have a home and a lot with fruit trees just beginning to bear and look pretty. Well, I must leave it and go and do the Will of my Father in Heaven, who rules over all for the good of all who love and fear Him; and I pray God to give me strength to accomplish that which is required of me in an acceptable manner before him.

Although the five hundred common laborers called for

5. **Interview with James Jepson.** Mr. Jepson and his parents moved to Virgin City where in later years he became bishop. He says his father purchased a loom for his mother and she carded, spun and wove the cotton they raised into cloth for their clothing.

the residents of the cotton country were not obtained, there were many experienced farmers and cotton growers among the two hundred family heads sent south in October of 1862. These men, along with those qualified in other occupations, were warmly welcomed when they arrived in the various settlements along the Virgin River.

**THE COTTON CROP OF 1863**

With the coming of reinforcements, the year 1863 began with the spirit of "energetic hopefulness". In the cotton country, throughout all the settlements along the river Virgin, many acres were planted into cotton. In the little settlement of Grafton, with only twenty-four men to accomplish the labor required, ninety acres were planted besides several acres of corn, molasses and other needed products of the soil. Bishop Covington and his co-laborers, although experiencing, as usual, much difficulty in maintaining their dams in the river, sowed more than one hundred acres into cotton and reported at the mission conference held in St. George, October 31, 1863, that "the cotton crop is this year better than usual". He

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7. Among these 200 men were farmers, carpenters, masons, weavers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, saddle makers, tailors, cotton growers, millers, stone layers, tinkers, school teachers, wheelwrights, harness makers, cotton spinners, plasterers, sawyers, and jacks of all trades. The occupations were so varied as to make for a well balanced community containing enough tradesmen, laborers, etc. to satisfy the needs of the people. See Appendix.

further spoke quite encouragingly, saying, that the cotton produced in this region was better than that produced in Tennessee and equal to that produced in the Carolinas. As he had come from the south, he spoke authoritatively. The cotton crops throughout the cotton country looked good generally. But due to the fact that the market for cotton the past year had been poor, many had considerable lint on their hands which tended to cut the acreage for 1862. During this year cotton gins were set up in Grafton, Virgin City and Washington which aided the growers very much.

The cotton produced according to settlements for 1863 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Pounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>21,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Clara</td>
<td>6,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grafton</td>
<td>4,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toquerville and Virgin</td>
<td>14,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56,094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The official cotton price on the New York market for middling upland was 93 cents for best grade lint and 51 cents for the poorer grades. In Utah's Dixie cotton lint was priced at 50 cents a pound.

During the 1863 season, President Erastus Snow sent a group of men, under the superintendency of Ellis Mendenhall

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10. Ibid. p. 129.
Sanders, to the Heberville bottoms, with the object of reoccupying some five hundred fertile acres, which had been submerged the previous year by the flood waters of the Virgin. A resurvey of 312 acres was made and a dam and canal were reconstructed. This land had been excellent for the cultivation of cotton.

The First Presidency had written Bishop Robert Gardner of St. George in the latter part of 1863, insisting that he visit every member of St. George and make certain every cotton grower paid one tenth of his cotton crop in tithing. If any one refused to pay his honest tithe, he would do so at the peril of his fellowship. The bishops of other wards received similar instructions. Later the presiding Bishop instructed Erastus Snow, president of the mission, to send to Salt Lake all cotton due the tithing office, and that which was contributed toward the missionary fund, also that payable to the Deseret News. This was to be brought to Salt Lake City by the teams going east, for the purpose of bringing poor saints to Utah.

Although provisions were scarce, flour was selling for

11. The cotton experiment farm of 1858-59 was located here. Very good cotton had been grown.
13. In a letter from Edward Hunter and counselors, Leonard W. Hardy and Jesse C. Little, Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt were asked to send 28 teams east to bring the poor from Florence, Nebraska. Snow, considering this number more than the southern mission's share vigorously protested. See Bleak, op. cit. pp. 116-117; 141.
ten dollars per hundred pounds, and other staples were as hard to get, the people at large considered themselves "in the path of duty" and were determined to stay and contribute their part in building up the Mormon commonwealth. During the month of May, when times seemed most disheartening, President Young, accompanied by other leaders, went to the Dixie mission to impart cheer and encouragement.

**THE COTTON CROP OF 1864**

The aggregate yield of cotton for 1863 was about half the amount raised during the year 1862, but due to promises made by Brigham Young that markets for their product would be obtained, more acres were planted to cotton in 1864 than at any previous time. Every settlement along the Virgin River grew cotton as did Toquerville and Harrisburg. St. George and Santa Clara did not report their cotton acreage for the year 1864. Cotton was grown, however, at these places for this year. The *Deseret News*, (after telling of the completion of the nine hundred foot tunnel cut through a point of the ridge, which would bring water from the Virgin River onto over four hundred acres of fertile land) reports: "We hear of stout determination to raise cotton as much and more than before * * this year." Then Erastus Snow re-

reporting the condition of the Cotton Mission to President Young, speaking of the farming at St. George, says: "The cotton crop will no doubt exceed that of last year."

The reason, apparently, for no report from St. George and Santa Clara settlements for 1864, may be seen in the fact that President Erastus Snow and other leaders of the Mission were living in St. George and knew first hand the cotton prospects for the year. In the latter part of July these leaders visited the settlements of the upper Virgin, beginning at Washington, with the purpose of viewing the coming crops and determining what they anticipated raising. At each settlement reports were made, showing the acreage under cultivation and the products grown. Washington had planted 140 acres into cotton; Harrisburg located above the good cotton land had 8 acres; the bishop of Toquerville reported 84 acres growing cotton; and Virgin City was growing 53½ acres of this staple. While traveling up to Duncan's Retreat, President Snow found 6 acres of cotton cultivated, and a few miles further east, Grefton boasted 28 acres or one acre to each family. Rockville reported 25 acres with the "white gold" growing, while Springdale, with only nine families under Albert Petty, were proud of their 35 acres of healthy cotton. Shoonsburg and Northop reported 13 and 4 acres respectively.

16. Bleak, op.cit. pp. 152-154. Each settlement reported population and products, besides cotton, such as tobacco, wheat, corn, grapes, lucern, peaches, etc.
The grand total of cotton acreage along the Upper Virgin showed 395 acres of cotton. One can safely estimate that in the St. George and Santa Clara fields around fifty acres were growing cotton. This would make almost 450 acres planted with this staple throughout the cotton mission for 1864. After the survey, the leading men of Dixie were hopeful that cotton would become the major source of revenue for the mission. This hope was further enhanced when President Young, while visiting the southern mission in September, promised to buy the cotton raised rather than have it sent out of the Territory. He then bought the water privileges of Machine Creek in Washington, for the purpose of building a cotton factory there.

Brigham Young, greatly pleased and encouraged over what he saw in the cotton country and hopeful of making it larger and more productive, called at the October Conference of 1864 a large group of missionaries to settle on the Muddy River, a fertile valley almost a hundred miles south and west of St. George.

Prices for cotton on the New York Market for 1864 showed $1.90 paid a pound for best grade and 72 cents paid for lowest grade. In Utah's Dixie the standard prices were $1.00 and $1.25 per pound.

1865 CROP POOR

The cotton crop for the year 1865 was poor, due mostly

18. A committee appointed at Mission conference held November 4, 1864, made a uniformity of prices for products grown in the cotton country.
to the ravages of grasshoppers which infested the region, causing considerable destruction of all the crops. In the upper Virgin settlements, worms destroyed many acres of cotton. In some places entire patches were left leafless. Although the crop for this year was not reported, the total yield would have been slight, indeed, were it not for the five thousand pounds raised on the Muddy the initial year of the settlement there. This new cotton-growing country gave hopes of great cotton productivity. A man named Rhodes had harvested 695 pounds of first class cotton lint from one acre.

FAIRS EXHIBIT COTTON PRODUCTS

In September, a county fair was held at St. George where the products of King Cotton were exhibited. At the State fair, held four years before, cotton fabrics had been displayed and much attention was given to the home production. Other fairs had been held in the cotton country, but this fair of 1865 had the largest display of cotton fabrics and received more consideration than any held before. A visitor from the north sent to the Deseret News the following account of the cotton display: (The display was in the city hall, a building constructed of red sandstone.)

In the middle of the floor, ranging through the length of the hall, tables were arranged, which presented for inspection stuffs of cotton, wool and linen, and we noticed a skein of yarn evenly spun and of

19. A letter sent from Virgin City by S. E. Johnson to Deseret News editor, see Deseret News. 13:366.
a soft and exceedingly agreeable texture, manufactured from dog wool. We were shown gingham manufactured here, colored with madder grown here, made from cotton grown here and spun at President Young's mill (at Parowan) that cannot be excelled anywhere for evenness and beauty of design. 21

The visitor also reports the fruit, wine, and tobacco exhibition found in another portion of the hall and refers to a drink, given him, of Dixie wine which he exuberantly states was "excellent".

During the cotton growing period of Dixie the county fair became fondly anticipated a yearly affair at which cotton articles were effusively exhibited.

The following is quoted:

There was a bolt of cloth ticketed 'class C' 202, Julia Sullivan, 1st prize, in a suit of which we would consider ourselves well dressed, even at our most stylish parties. We observed a suit (lady's) suspended, which, if it had been supported by its fair owner, Miss Mary Woolley, we could not have with held from it (her) the first prize. 22

Cotton and its fabrics were pushed to the front whenever the occasion availed itself. On one of President Young's visits to St. George, the enthusiastic cotton growers raised a bale of their home-grown staple to the top of a flag pole. They could be justly proud of their product and wisely exhibited it before the public eye.

22. Deseret News. 15:349--Reported by J. D. McCullough. On display along with the cotton and fruit were some home-grown and home-made Dixie cigars and the writer goes on to say, "The tempting quality and excellency of our cigars were fully demonstrated by their disappearance."
INDIANS HELP SPOIL 1866 COTTON CROP

The season of 1866 began with promises of excellent cotton. St. George had planted 80 acres; Washington, with a population of one hundred men, was cultivating 112 acres; Toquerville on Ash Creek had one third of all their tillable land in cotton, which was 67½ acres. The upper river settlements had 140 acres growing healthy cotton and were hopeful of picking over 40,000 pounds of ginned cotton. The new settlements on the Muddy had 48 acres planted and prospects of the heaviest cotton crop in Dixie's history seemed to be in the making. It was this year that the cotton factory of Brigham Young's was nearing completion at Washington; and the cotton growers were anticipating the day when the product of their soil would be manufactured in their own land by their own machinery, instead of having to be sent north to Parowan or Salt Lake City. But 1866 was a year of Indian troubles. The red men from across the Colorado began to depredate the outlying settlements, driving away and killing livestock and threatening the settlers. Dr. Whitmore and a young man named Mc Intyre were killed. In order to protect life and property, cotton crops were neglected. Then came an order from President Young to abandon the small settlements and concentrate in larger places for protection. In complying with this

23. Bleak. *op.cit.* pp. 209-210. Young had advised: "There should be from 150 to 500 good and efficient men in every settlement."
order, crops were left unharvested. Wheat, corn, and other grains were gathered by the Indians, but the cotton was not picked. Not only were the Indians troublesome along the Virgin, but the Muddy settlers also suffered. The upper river settlements congregated into Rockville and Virgin City, while many settlers moved into St. George, where over five hundred acres of good farming land was offered them.

So much were the cotton crops neglected, because of the Indian troubles, that at the Semi-annual Conference of the Cotton Mission held in St. George on November 1, the bishops of the various wards reported that the cotton yield would be less than three-fourths the normal crop. There was no report made as to the number of pounds harvested for 1866, but the market price for cotton had gone down to 52 cents per pound in New York; in Utah's Dixie the court authorized the assessor and collector to receive 50 cents per pound for raw cotton or $6.00 for five pounds of cotton yarn on county taxes.

COTTON CROPS DEGENERATE

From 1866 to 1870 cotton degenerated, many here-to-fore energetic planters became disgruntled and left. Men went to the mines in Pioche, Nevada and other mining towns. When the

24. Ibid. p. 234. Other crops were reported "to be uniformly good".
25. Ibid. pp. 240, 246. The lowest paid for cotton on the New York market was 32 cents.
cotton factory began operation in 1869, it was uncertain if
the cotton crop continued to be as poor as the past few
years, whether there would be sufficient cotton grown to keep
the factory in operation. George A. Smith, writing the Hon.
N. S. Elderkin November 11, 1869, says:

The cotton crop of Washington, Kane and Rio
Virgin counties is very light; all these deficiencies
are chargeable to the grasshoppers. There is not
sufficient cotton raised to supply the mills half the
year working ten hours per day. 26

One reason for the uneasiness among the cotton missionaries
and the desertion of the mission by many was, according to
the mission secretary, "the drought and grasshopper damage".
The cause back of the poor cotton crops can be explained by
the fact that the growers had become careless in selecting
proper seed for planting. Joseph Birch, agent for the Rio
Virgin Manufacturing Company, which included the cotton fac-
tory at Washington, in a letter to the bishops and people of
the southern mission, states:

We are sorry to find, after examination of ex-
pierced persons in the East and those here, well
acquainted with the growing of cotton, that they
decided that our cotton has much degenerated, compared
with what it was four or five years ago; samples of
which are still at hand.

Most of said degeneration is the result of not
selecting the Best Cotton Seed, and planting the same

in good and suitable soil. They further state that the cotton raised some four or five years ago was of good quality, and well suited for the manufacture of such goods as we need.

We have been at great expense and trouble the past summer, in traveling West, to select suitable machinery for our use; and have brought everything necessary to work both cotton and wool into such goods as we need.

We have also employed an experienced person from the east to superintend the manufacturing of the same.

Taking the foregoing facts into consideration, we feel under the necessity of impressing upon you the importance of selecting your cotton when picked and ginned, and bailing each kind to itself. 28

To assure better cotton crops in the future, the factory managers had ordered choice seed from Georgia, to be distributed among the cotton planters of Dixie. This new and better seed invigorated the cotton-growing in this region for a few years. In a letter to Joseph J. Smith in England, the following encouraging line is found: "There has been more cotton raised than for several years previous". The factory paid the cotton farmers in 1870, thirty cents a pound for first quality lint and twenty-five cents for second quality; yet the planters were pleased with these prices, in exchange for necessary articles from the factory. Many felt that if the price could be maintained from twenty to thirty cents, "it would be a blessing, as well as a stimulant to more extensive cotton culture". 30

EVACUATION OF MUDDY MISSION CREATES PROBLEM

A severe blow came to the cotton industry of Utah's

28. Ibid. pr. 80-82.
30. Bleak. op.cit. In a letter from James Leithhead to Erastus Snow.
Dixie when the Muddy Mission was evacuated, because of "the onerous burden of taxation" inflicted upon the inhabitants of that region by the State of Nevada. This mission had been the chief source of cotton supply during the years of 1865 to 1870, and the discontinuance of it created a real problem in raising enough cotton to supply the needs of the Territory.

President Erastus Snow, in a general epistle to the saints in St. George, Washington, Santa Clara, Toquerville, Virgin City, and Rockville, urged the brethren to grow more cotton. To them he said:

As the settlements on the Muddy have been abandoned, I deem it advisable to specially call your attention to the necessity of planting and producing cotton this year. In consequence of the brethren leaving the Muddy it will be obvious that brethren presiding in the above settlements named should make an extra exertion to produce cotton. It is to be hoped that each of the brethren residing in those settlements and who cultivate the soil, will feel this individual responsibility, so that we may be able to produce more cotton than has been produced in any of the past few years.

Many of the brethren rallied to the urgent request made by President Snow, and more acres were sown to cotton. The exact number is not given in the records nor is the total yield for each year registered. This neglect is due principally to the beginning of the cotton factory and the establishment of the United Order among the saints of Southern Utah during these years from 1870 to 1875. These new enter-

31. The history of the Muddy Mission will be treated in Chapter VII, including details of vacating the Muddy settlements.
prises monopolized the Annuals covering this period. One notes, however, a growing disinterest and neglect of farming, especially that of cotton raising. The mining camps of Pioche were calling, and several, especially young men, were allured away from the tedium of farm life.

UNITED ORDER ORGANIZED TO PROMOTE PRODUCTIVITY

During the winters of 1871, 72, and 73, President Brigham Young and his Counselor George A. Smith spent the winters in St. George. The President noticed, with deep concern, the neglect of the soil for the allurement of the mines. He spoke forcefully against this practice. One reads many times in the minutes of meetings and conferences held in St. George, on occasions when President Young spoke, exhorting "the brethren to go to and sow their grain, plant cotton and cultivate the soil and let Pioche alone". He reminded the people of Dixie that the Lord had "put it into his heart to establish this mission" and make the people who were sent to build it up, independent. The duty of those living in the cotton country was to build up Zion and not help build up the cities of the gentiles. He could see that the best solution to the problem of indifference toward the tilling of the soil was the organizing of a cooperative company to raise cotton, and he would create such an organization "if he could get men in this region to do it." 33

34. Ibid. p. 245. At a meeting held in St. George Sat-
    urday, January 13, 1873.
These years were crucial ones for the cotton mission. These were times when the gentile influence began to creep in among the missionaries; the fashions of the world were offering enticements. Many of the young people were adopting the evils offered by the "democracy of Babylon". The advice of the leaders, for the men to stay on the farm, and become self-sustaining, was considered impracticable when the coffers of the gentiles were wide open offering them more in one year than they could make in ten planting cotton. It would take more than the pleadings of their leaders to bring them back to "their legitimate labors". The time had come to draw the line between "those who were willing to build up Zion and those who are following after Babylon". To bring about this needed unity of purpose and effort, President Young established among the saints in St. George, on Sunday, January 11, 1874, the United Order. George A. Smith explained its importance on the cotton industry in the following words:

During the war between the north and the south when cotton was scarce; great quantities of cotton yarn were sent to the various settlements of the Territory and proved to be an inestimable blessing. And considerable quantities of cotton were exported from the Territory to the United States. So far the settlement of this southern country had been a success. It was desirable that still better results should be secured; and this might be done by entering into the United Order in the concentration of our labor and means. 36

35. Ibid. p. 269. In a discourse given in the basement of St. George Tabernacle, February 15, 1873.
36. Ibid. p. 313. In almost all the communities where the United Order was established it was short lived, the reason being the indulence and selfishness of many within the Order.
Now that the factory was in operation at Washington, at least one hundred thousand pounds of cotton lint should be raised, to keep it in full production. To accomplish this, each settlement was to be apportioned a certain amount of lint to be raised and ginned each year for the factory's needs. Cooperative working organizations were believed to be the best systems to be used in accomplishing the above objective. The first of these labor units of farmers was organized as part of the United Order plan at Price, located at the old site of Heberville, with George Baker elected superintendent. On March 5, 1874, Brigham Young organized the Rockville Ward into the United Order with its working units. In time all the settlements were organized into United Order systems.

The purpose of the Order was to bring into "closer union and combination" the labor of the saints for "the promotion" of their "common welfare". These early founders of this cooperative organization were not oblivious of the struggle between capital and labor which resulted in "strikes of the workmen with their consequent distress". They wanted none of that among them, rather they chose, if they were to be friends of God, to also become friends and helpers of each other, in a bond of brotherhood. Their desired objective was that of eventual prosperity to all, through home production and the manufacturing of all needed commodities. Furthermore, the
objects of the Order were "to carry on the general business of farming, manufacturing, merchandising, fruit growing, stock raising, dairying, and as many other pursuits as will tend to the material prosperity" of all.

All who entered the United Order were to offer their property for investment in the Order, the value of which was to be appraised by a committee elected by the members of the organization. In return for property invested, credit as capital stock was given. The committee also was to fix the wage scale of the laborers, and all other individual services. The price on all commodities was also established by an appointed committee. As an example, flour was one cent higher per pound in the cotton settlements than it was in other communities. The same was true in respect to molasses and potatoes. The standard price for cotton as regulated by the committee was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Price per Pound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cotton ginned per pound</td>
<td>20-25¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton unginned per pound</td>
<td>5-7¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton seed per pound</td>
<td>1¾¢</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labor in the cotton fields was fixed from 50 cents to 52.50 per day. Ten hours was considered a day's work.

The Order was not to make an inventory until five years of operation had expired. Then a computation of dividends on capital stock was to be made, and individuals credited. If

37. "Preamble and Articles of Agreement of the United Order of the City of St. George". Bleek. Ibid. pp. 361-368. Each person entering the order was to be baptized "for the remission of sins, the renewal of covenants, and for the observance of the rules of the Holy United Order."

38. Ibid. p. 501.
any member were to withdraw from the order before the expiration of five years, he should receive one half of the capital stock invested, also one half the dividend.

As indicated above, one of the prime concerns of the Order was the promotion of cotton production. In a letter to the St. George Order, Brigham Young and George A. Smith emphasized that "particular attention should be paid to increasing the amount of cotton produced". In the 15th article of the Agreement which each entree signed as he was initiated into the Order, one reads, "We further agree * * to the fullest extent of our ability, to produce cotton".

John W. Young, who had been appointed President of St. George Stake in January, 1874, issued a circular which was sent on April 11, 1874 to all the saints throughout the cotton country. In it he wrote stressing the need for more cotton. He said:

<It is well understood that in calling the large body of missionaries to come south of the rim of the basin in 1861 and at other times since then, one of the principal objectives of the presiding authorities of the Church was to have cotton and other crops peculiar to a mild climate produced. This has been steadily kept in view by those who preside over us, for the past twenty years. It certainly must be evident to observers that as a people we have not paid sufficient attention to the raising of cotton. Now, as this is a day of improvement, (meaning the establishment of the United Order for such a purpose) it is suggested that particular attention be paid to the cotton crop. Those most skilled in the planting

Tbid. p. 372.
40. Bleak. op.cit. p. 367.
and culture of this staple should select the most suitable land, and then as much should be planted as the help comeable will justify. We should in our cotton growing settlements provide this season, at least 100,000 pounds of cotton lint. We need to do much towards furnishing the cotton used in our clothing, but in addition to this by liberally supply- ing our cotton factory at Washington, we should be able to furnish the warps and the cotton batting re- quired by the Northern part of the Territory. We have but few sources of cash income, the exportation of yarn and cotton batting will be one of those sources. 41

It was generally conceded that more cotton was being grown than would be the case if it were not for the Order.

COTTON GROWING IMPROVES

Although the cotton crop for 1874 was planted late be- cause of the backward spring, the summer proved pleasant and agreeable to the growth and development of the plants; the frosts delayed their visits until an abundance of cotton was harvested. In fact the largest harvest gathered in the cot- ton country for several years past was realized that season. Unfortunately the total yield is not given in the records of the southern mission, nor from letters written from the cot- ton factory. One does glean, however, that the sum of lint was around the desired objective--one hundred thousand 42 pounds.

Increased production of cotton continued until about the

41. Ibid. p. 394.
middle of the eighties when there was not a market for it. The lack of a market was brought about by the closing of the factory in Washington. Then in 1890 Thomas Judd leased the Rio Virgin mill, and the demand for cotton batting and cotton goods was created which accelerated the raising of this important staple. In an article taken from the Salt Lake Herald for Sunday, March 1, 1891, we find the following regarding the cotton raised in the early nineties:

Cotton of the finest quality, far superior in fiber to that of the southern states is yielding to the planter at the rate of 600 pounds per acre, with three pickings a year. This product makes a profitable crop where there are children or cheap help in picking, which is the greatest part in raising cotton. The past three or four years little cotton was raised, because there was not a market for it; but now that the Rio Virgin Mill is running and good demand for cotton goods created, there will be much more raised. 44

BRIGHAM CITY COTTON FARM

Ten years before Brigham Young began the United Order at St. George, Lorenzo Snow started in Brigham City a cooperative enterprise for the promotion of home industries. Cotton was needed for the purpose of supplying warps for the woolen mill, then operating within their organization; therefore, a group of seventeen young men were sent in the


44. Article entitled "Sunny South". p. 3. As an example of the amount of cotton raised during the nineties, in 1892 over 50,000 pounds was used in the cotton factory besides that utilized at home or sent up north and to other localities.
winter of 1874-5 to the Virgin River region, to plant a
colony and grow cotton. James May was in charge of the
group. A portion of land containing fifty acres, five
miles east of Washington, was occupied. The first year, ac-
cording to Lorenzo Snow:

Besides making improvements in building, making
dams, constructing water sects, setting out trees,
planting vineyards, plowing, scraping, leveling and
preparing the ground, they raised a large crop of
cotton, which produced in the neighborhood of seventy
thousand yards of warp. 45

The second year more than one hundred and fifty thousand
yards of cotton warp was made from the cotton grown at the
Brigham City cotton farm, commonly known in Dixie as Camp
Lorenzo. Never more than fifteen acres were planted to cot-
ton each year while the cotton farm was worked. In the fall
of 1879 the farm was abandoned because of "financial diffi-
culties".

ORDERVILLE COTTON FARM

While the United Order among the settlements of the cot-
ton country was on a cooperative basis, the orders in Order-
ville and Glendale in Kane County, were more on a communistic
basis. Not only was the property held in common, but the
people ate at a community table, did their washing at a com-
munity laundry, and operated community farms and factories.

45. Eliza R. Snow. Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo
Snow. p. 294.
47. Berrett. The Restored Church. p. 455.
To supply their cotton needs the Orderville group established a community cotton farm along the Virgin River, southeast of the Washington Settlement. Several families were moved onto the farm and houses were built together in a long row with a community kitchen a short distance away. Each fell for several years boys and girls were selected from the Orderville community to go to the cotton farm on the Rio Virgin and pick the cotton. According to one, who was a girl at the time, this cotton picking excursion "was a pleasant outing and each one accepted the call willingly, nay, enthusiastically, but there was disappointment for many not chosen". The trip was long and the descent of the Hurricane hill perilous, but what cared youth, to them it was all a lark.

Joseph Heaton was the manager of the cotton farm, and during the five years the order was operating, the cotton necessary to supply the wants of the community was raised by those called to work the farm. In the early eighties the farm was abandoned.

THE END OF COTTON CULTURE IN DIXIE

Many writers on the early Mormon industries seem to take it for granted, that with the advent of the railroad into Utah in 1869, the cotton industry was doomed; but the missionaries of Dixie tried to influence the railroad magnates to bring the railroad through St. George. One reads

in Bleak's *Annals* for 1892 that "at a mass meeting held in St. George the Nevada Southern Railroad Company was invited to build its main line through Washington County." The entire Cotton Mission was hopeful of the railroad's coming, for then they would have cheaper transportation for export of their cotton goods, as well as a saving on the twelve million pounds of imports, shipped in each year, which cost them $120,000.00 annually for freight charges. When their efforts failed to entice the companies to bring the railroad their way, the people realized that lack of transportation would sooner or later put a quietus on their cotton industry. Cotton continued to be raised, nevertheless, until the ushering in of the twentieth century. The Washington cotton factory continued operation until 1910 when Charles W. Nibley, presiding Bishop of the Church, advised the selling of the machinery and the closing of the factory. With the closing of the factory, cotton raising, which had waned for the past four or five years, likewise ceased.

Some of the cotton missionaries were alive as late as 1912, and regardless of the closed market continued to cultivate small patches of cotton in the gardens back of their homes. They said they had never been released from their mission, so until that time cotton would be grown. There were some of these old-timers who ginned their home-grown product by hand, rolled it into bats, and then peddled the batting to the housewives in the Mormon communities of Dixie for quilt linings.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY

Approximately ninety miles southwest of St. George is an elongated strip of land extending serpentine-like from a region northeast of Pioche, county seat of Lincoln County, south for a distance of two hundred miles. About thirty miles above the Virgin River, it formed a valley in a south easterly direction. This strip of country is called the Muddy Valley, a name derived from the stream which flows through the valley, making it a pleasant spot in a western desert. This Muddy river, for such is it called, got its name not from the color of its water, for it is clear, but rather because of the muddyine of the stream by travelers on the old California trail when they crossed a low alkali swamp on the east side during stormy weather.

Only the valley running for thirty miles in a southeasterly direction is considered in this chapter dealing with cotton growing on the Muddy.

Joseph W. Young, an early resident of the Muddy Valley, describes the stream, its source, and the valley through which it runs, in the following picturesque manner:

The stream has its source in a number of springs that rise in a beautiful valley of some thousand acres.

1. Joseph J. Young in the Deseret News, 17:175; Millennium Star, 30:507; History of Brigham Young, p. 648; Journal History, 19:1868. George Perkins of Overton, a student of early Nevada history, is of the opinion that the river was named after the Indian word for the mesquite beans, Muddy.
and flows to the Rio Virgin, a distance of about 30 miles, in a southeast by east course. There are three valleys on the Muddy, the first being almost circular, and perhaps two miles long by about one and one half miles wide. The upper end of the valley is full of springs, which come together towards the lower end, and make the Muddy. Some of these springs send out beautiful cold water, while others are warm enough for dish washing.

This upper valley is not well adapted for farming purposes, unless perhaps for raising hay, for which it would do well; ** *

The upper valley is separated from the next one below by a high point of rocks on either side of the creek, making a narrow pass of some thirty or forty rods between the two valleys. ** *

This second valley is some three miles long, by one mile broad, and most of the land is good for farming purposes. (Here the Indians grew grain. Young said the finest he had seen in his life).** *

Some three miles below this valley, the creek runs into a deep and narrow canon, which is passable only to those good at climbing, and is about 5 miles in length. When the creek puts out of this rugged canon, it breaks over all restraint and spreads out into a tule swamp some two or three miles wide, and five or six long. From the mouth of the canon to the junction of the Muddy with the Rio Virgin, a distance of some 18 miles, is a continuous valley, ranging from one to two miles wide. 2

This valley was originally covered with luxuriant growth of mesquite and grease wood, and the sluggish Muddy gave rise to swamps and the growth of grasses along its course.

To the travelers along the Old Spanish Trail, this valley was of extreme importance, for it served as a refreshing oasis in the desert, being the only reliable source of water

2. Ibid.
in a dry, desolate area of over one hundred miles from the Beaver Dams to Las Vegas.

The Mormons learned first about the Muddy Valley from Jefferson Hunt and Porter Rockwell after their trip to California in 1847, for the purpose of securing seed and cattle for the Church. Later, after the founding of the Las Vegas Mission in 1855, William Bringhurst sent out two exploring parties to the Muddy and the report brought back was that in all probability it was a better place in which to colonize than Las Vegas had proved to be.

MORMONS PLAN COLONIZATION

After gaining sufficient knowledge of the valleys along the Muddy, the Church leaders decided to found settlements there. This decision was based on three major reasons. First, realizing the importance of the Muddy along the California road, the Mormons feared that the gentile might attempt to occupy it. They wanted to be first, for the Church leaders had plans for bringing emigrants and freight from California, up the Colorado River and along the Spanish Trail, to the valleys of the Mountains. Settlement of the Muddy would provide a way station for furnishing supplies for caravans before they plunged into the desert. The third reason, and by far

the most important as concerns this treatise, the soil and climate of the Muddy region were very well adapted to the culture of cotton; the growing season being considerably longer than at St. George or Washington.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF COLONIZATION

Furthermore, the Muddy Valley had some advantages over the country on the Virgin. The low meandering stream made its waters easy to control, and there was little danger of floods, which as we have seen, were a constant incubus to the cotton planters of Washington county. In reality the only floods were those which came after heavy showers on the hills. These descended down the ravines, causing little or no damage. The soil was very good and generally free from alkali. The climate, while a little hotter than St. George in the summer, was much milder in the winter. Winter was the most pleasant season, being seldom, if ever too cold to work. Joseph Foote, writing from St. Joseph in March 1866, said, "To begin with I will say that we have had the finest winter by a long wise that I ever saw. Cotton was galore on the upper lots until the 3rd of December."

But there were many disadvantages in the wake of those attempting to colonize this narrow oasis. Even before arriving at the place of settlement, the pioneer experienced a

most harrowing journey over a road filled with loose rock and sand, having as many turns "as there are quills in a porcupine". One thousand pounds was as heavy a load as a span of mules could pull, and then there were many places where it was necessary to double up in order to pull the load. Added to these hardships in travel, was the crossing of the Virgin River which was done at least fifty times before getting to the Muddy. This was always dangerous and there was occasional loss of life and property. Then after arriving, the settler found no timber short of Pine Valley, one hundred and thirty miles back from whence he had come. By the time he hauled his lumber from that distance, it cost him at least twenty-five cents a foot. Again, there was some mineral in the soil, and the swamps bred malaria fever, but the true Mormon pioneer was not to be daunted. True, many, yes the vast majority moved out, but not the hardy.

MISSIONARY CALL TO THE MUDDY

at the semi-annual conference of the church held in October, 1864, missionaries were called to settle on the Muddy. Thomas S. Smith, a resident of Farmington, Utah was appointed by President Brigham Young as leader of the group. During this conference, Anson Call was assigned the job of planting a colony near the Colorado, in preparation for the future emigration and freighting, which were to come by that route.

On November 10, 1864, the brethren called to settle on
the Muddy met in a meeting where the decision was reached that new settlements should be established between St. George and the Colorado, and a warehouse built on the river. For, as referred to above, the

* * * authorities of the Church had ascertained that there were other valleys, even at a lower altitude than St. George, where cotton and other semitropical products could be raised successfully, the climate and altitude being compared with other parts of the United States where cotton was raised profitably. * * * Another object of settlement on the Muddy was the possibility of shipping immigrants and freight from Europe and eastern United States by way of Panama and the Gulf of California up the mouth of the Colorado and by way of the Muddy to Utah. 6

Few of those called were free to go that fall. By the 8th of January, 1865, only fifteen had reached their destination---Thomas Smith with eleven men and three women. Not long after their arrival, others came and soon the first colony had grown to forty-five souls. The first settlement founded on the Muddy was called St. Thomas in honor of their leader.

SETTLEMENTS ON THE MUDDY

This call to the Muddy was part of the Cotton Mission, for the settler's first duty there, as it had been before on the Virgin, was to grow cotton. Thomas Smith took his first little group of colonizers down the Muddy to within a short distance of its confluence with the Virgin. There on the

west bank, the town of St. Thomas was laid out. Eighty-five lots of one acre each were surveyed; then about the same number of vineyards of two and one half acres were apportioned. St. Thomas was a good location for farming (cotton raising) as well as fruit raising. The farms were small, each family head being assigned a farm lot of five acres. Later, nine hundred more acres of farm land were surveyed and divided into twenty acre fields, which were given to the new comers after their arrival. These settlers planted several acres to cotton.

Thomas Smith, writing to the editor of the Deseret News in March after his arrival, tells of the accomplishments and future plans, as well as of the handicaps and hardships which his group had experienced:

We have some 55 acres of wheat, 10 acres of oats and barley, and set out some 5 or 6 thousand fruit trees and grapevines. We expect to plant a large amount of corn, cotton and cane.

Our labors thus far, as also in the future now seem likely, has been performed without a blacksmith and hardly a mechanic of any kind nearer than St. George.

The settlement is composed of persons who have been called to the mission and substitutes, a portion of whom are living on little more than bread and water, the flour in some instances is procured by borrowing. Not withstanding this, they are pursuing their labors cheerfully. It is our hope that all who were called to this mission will either come with plenty of provisions, or send plenty for substitutes.

The Indians are friendly and are willing to work for something to eat.

In the latter part of April, 1865, President Erastus Snow, James G. Bleak and others, visited the new settlement.

of St. Thomas. The following day after their arrival, Snow and his company with Thomas Smith and other ruddy settlers, traveled up the valley to select possible sites for future settlements. After traveling two miles from St. Thomas, they came into a beautiful meadow covering one thousand acres. Although it was not yet May, the grass was ready to cut. Further up the valley, the company found another meadow containing, according to their estimation, six hundred acres. At this spot they located a suitable mill site, and hundreds of acres of farm land. President Snow and the others seriously contemplated establishing a settlement at this place.

In June, about one month and a half after Snow's visit to the ruddy, Thomas Smith, presiding high priest in the valley, with others located, surveyed and organized a town site at the place suggested in April by the brethren. Joseph Warren Foote was appointed treasurer of the new settlement, which was named St. Joseph, probably in his honor. This colony was laid out approximately one and one half miles northeast of the present town of Overton. Later, James Leithead built a grist mill near there. In 1868, several recruits from the north started a new settlement in the upper ruddy, near the present site of Hoopa, and called it West

9. Bleak, op.cit. p. 170. Out of 35 men who should have been at St. Thomas, 6 had returned north after their families and others to bring back provisions.
Point. The soil proved very fertile and produced an abundance of cotton, but because of the surly disposition of the Indians in that locality, the brethren were advised to move down to St. Joseph. Other towns were settled on the Muddy. Simonsville, later called Overton, was established about two miles south of St. Joseph; St. Joseph about 1868 was abandoned, and another settlement located about five miles north, was built up and also called St. Joseph. This second St. Joseph was situated near the present village of Logandale.

COTTON GROWING DURING THE YEARS 1865-70

During the first year the cotton missionaries, located on the Muddy, raised over 5,000 pounds of ginned cotton. The actual acreage planted to the "white gold" has not been reported, but many farmers had unusually heavy yields per acre. To illustrate: Preston Lamb picked one acre of cotton six times. From each picking, he realized two hundred pounds of seed cotton. The seventh picking he gathered almost three hundred pounds of seed cotton. From this one acre he obtained nearly fifteen hundred pounds of cotton in the seed, which would gin up to well over five hundred pounds of lint. A Brother Rhodes harvested an even larger yield, for he ginned out six hundred and ninety-five pounds of cotton and was unable to gather the last picking, which was wasted. Another thrifty cotton grower, R. M. Englestead,

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10. Ibid. p. 395.
raised six hundred pounds of ginned cotton from three-fourths acre. This was all first clear cotton.

Orrwell Limons built a cotton mill two miles down the river from the settlement of St. Joseph. He also had machinery for ginning, and the first cotton raised on the Huddy was ginned by him. To accomplish a better job in ginning, as well as grinding the grain raised, he sent to San Pedro, California for a set of the best French burrs and other appurtenances he could buy.

The cotton missionary on the Huddy had no trouble raising cotton in alkali infested ground, as did the cotton growers on the Virgin. In fact, one missionary from St. Thomas remarked that "cotton will grow on land so impregnated with minerals that nothing else will grow on it". But the cotton missionaries on the Huddy experienced the same handicap which troubles their fellow missionaries on the Virgin—a dearth of help. They were bothered more by the thieving of Indians than were those growing cotton on the Virgin River. There were times when open warfare seemed imminent. A visit from Eustus Snow, who met with the chief men of the tribes, helped avert much trouble; and the work of Andrew Gibbons, Indian interpreter, did much to allay hostilities. The brethren were advised to strongly fortify themselves in


preparation for any eventual uprising from their red neighbors. This advise they took literally and complied with by making the necessary preparations.

During the year 1865 and the forepart of 1866, more missionaries arrived on the Muddy. There are several entries in Bleak's *Annals*, such as: "Teams continue to arrive at St. George owned by missionaries to go and strengthen the settlements on the Muddy." 14 A few, however, upon arriving were too heartsick to remain, and continued their journey to California. By cotton planting time, St. Thomas had forty men and a total population of 129 persons, while at St. Joseph, now called Mill Point, 35 men had established themselves with their families; this settlement had 167 inhabitants. The forty men at St. Thomas planted 24 acres of cotton and the thirty-five men living at Mill Point sowed 23½ acres into this staple.

For some untold reason the cotton was planted late, but the Muddy Valley, having at least two months longer growing season than Santa Clara or St. George, it had ample time to mature and produced an astonishing harvest. W. D. Kartchner, writing to George A. Smith in October, said the cotton on the Muddy was "surpassed nowhere in the south". 15 At St. Thomas,

Jama leithead, who succeeded Thomas S. Smith as president of the mission, reported a yield of 3000 pounds of lint from 13 1/2 acres, and as they had twenty-four acres planted at least 5000 pounds were harvested at St. Thomas in 1866. The Mill Point settlement did better, getting 6000 pounds of ginned cotton from 17 acres. One can estimate only the amount raised from the six and one half acres not reported, which in proportion to the above total from 17 acres would be around 2000 pounds. One is within safe bounds in setting the total cotton yield for the Muddy Mission during the season of 1866, at 13,000 pounds of lint.

Because of the intense heat, several moved out, or as the Indian interpreter Gibbons would say, "were bluffed off by warm weather". Desertions within the ranks left only 23 men at Mill Point, yet these men produced 14,600 pounds of first class ginned cotton. Thomas Day gathered 550 pounds of lint from one acre. A report sent to the Deseret News in January 1868, stated that although the ginning would not be completed for a week or more, 14,000 pounds of cotton had been ginned. The cotton missionaries in the valley of the Muddy produced over twenty-five thousand pounds of cotton during the year of 1867. Jacob Hemblin, while visiting in Salt Lake City in April 1868, after having spent some time in St. Thomas, told the brethren that "the cotton crop of last year was so much beyond what was anticipated".
that no doubt exists about it (the Muddy) being a good cotton growing country and much more will be planted the coming season than heretofore".

MISSIONARIES CALLED TO STRENGTHEN MUDDY MISSION

To accomplish the goal set for more cotton grown on the Muddy, the Church authorities called 158 men at the October Conference of the Church held in 1867. These men were to take their families and settle on the Muddy to strengthen this newly established cotton mission. Out of the 158 called, only about 80 eventually reached their destination. Many of these called were experienced cotton growers. Some of these missionaries, upon their arrival at the Muddy, manifested a rebellious spirit and although the old settlers were "generous in sharing their land with the newcomers", the vast majority were dissatisfied with the situation and when volunteers were called for to settle the upper Muddy, they quickly responded.

Living conditions among the missionaries were none too convenient nor pleasant. Few of the settlers had had time to make the long strenuous journey to the mountains after timber, and most of the houses were made of adobe. It is doubtful that one cotton missionary could boast of a lumber floor. The cotton missionary's home was covered with willows and clay for a roof, and the floors were covered from time to

16. Ibid. 17:79; Journal History. April 15, 1868.
time with a fresh layer of straw. Hannah Sharp, a wife of one of the cotton missionaries, would often say while visiting a neighbor, "Well, girls, I must go home now. I must put down a new carpet this morning." The furniture was conspicuous by its scarcity. The furnishings found in the home of the Nuddy missionary were home-made, or that which the missionary had brought in from the north. When the reinforcements arrived, their only homes were their wagons.

The missionary's articles of clothing were made from cotton cloth, in many cases home spun, dyed and made by the crafty house-wife. To keep the hot glare of the sun from burning their faces, the women made cotton bonnets, stiffly starched, which proved to be very practical sun shades. The Indians before them had learned to protect their faces from the sun's heat by making for themselves, queer looking hats out of mud.

The readiness with which the new arrivals accepted the offer to settle on the upper Nuddy, left St. Joseph with insufficient men to defend themselves against Indian attack. When the new missionaries arrived on the upper Nuddy, they found the Indians there in an angry mood, well armed with bows and arrows, with their faced blackened, and ready for action. The peacemaker, Andrew Gibbons, tried to pacify

quoted in Leavitt. *op.cit.* p. 60.
the Redmen, but without success. The fact that the cotton missionaries came well armed, seemed to calm their arrogance more than argument; and arrangements were finally made, with the Indians, to permit the Mormons to settle on the Upper Muddy.

Before the coming of the missionaries, the Indians had twenty acres of wheat planted, which the livestock of the newcomers began to trespass upon. This, the leaders were sure, would create added friction between the natives and themselves. When Brigham Young was informed in regard to conditions on the upper Muddy, he sent the following telegram to Bishop Robert Gardner (Erastus Snow was in Salt Lake City at the time):

The brethren who are on the upper Muddy must return to the place where they were sent (which was St. Joseph) or else return home. 19

This dispatch was relayed to Andrew Gibbons, who informed the brethren of the President's orders. Some obeyed, but quite a number of the self-determined ones returned to their homes in the north. Five families remained and planted several acres of cotton. They liked the place so well they were loath to leave.

Daniel Bonelli, who moved from Santa Clara to the Muddy, and who was to become its greatest champion, writes from the

19. Bleak. op.cit. p. 258. The condition on the upper Muddy was reported by three visiting missionaries from St. George on February 16, 1868.
20. Jos. W. Young. op.cit. These five families had been washed out at Beaver Dams before.
the Muddy regarding the few remaining newcomers:

The few brethren who came here last fall in obedience to the call made are materially assisting in the affairs of the place in a progressive direction although but few of the re-inforcements stayed here, most of them preferred to live higher up on the Muddy stream. Those who remained here are now diligently at work building themselves houses, mostly doing all the help themselves with some Indian help. If any of them feel discouraged, failing to see beauties and advantages in this country, they are good enough Mormons not to let their works show it. All of those who live in other portions of the Dixie country can see advantages here superior to most other of our Southern settlements, can see our prospects brightening and perceive the elements of prosperity. 21

This was in April, but in July he wrote: "Our re-inforcements sent to us from Salt Lake last fall have mostly 22 decamped again, * * * leaving our ranks pretty well thinned." Only twenty-five or thirty remained.

Growing cotton on the Muddy was a pretty tough assignment for many.

The cotton crop of 1868 was planted around the first part of May, and although the weather was unusually cold for the Muddy, by the 25th the plants were up, and generally were 23 looking well. The prospects for cotton this year appeared better than in any previous year. Plans were made for planting between 200 and 250 acres into cotton. Almost that many acres were sown into the "white gold". Bishop Alma Bennett

estimated an average yield of 400 pounds per acre for a total of from 80,000 to 100,000 pounds of ginned cotton. Conditions, after a backward spring, proved favorable and then on August 17, hordes of grasshoppers swarmed into the cotton fields causing serious damage. Although, according to several accounts "the cotton on the Muddy suffered severely", the estimated cotton production for the Muddy Mission in 1868 was 50,000 pounds, and Daniel Bonelli expressed with pride that the cotton produced was very satisfactory.

The year of 1868 was also one of catastrophe. Two boys, while attempting to roast potatoes in a bonfire at the back of a Brother Miles' home, started a blaze which destroyed 19 houses, and also Lewis R. Chaffin's cotton gin. Fortunately no lives were lost, but it placed several persons in St. Joseph in dire circumstances. When word of the destruction reached President Snow in St. George, he called a meeting, collected donations, also food and clothing, and immediately sent them to Bishop Bennett for distribution among those left homeless.

In the fall of 1868, another group of brethren were called to settle on the Muddy to reinforce those living there,

and raise cotton.

On June 6, President Erastus Snow, accompanied by several leading elders of St. George, arrived at St. Thomas. The purpose of their visit to the Muddy Mission was to give encouragement to the missionaries to determine the cotton prospects for the season, to advise the building of a telegraphic line to their settlements from St. George, and to subscribe stock in the new cotton factory at Washington. The sixty families residing in St. Thomas contributed $1100 toward purchasing stock in the cotton factory. The visiting brethren were impressed with the accomplishments of the hardy missionaries at St. Thomas. That season they had dug a water ditch, ten miles long, which was six feet wide and two and one half feet deep. This ditch was to drain the swamps above the settlement and to convey water to their colony from St. Joseph. These energetic farmers had raised a good wheat crop and their 86 acres of cotton appeared to be in a flourishing condition. However, because of water scarcity, they were not anticipating a very heavy yield of cotton.

The next day President Snow and party visited St. Joseph. These settlers were looking for a different location for a settlement, as the present site was very undesirable.

because of drifting sand. The men of this colony had made a water ditch six miles long, six feet wide and three feet deep. They had a few more acres of cotton planted than had the St. Thomas cotton growers. The missionaries here subscribed liberally in cotton factory stock.

Continuing up the Muddy the visiting party came to the new settlement of West Point where twenty families were located; and they willingly subscribed $400 in capital stock in the factory. They had a good crop of cotton, as they had not suffered a water shortage, nor had it been necessary for them to dig long ditches to bring water to their cultivated acres. The river banks were low there, and the cotton farmers simply cut through the sod to bring moisture to their crops.

With the exception of the West Point cotton farm, little cotton was grown on the Muddy during the season 1869. James Leithead, writing to James G. Bleak on August 5, states that "scarcely any cotton" would be picked—the cause being "scarcity of water". Edwin Elmer, writing from St. Joseph to the editor of the Deseret News as early as May 9, announced, "I regret that very little cotton will be raised in the settlement this season owing to lack of water." Joseph W. Young, arriving from St. George on May 25, found the people

29. Deseret News. 18:204.
at St. Thomas and St. Joseph in panic over their water situation. The creek had virtually dried up. They had entirely suspended cotton planting. The resourceful Joseph Young saw a remedy to their water shortage by bringing part of the creek around a swamp where the river spread into a bog, covering over 1500 acres. This required digging an extended ditch of three miles, on to the seven mile one already completed—a ditch 6 feet wide at the bottom and substantial enough to carry a stream 18 inches deep. Much of this canal had to be cut through swamp land, heavy with cane break. The industrious cotton missionaries turned out seventy strong, and within five days completed this tremendous task. "Just think of it," writes the enthusiastic Joseph Young, "Three miles of canal large enough to float a canal boat made by seventy men in 5 days! Who dares to say the men on the Muddy can't do anything."

The digging of this canal made it possible for the farmers of the Muddy to grow a crop of cotton that season, poor as it may have turned out to be. Cotton was the only crop raised by the missionaries from which they could expect cash, to store supplies, and a small crop in 1869 was a severe blow to them.

President Brigham Young visited the Muddy settlements in March of 1870. What he saw did not please him. In fact

31. James H. Mc Clintock. Mormon Settlement in Arizona. p. 120.
he was disappointed, as conditions appeared to be very unfavorable for agricultural or commercial development. His visit seemed to create a spirit of unrest among the colonizers. Bishop Leithead, writing President Snow in November, says,

Since my arrival home I have visited all the settlements on the Muddy. I found in all the settlements a spirit of uncertainty and doubt as to the permanency of the Muddy Mission. Very many have felt since the visit of President Brigham Young that there is little or no interest felt for this firm country. * * There are many, however, in all the settlements that wish to remain. They feel as if it would be hard after too many years of toil, to abandon now. What little progress they have made toward a home. I have tried to encourage the saints, those who feel this way to persevere. I have also tried to encourage the raising of cotton as the only means of obtaining clothing. 32

Life on the Muddy, at its best, was very rugged. The men and women living there were almost always destitute of clothing, and food was usually none too plentiful. Their cotton crop was their main-stay of subsistence. One writing from St. Thomas states: "If our present cotton crop would bring us goods, such as shirts, shoes, pants and other articles, of common wearing apparel, it would be a blessing to many now destitute."

If the cotton missionaries could realize even 20 or 25 cents a pound for their cotton in trade for most needed articles of clothing, they felt satisfied and could get along very well. However, it seems from some letters and re-

33. Ibid. p. 98.
ports written by members of the mission, that the price for
cotton at the Mill in Washington had not been this high.
This caused a tendency on the part of the cotton grower to
lose interest in cotton culture. President Leithead of the
mission was quite sure that if the price for cotton could
be kept up, the missionaries on the Muddy would be producing
instead of 20,000 pounds per year, one hundred thousand pounds.

The cotton crop on the Muddy for 1870 was small, the ag-
ggregate yield being 25,000 pounds. These 25,000 pounds must
supply the growers with their needed tools and clothing.
They wanted to sell their product for the best price. Willing
as they were to supply the Washington cotton mill, if the
factory would not give them what they wanted, other markets
would be sought. A letter sent from St. Thomas by the mis-
sion president to James G. Bleak, secretary of the Rio Virgin
Manufacturing Company, impresses the factory managers of the
above desperate need. He writes:

In a letter of last week to President Snow I
said something about our cotton. I wish now to say
or rather propose to the Rio Virgen M. Co., that if
they will furnish us ** with goods such as we will
select, or rather, such as we are really in need of,
such as shoes, clothing, partly home made, shovels,
spades, hoes, ploughs, and articles of this kind that
we are destitute of, we will agree to deliver our
cotton, some 20 or 25 thousand pounds, providing we
get the goods at about the same rate we have pur-
chased them from the Southern Utah Coop. We will
freight our goods down and deliver the cotton at the
factory.

34. Ibid. p. 98.
I make this offer because we are destitute of such articles, and our cotton is our only dependence to get them. If the Rio Virgen Co. cannot accede to something of this kind, we must try to find another market.35

The records extant contain no direct reply to this above request of Leithead's, but scrutiny of Bleak's Annals, and references found in letters written from the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company, leads one to justifiably conclude that the factory willingly received the Muddy grower's cotton on the terms asked for in the above letter. The Washington Mill was usually needing more cotton than was being raised to keep its machinery and employees busy.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

When the cotton missionaries first settled on the Muddy, they believed the land occupied was part of the territories of Utah and Arizona. To these states, they had in good faith paid their taxes. Then on December 20, a letter from Presidents Young, Smith and Snow delivered by Joseph W. Young and Richard Bentley, brought startling and disheartening news. The letter stated that the recent survey of the Nevada line placed their settlements on the Muddy within the boundary of that state. Furthermore, with this transfer came the imposition of "the onerous burden of taxation

36. see Letter Book of Cotton Factory from Oct. 27, 1870-75.
38. Nevada became a state Oct. 31, 1864, but the above survey was not made until 1870 which established the east line of Nevada a 140 degrees West of Greenwich (prime meridian) taking one degree of longitude from Utah and Arizona as congress had decreed.
and license and stamp duties with which that state is oppressed" upon the cotton missionaries. Heretofore they had paid to Washington County, Territory of Utah, three-fourths of one per cent; now to the State of Nevada, they must pay three percent on all taxable property for state and county purposes, and four dollars poll tax, all of which had to be paid in gold coin. The payment of taxes to Utah territory could be paid in kind as may be illustrated by the cash value of produce set on the 1869 tax assessment: molasses $1.25 per gallon, Corn $1.50 per bushel, Wheat $2.50 per bushel, cotton yarn $3.50 per bunch and cotton lint 30 cents per pound. This sort of taxation did not unreasonably burden the cotton planters, but to pay gold was an impossibility.

The presiding brethren in their letter commended the missionaries on the Muddy for the noble work they had accomplished "in making and sustaining that outpost of Zion, against many difficulties, amid exposure and toil," but they were advised to congregate together and decide their future course. If the majority concluded it was best to evacuate the Muddy, they should do so, but if they decided to remain and continue to develop the resources of the country, this course should be followed. The right of decision was left up to the brethren residing there. They were counselled to petition the legislature for an abatement of past taxes and to set forth the disadvantages under which they had labored

in subduing the land of the Muñey, explaining that they were entirely an agricultural people and not engaged in mining. It was likewise recommended that the missionaries petition for a new county, to be called Las Vegas, with all its county privileges. In the event the political authorities were to enforce collection of old tax assessments, the saints were to forestall the seizure of property by taking all movable possessions out of the state.

At the meeting held with the Muñey colonizers, at which time the letter was read, a resolution was drawn up, after careful deliberation, to abandon the Muñey and move to a new location. Voting on the resolution showed only two dissenting votes—Daniel Bonelli and his wife.

On December 21, the day following the meeting, at which the resolution was drawn, a petition was sent to the State Governor and legislature. This honorable body was reminded of the labor which had been expended in making water sects and in the conquering of the soil. The cotton missionaries also reminded the state authorities that they had fed an Indian population outnumbering their own, without the aid of one dollar from the government. It was pointed out that their being far remote from any market made it impossible to convert any of their produce into cash. They petitioned the abatement of all taxes assessed against them and asked for a

new county. This petition was signed by one hundred and eleven persons residing at St. Thomas, Overtown and St. Joseph.

A day or so later, at a gathering of the cotton missionaries, another petition was drawn up and forwarded to the United States Congress. The honorable Senate and House of Representatives were told that the object of the settlers coming to the Muddy was to produce cotton for the making of clothing and to aid their "toiling brethren in the Territory of Utah to do the same".

They had constructed over one hundred and fifty homes. The little lumber used had been hauled one hundred and fifty miles, and cost at least $80.00 for every one hundred feet. Orchards and vineyards were planted and five hundred acres of cotton fields had been cleared and cultivated. Being an agricultural people and far away from any market, they could not possibly pay the oppressive taxes expected of them by the State of Nevada. The petition concluded with, "Therefore, unless we obtain the relief sought for from your Honorable Body, we shall be compelled to abandon this valley, and remove from the state of Nevada, thus throwing away the toil and energies of seven years".

COTTON MISSION ON THE MUDY ABANDONED

Anticipating an unfavorable reaction to their petitions, and receiving consent from Brigham Young to evacuate, the

41. Ibid. pp. 115-116. 111 names attached to petition.
Muddy cotton growers made preparations to abandon the fruits of their labors. President Erastus Snow had made arrangements with the former land owners of Long Valley, in Kane County, who had been advised to move out during the Indian uprisings of 1866, for their permission to allow the Muddy saints to re-occupy their lands. With this preparatory agreement made with the former Long Valley residents, the cotton missionaries of the Muddy began evacuations in the early part of February.

The United States Census of 1870 showed the population of the Muddy to be 590 persons. The mission chronicler, Blish, refers to the exodus of these people in the following words:

This month (February) most of the settlers on the Muddy left their homes returning to Utah because of the oppressive gold tax in Nevada. At this time of their leaving their wheat was in the 'boot'. Most of them went in a body to Long Valley under the leadership of Bishop James Leithead and Daniel Stark, arriving there on the first of March. They at once set about sowing spring wheat, but it was subsequently destroyed by grasshoppers.

Elder William P. Neermiller states that of the 150 called at the October Conference of 1867 to the Muddy settlements but nine remained till this time of vacuating.

Very soon after the evacuation by the saints a number of miners flocked into the valley and appropriated lands and improvements. 42

Cotton raised on the Muddy during the six years of the mission's existence proved to be a great asset to the Mormon common-wealth. In fact, it became the chief source of the cotton supply, and the abandonment of the mission created a problem as to where sufficient cotton could be grown to as-
sure full production at the factory and supply the citizens of the Territory. It is estimated that during the six years cotton was grown on the Muddy, almost 150,000 pounds of ginned cotton was produced. Naturally the loss of such a cotton supply would create a problem, the solution of which was never satisfactorily made.
CHAPTER VIII

THE PERSONNEL OF THE COTTON MISSION

The cotton Mission in Utah's Dixie boasted of some of the most sturdy stock ever to embrace Mormonism. As has already been alluded to in a previous chapter, (supra. Chapter V) only those of sturdy, courageous character were selected for this Mission. And well it was that discretion was used in choosing those to build up the cotton country, for life there proved stiff and trying. President Young and his counselors knew their people well. They likewise knew their leaders, and chose their best to lead the Cotton Mission, in the capable person of Erastus Snow. Next to Brigham Young himself, no pioneer ranks in such conspicuous importance as a colonizer and leader of men as does Erastus Snow. "as actual founder of colonies, his achievements are unsurpassed in Utah history."

Teamed with Snow was the scholarly, scientific apostle, Orson Pratt. The two men, first to view the blue waters of Salt Lake, were to lead many of their brethren to the waters of the Virgin, and colonize a country even more bleak than had the Salt Lake Valley appeared on that hot summer day in 1847. Pratt, the dreamer and creator, was not to remain in Dixie many years but his prestige and influence was to be

felt and respected, while Snow, the man of action and few words, was to spend more than one third of his life in the valleys of the red sandstone cliffs, bordering the Rio Virgin.

Other leaders of proved mettle were among the lieutenants of these two apostles. Levi Hancock of the First Council of Seventy, and known during the Mormon Battalion days as their poet laureate, with two other members of the Council, Jacob Gates and Henry Harriman, were among the stalwarts. Of less renown in Mormon circles, but with souls tried and true, were hundreds of lesser lights. Men of unflinching obedience and faith unwavering, such as Robert Gardner, James G. Bleak, Joseph Orton, Charles Walker, and Joseph W. Young, to name a very limited few, obeyed the call to go south.

Having among the converts of the Church, men skilled in a variety of occupations, Brigham Young attempted to distribute them carefully and equally throughout the missions. Hence one finds among the cotton missionaries, musicians, school teachers, masons, farmers, shoemakers, wheelwrights and horticulturists. These individuals came from the states and different countries of Europe, bringing with them the best of their skills and talents. Of the missionaries sent to Dixie in 1861, ninety-five (these were family heads) were former residents of the eastern and southern states, sixty-five had emigrated from England, twenty-eight came from Switzerland, while twelve others were from sundry parts of Europe. 2

urally a goodly portion of those sent to raise cotton and products of the warm climates, originally came from the southern states. Such a one was Allen Joseph Stout, who had come recently from Kentucky. He recorded in his Journal that when word came, through a letter from his brother, stating that both of them had been "called to go to the south and raise cotton", he rejoiced. "For this was joyful news to me," he writes, "For I was glad to leave that cold country and yet where I could raise southern products."

Although part of the personnel of the cotton mission were polygamists, as the wilderness of the west favored this practice, the majority of married males were monogamists. A census taken at St. George in 1867 showed sixty-nine polygamists, one hundred and two monogamists, and one doubtful, making a total of one hundred and seventy-two married men.

Another significant characteristic of the personnel was an equalization of the sexes. The census taken in January, 1862, showed three hundred and seventy-eight males and three hundred and seventy females. Furthermore, the majority of the men lived their religion, paid their tithes and kept the Word of Wisdom. Throughout the St. George Stake in 1891, there

5. Ibid. p. 85.
there were four hundred and twenty-eight males, of this number only ninety-one used tobacco. This gave the stake, which comprised almost the entire Cotton Mission; an average of 78.73\% per cent abstainers. Yet after wine was made rather generally, there were many who inbibed too freely.

Not all were competent to perform the tasks before them, but they were willing and anxious to learn. Even if "there are stories of cobblers who could not hitch their oxen, of millers who were baffled by the plow, and of musicians not able to wrangle cattle," they learned, and being docile, they became the conquerors of the desert.

Before them, the trail had been blazed, and a portion of the soil turned by pioneers like John D. Lee, who before his odious reputation, due to his connection with the Mountain Meadows' massacre, was one of the principal inciters for settling along the turbid Virgin. Jacob Hamblin, the "leatherstocking of the southwest", had pacified the slinking red man and brought him to friendly terms with the white intruders; while Robert D. Covington from North Carolina, had demonstrated that cotton would grow in the alkali soil, which caressed the Virgin River. No mission sponsored by the Church had such an array of stalwarts.

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THE FATHER OF THE SOUTHERN SETTLEMENTS

Back of the Mission, organizing, planning, encouraging and selecting the personnel was George A. Smith, who had been appointed by the First Presidency to take the initiative in designing the project. Among the leading brethren of the Church, none had evidenced the interest nor lent such impellant energy toward the colonizing of southern Utah, as had Apostle Smith. In January, 1851 he, with other brethren, had planted a colony in Little Salt Lake Valley, which became known as Parowan. For years before the big push to Dixie in 1861, he had visited the south annually, advising and encouraging those struggling with the elements of Nature. This concern and activity in helping to settle the country south, won for him the honored appellation of "Father of the southern settlements". He was further honored by President Brigham Young, in having the settlement, later to become the chief colony in Dixie, named after him--St. George. This wasn't the first time George had been canonized. The season after Smith left Pottawattamie County on the Missouri River, to come west with the pioneers, there was a potato crop failure "and the saying went forth that it was because George A. 'the potato saint' had gone to the mountains."

10. Ibid. p. 40.
George A. Smith, like other Church leaders, had given unstintedly of his service, and had sacrificed without reservation, for the building up of Zion; now unblushingly he could call others to go forth and subdue the desert wastes for the Cause. Had he not traveled thousands of miles on foot, endured untold insults and abuses, and compassed land and sea to spread the new truth? No task had been too difficult to perform, no place too remote for him to reach in his travels. During his journey West with the pioneers, he had walked seventeen hundred miles, and had been six weeks without bread, even though he had twenty-five pounds of flour locked up in his trunk. The other brethren had none, and there were many sick, who needed other nourishment besides meat, which was plentiful. George A. issued his reserved flour by the cupful to the sick and many of the afflicted attributed the saving of their lives to this kindness.

Despite his huge bulk, he weighed three hundred pounds or more, he was an active laborer, traveler, writer, historian, and educator. Three years before his death, he went on a mission and visited various European nations, and traveled as far east as Jerusalem. He took an active part in forming the laws of the Territory, being elected a member of the legislative assembly, at the first Territorial election in August 1851. When he was not visiting the southern mission or en-
gaged in political measures, he compiled and arranged the records of the Church in the capacity of Church Historian. This was the man who was the principal initiator of the Cotton Mission. A leader whose energy and resources were unlimited. The morning of his death, President Brigham Young said of his first counselor, "I never knew of his neglecting or overdoing a duty; he was a man of sterling integrity, a cabinet of history, and always true to his friends."

ERASTUS SNOW, PRESIDENT OF THE COTTON MISSION

Erastus Snow had a life of service in the Church, from his boyhood, which could justifiably be the envy of any conscientious Christian. Although when he was called to preside over the Southern Mission, he was only forty-three, he had been in the Church two score years. On his own volition, he joined the Mormons at the age of fourteen, and before he was twenty, had traveled thousands of miles on foot, preached hundreds of sermons, been in several public debates with ministers, and baptized many persons into the faith. As an example of his missionary zeal: when but a youth of eighteen, he fulfilled a mission in Pennsylvania. He was in that state eight months. During that time he traveled 1,600 miles,

11. Ibid. p. 42.
12. Snow was baptized by his brother William, February 3, 1833. He was born at St. Johnsburg, Caledonia County, Vermont, November 9, 1818.
preached 200 sermons, bapized 50 people and organized several branches of the Church.

When Snow was twenty, the Church at Far West sent him to Liberty, in Clay County, as a messenger to the Prophet Joseph Smith and others, who were at the time incarcerated in prison. While he was there, the Prophet and his co-prisoners were brought to trial, and Joseph Smith needed a lawyer. The Prophet told Erastus Snow to plead his case. "But", protested Snow, "I do not understand the law." The man of God replied, "Go and plead for justice as hard as you can, and quote Blackstone and others now and then, and they will take it all for law." He put up such an eloquent plea that after the case, all lawyers present gathered about him anxiously, inquiring where he had studied law, and confessed they had never heard a better plea.

When the saints were forced to leave Nauvoo in the dead of winter, he left buildings and real estate valued at $2,000. During the crossing of the Mississippi, the boat in which his family and belongings were capsized. His family escaped, but his goods were lost. He became a member of the pioneer band, and as referred to above, was one of the first to view the Salt Lake Valley. On February 12, 1849, he was ordained an apostle by Brigham Young. In characteristic modesty, he

states after his ordination, "I continued to labor in the ministry, in common with my brethren, though all were obliged to labor with their hands during the week, in opening up farms and building houses for our families."

In 1850, he went to Denmark and opened that country to the preaching of the Gospel. None of the missions established by the Church, excepting the British, has been so fruitful, as the one founded by Erastus Snow in Scandinavia. While in Denmark, he made a translation of the Book of Mormon into the Danish language, which was the first edition of that volume, to be published in a foreign tongue. It was ever characteristic of him, to win his way through the virtues of kindness, exemplary living, and love, and the Danish people were readily attracted to him and his message.

Possibly Snow's greatest contribution to mankind was his years of service, as the guiding influence of the Southern Mission. When called to direct the colonization of the Virgin River area, he went wholeheartedly in mind, body, and spirit. Going thus, he expected those under him to go in like manner. His submissiveness to those over him, and his great devotion to the project ahead, is well summarized in his words to those who were accompanying him:

I feel to speak encouragingly to my brethren so far as our removal from this to the southern part

15. Quoted in Ibid. p. 111.
of the Territory is concerned. I feel to go body and spirit, with my heart and soul, and I sincerely hope my brethren will endeavor to do the same; for so long as we strive to promote the interests of Zion at home and abroad, we shall be happy and prosperous. 17

Erastus Snow had those innate qualities of leadership, which drew men to him. His success as a founder of settlements, lay in his ability to make friends. People loved him because he loved them and was genuinely interested in their welfare. His method was that of the Master of men whose disciple he was. "Come follow me", rather than "go do this or that", was his procedure when a job was to be done. Joseph Olsen, his biographer, has written of his ability to get things done: "How many will come with me?" he would ask. He never sent men; as a rule it was 'come'. And according to reports, he had all the men he wanted, pay or no pay. 18

Erastus Snow made annual visits to the settlements throughout southern Utah, southeastern Nevada, and northern Arizona. Almost three months of each year, he was on the road visiting. In his carriage, he would visit from village to village, making suggestions and judging disputes between neighbors. According to Joseph Olsen, "he was so methodical in his affairs that every farmer by request, had acquired the habit of placing a red flag on top of a very high pole which was a signal for Apostle Snow to drive in." His untiring

17. Remarks made in the Bowery, Sunday, October 20, 1861. See Deseret News. 11:338. Also Supra. Chapter V.
19. Ibid. p. 189.
efforts in directing the building up of the Cotton country are summerized by George A. Smith in a letter to George Q. Cannon:

Elder Erastus Snow moved his family to the cotton country a year ago last November. He took a very active part in presiding over the Mission. He designed the plan of the city of St. George, laid it out and commenced its settlement. He has been considerably engaged, preaching, counselling, and building mills and putting up machinery, his family also being compelled to live out doors the past year. He has traveled and preached through Washington and adjoining counties devoting his energy to the development of cotton and other products suitable to that climate, desirous that the saints may be clad in home made clothing. 20

The interests of the people of the Cotton Mission were his interests, and he was fearless in his determination that they should not be imposed upon. When in 1864, the Presiding Bishopric of the Church asked the Cotton Mission to furnish fifty-five ox or mule teams and an equal number of teamsters to journey east and bring back saints, arriving from Europe, he felt the number was unjust, as compared with other missions. To the presiding bishop he wrote, informing him that the year before they had furnished five teams more than Iron, Beaver, Millard, and Juab counties combined. He furthermore pointed out that their teams traveled seven hundred miles farther than the teams in and around Salt Lake. This item had not been considered by the presiding bishop, nor had compensation for these extra miles been given. He was speaking for his

Jan. to June, 1863.
people. The letter concluded with,

These well known facts produce their effects on
the minds of the people and somewhat quench the ar-
dor of their zeal. Not but what they are willing
to perform the service, but they very naturally de-
sire credit for the service performed. 21

For twelve years Apostle Snow labored without respite,
to build up the Dixie country. In January, 1873, during a
conference held in St. George, President Young proposed that
he be released for a season "from his arduous labors and that
he take a mission to Europe to rest his body and mind." He
asked the people to make up a purse for Snow, and he gave one
hundred dollars toward the contribution. After returning
from this mission, he resumed his labors in the south, aiding
the establishment of colonies in Arizona, New Mexico, and
Colorado.

Erastus Snow was a great man; a wise counselor, an effici-
ent pioneer, a successful colonizer, a statesman and above
all these, a gentleman. His contribution to the colonizing
of the west, and specifically Utah's Dixie, will live forever.
His heart and soul were in the south. When he announced to
the people of St. George in 1884, his intention to leave for
Salt Lake City, he said: "When I go from here, I always feel
as though I were leaving home--for here I have spent one

third of my life."

**TYPICAL COTTON MISSIONARIES**

One of the missionaries who accompanied Erastus Snow south in the fall of 1861, and who was to do a great deal toward the colonization of the Cotton Mission, was Robert Gardner. He had embraced Mormonism in the backwoods of upper Canada, in the township of Delhousie, during the winter month of January, 1845. Gardner was born in Kilsyth, Stirlingshire, Scotland in 1819. On the first of June, after his conversion, he walked to Nauvoo with five dollars in his pocket, and a two bushel sack of crackers on his back. His only reason for going to Nauvoo was "A strong desire * * * to see the Apostles and Saints," living there. This trip to the city of the Saints was a touching and faith promoting experience for him.

When word came to him in Canada, that the Church had been driven out of Nauvoo and was moving to the Rocky Mountains, Gardner left his home in Canada and with his family, made the long trek to Salt Lake Valley, arriving there on October 1, 1847. He and his brother Archibald built several saw mills, as they had been in that business while living in Canada.

By 1861 Gardner was operating a saw mill on Mill Creek. After suffering several economic reverses, prosperity had at


last smiled upon him. He had acquired three wives, and sired sixteen children and with them he was content. Then one day in October, his neighbors informed him that his name had been read off with others who were called south on the Cotton Mission. He was told he should start right away. Upon hearing this he said, "I looked and spat, took off my hat, scratched my head, thought, and said, 'All right'."

The next day, he wrote in his autobiography, I went to the city and saw George A. Smith in the Historian's office. He laughed when I went in, and said, "Don't blame any one but me. The President told me to get a list of names suitable for that mission, so I thought of you for one, and thought you would be willing to go if called, so I put your name down. If you don't want to go step to the President's Office and ask him to take your name off the list and he will do it."

I said, "I expect he would, but I shan't try him. I have come to find what kind of outfit is wanted and when to go". 26

Such unquestioning obedience was characteristic of Robert Gardner. It was men such as Gardner that built up the Cotton Mission and the Mormon commonwealth in general. To the Mormons, obedience is heaven's first law. Acting upon his decision to go south, Gardner left his crops to be gathered by his fifteen year old son, William, and a hired man, took one of his wives, two of his small daughters and started for Dixie. At Provo he was joined by William Lang and family. Together they traveled until their destination was reached.

25. Ibid. p. 38.
26. Ibid. p. 38.
Arriving at Parowan, Gardner and Lane met George A. Smith returning from the Cotton Country. He advised them to go where the new town of St. George was being built, even though many of the missionaries were inclined to turn and go up the river. They complied with Smith's advice. A few days later they drove into Washington. The appearance of the people there greatly discouraged them. Nearly all of the inhabitants were suffering from malaria. They were clad in home-spun clothing, colored a pale blue. Gardner noted with a sinking heart that their clothing, bonnets and faces were all the same color—blue. He records in his autobiography that this sight tried him more than any experience he had had since embracing Mormonism. He was thinking of his wives and children, knowing full well that in time they should "look as sickly as those now surrounding me."

George Hicks, called south to raise cotton and cane, found conditions at Washington much to his dislike. After living in Dixie several years and finding life there rather trying, he put his feelings in song. On many occasions when the people assembled together he would sing:

Next we got to Washington,
Where we stayed a little while,
To see if April showers,
Would make the verdure smile.
But, Oh, I was mistaken,
And so I went away;
For the red hills in November
Looked just the same in May.

27. Ibid. p. 40.
I feel so weak and hungry now,
There's nothing here to cheer,
Except prophetic sermons
Which we very often hear.
They will hand them out by dozens,
And prove them by the Book---
I'd rather have some roasting ears,
To stay at home and cock.

My shirt is dyed with wild dockroot,
With greasewood for a set;
I fear the colors all will fade
When once it does get wet.
They said we could raise madder,
And indigo so blue
But that turned out a humbug,
The story was not true.

My wagon's sold for sorghum seed,
To make a little bread;
And poor old Jim and Bolly
Long ago are dead.
There's only me and Detsy left
To hoe the cotton tree.
May Heaven help the Dixieite,
Where ever he may be. 28

Undoubtedly this captious song, sung in good humor,
gave the toil weary settlers along the Virgin a lift from the
monotonous grind of the day.

Throughout his days in southern Utah, Robert Gardner
never shirked duty. Regardless of his own desires, when a call
came, he readily responded. While the St. George temple was
being erected, the men who were sent to Mount Trumbull to saw
lumber came back to the warmer altitude when their hay for
the horses ran out, and snow began to fly. President Brigham
Young was greatly annoyed over the lumber situation. He won-

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28. Song entitled "One I Lived in Cottonwood," composed in
1864 as found in Pioneer Songs. pp. 94-95. Compiled by
Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Arranged by Alfred H.
Durham. The original song had twelve verses.
dered if he could get a man to bring the lumber in and "not be stopped by a trifle?" So George A. Smith, in behalf of the President, came to Gardner with the urgent request that he go to Trumbull and get the lumber out for the temple. The saw mill operator replied: "Brother Smith, if I were to study my own feelings, I would go on a Mission to China rather than go out there, but I have nothing to say. If you want me to go there, I will go and do the best I can."

As reward for his obedience and faith, Gardner was ordained St. George's first bishop. Later he was elected Mayor of the Dixie city. He also served as counselor to Joseph W. Young in the stake presidency, and after the death of the president, took charge of the stake for over three years. He was also made bishop of Pine Valley, Pinto, Hebron, and Mountain Meadows, and when the Price Ward was organized in 1879, he presided there. When he was nearing eighty he was ordained a patriarch.

The life of Robert Gardner was typical of innumerable other missionaries who came south in obedience to the call of their superiors in the Church, feeling in doing so, they were complying with the will of their Heavenly Father.

The personnel of the Cotton Mission was composed of men from every walk of life. Robert Gardner was a saw mill operator, Joseph Orton, a bachelor from England, was a shoe-maker,

while Charles Walker followed the occupation of a blacksmith. Some readily adapted themselves to the rigorous life of conquering a desert, while others did not.

Joseph Orton was one who tried, was willing to do his part, but when it came to tilling the soil, he failed. When he started from Salt Lake City, he had never yoked a team of oxen together, and the first night out, he was forced to prevail upon a fellow traveler to unyoke his team. He had purchased him a rickety wagon and two footsore oxen. His bishop doubted that they would hold together until he reached Dixie. To the skepticism of the bishop, Orton replied, "I have done my best to get a fit out. I feel satisfied. I am going on my mission."

After his arrival at St. George, the shoe maker from England endeavored to farm. He acquired him a piece of land on the Tonaquint. After grubbing out the willows and brush from an half acre, he planted it into corn. Sometime later, he returned to find his patch of corn had disappeared, "as some unwitting miscreant had cut down a huge cottonwood tree which had hither to been my unfailing guide post to its location."

On another occasion, while getting some willows for fencing, his oxen became tangled in the thick of the brush, and for all his gees and haws, he could not extricate them. A

32. Ibid. p. 21.
brother working on a nearby hill called out, "My dear fel-
low, don't tell those cattle to do so much at once." After
a hearty laugh at the shoemaker's misfortune the brother came
down and relieved the situation.

Finally President Snow concluded, after observing many
failures on the part of Orton in the agricultural way, that
he had better stay with his shoe making and let others, more
skillful with team and plow do the farming. This counsel
Orton willingly heeded.

By the side of the men, encouraging, helping and sus-
taining them, were the women. Too often the achievements of
the women have gone unnoticed.

President Charles Elliot, speaking of the Pioneer Women,
in the Salt Lake Tabernacle in 1892, said: "The women * * 
are the most heroic part of any new colony. * * Let us bear
in our hearts veneration for the women of any Christian folk
going out in the wilderness to plant a new community."

Of these wilderness heroines, were Ann Prior Jarvis and
Mrs. Albert Perkins. Mrs. Jarvis had emigrated with her
husband from England in 1860, bringing four small children
over the plains. She walked all the way and helped her hus-
band pull a handcart. A few weeks after arriving in the moun-
tain Zion, a fifth child was born. Her husband, George Jarvis,

33. Ibid. p. 21.
34. Deseret News. March 17, 1892.
who had engaged in ship building, was given employment on
the Salt Lake Theater, then being constructed. When the call
came in 1861, the Jarvises were among the volunteers. They
had no team nor wagon. Jarvis, having walked a thousand
miles pulling a handcart, had vowed he'd never travel again
without a team. Acting upon this avowal, he bought an old
wagon, and President Young gave him as part pay for his labor
on the theater, a yoke of oxen. Jarvis knew nothing of wild-
erness life and neither did his wife. She wrote in her Jour-
nal: "I didn't even know how to sit in the dirt." She,
with her five children and husband, arrived in Dixie on Dec-
ember 5, 1861. Their first meal was of flax seed. They dined
on bran meal for Christmas dinner.

The biggest problem, however, confronting the children at
Christmas time was not the bran meal, but whether Santa Claus
could find his way down in Dixie and if he did, how could he
leave them presents when there were no chimneys in their tent
homes?

Mrs. Albert Perkins, a bride of a little over a fort-
night, left Salt Lake City with her young husband on October
29. She records in her day by day account of the journey how
lonesome she was. It was a difficult trip for her. From
Round Valley on south, the weather was stormy, the temps-

Typed copy in Brigham Young University Library.
ture freezing, and the roads bad. She writes on December 17: "Moved on at noon through violent storm; never suffered so much from cold. * * My heart ached with the cold. We camped at Elk Horn Springs. I was sick all night." Yet instead of complaining she records: "We are on the Lord's business", and, "I like camp life if each one would seek for and keep when they have got it the spirit of their mission."

She and her husband first settled at Grafton, but when Erastus Snow came visiting there, they were asked to move to St. George. Without complaint, Mrs. Perkins wrote: "We are all rolling out again." Such was the spirit of the women who kept the homes, reared the children, spun the cotton, and made the clothes for the cotton missionaries of Dixie.

As a whole the personnel of the cotton mission was similar to that of other missions. Mormons came west for religious reasons and not for wealth. Certainly they must subdue the desert or perish, but while the average frontiersman gravitated to the mines, the Mormon stuck to the soil. F. S. Dellenbaugh, traveling through Utah the latter part of the nineteenth century, was remarkably impressed with this characteristic. Later he wrote:

It must be acknowledge that the Mormons were wilderness breakers of high quality. They not only broke it but they kept it broken; and instead of the gin mill and gambling hell, as cornerstones of progress and as examples to natives of white

38. Ibid.
men's superiority, they planted orchards, gardens, farms, school houses and peaceful homes. 39

The missionaries, called to the Dixie Mission, did this very thing. They cultivated the sandy soil along the Virgin so well, that the Cotton Mission was considered the most independent place in the entire Territory.

The cotton country was of such a stubborn nature that the weak-kneed and faint-hearted moved away, leaving the strong and determined. Joseph W. Young, himself a leader of no mean ability and champion of the Muddy Mission, who also served as President of the St. George Stake until his death, once wrote to the *Deseret News* and said that those who had persisted in the cotton country "in face of so many discouraging circumstances, are worthy to be classed among the good and great". 40

The personnel of the cotton mission was composed of men and women possessed of no super-human qualities, but endowed with that determination and persistency which knows no defeat. A short time before his death Charles Walker, Poet Laureate of Dixie, and a missionary himself, wrote a poem which he read at a pioneer celebration in July, 1902. In this poem he eulogizes, and rightly too, the Dixie pioneer:

I dreamed as I lay on my bed of sweet slumber
That St. Peter, who bosses the Gate and the keys,
Refused to admit quite an army in number,
Because of their lives of most indolent ease.


An old Dixie Pilgrim next made his appearance,  
With rag-tattered jeans and a broken straw hat;  
Meekly bowing, he asked for a ticket of clearance;  
Said Peter, "You need no such ticket as that".

Said Peter, "Good friend, we are all well acquainted  
With all Dixie Pilgrims, and loved 'Rastus Snow;  
They are worthy to enter and will surely be Sainted"  
As he passed through the gate, Peter bowed very low.

REQUIEM

He rests from his labors, from dread chills and fever  
His long handled shovel he left down at Price;  
He heeds not the roaring of Old Virgin River—  
He's fumbling his grub-sack—'Meath tree Paradise. 41

41. Poem quoted in Karl Larson's Agricultural Pioneering in the Virgin River Basin. p. 188.
CHAPTER IX

THE PROBLEM OF MARKETING COTTON

Growing cotton was not the only difficulty experienced by the cotton missionaries of Utah's Dixie. Planting, thinning, hoeing and picking the cotton was hard work; the ginning was slow and tedious; but after the fleecy lint was separated from the seed, the farmer had the problem of disposing of his product for profit. In the early years of cotton raising, the missionary needed wheat and other food stuffs not grown plentifully in the cotton country, so he loaded his wagon with cotton and went north into the wheat growing areas. He was willing to allow the wheat grower double the market price in exchange for his cotton, but too often he found few willing to trade. The farmer or merchant would offer as an excuse, that he could do nothing with the cotton after it came into his hands. Many of the cotton growers, after finding no market for their product, considered cotton of little use and began planting their farms into wheat or into cane for molasses. One finds accounts in the records such as the following item; "This year, 1859, less cotton was produced at Toquerville because they had been unable to dispose of the 1858 crop. More land had been planted to Chinese Sugar cane because the molasses was in great demand in exchange for bread stuffs."

Strange as it seems, people generally manifest suspicion and doubt in regard to home-raised or made products, even though the articles produced at home may be of superior quality to those imported. They experience an auspicious feeling that they are getting a bargain when buying something brought in from a distance—home made stuff is too common place.

George A. Smith, whose name has been found many times throughout this thesis, and whose words have been often quoted, reprimanded the saints living in the northern parts of the Territory, for their refusal to buy or trade for home-grown cotton. The men had declined to buy the cotton missionary's lint but as soon as they went home their women would say:

'Husband, I have not to have some cotton batting from the store, to make some quilts of. Now, husband, repeats Smith, you need not try to dodge, the batting has got to come! It costs 50 cents a pound and one half of it is paper when you get it. Sister, why did you not buy that brother's cotton the other day? You could have got 32.00 for your wheat, you sell at the store for one? Oh, his cotton was grown at home, and that bought in the store is made into sheets, all ready for spreading in the quilt. (But Smith comes back with:) You can take a pair of hand cards and prepare our home-made cotton for the quilt with but little trouble, and you would have the clean cotton instead of one half brown paper. For your bushel of wheat, after hauling it to the store, you get a pound and a half of cotton; whereas, if you sell your wheat to the home producer for cotton, you have laid at your door four pounds of cotton for a bushel of wheat.

To buy the foreign cotton in this manner, and discourage home production, is very far from good political economy. Quite an amount of raw cotton is wanted in this Territory for filling quilts and other purposes by every family. §

He further pointed out the economical value of encouraging and promoting home production of cotton, for it would save thousands of dollars then being spent with merchants, who were sending east for cotton to supply the needs of the people. Such a practice, he said, was suicidal and should be discontinued.

**MISSIONARIES AND COTTON TO CALIFORNIA**

The cotton missionaries, finding little opportunity in the north, for the disposal of their cotton, began chartering it to California. In the coastal areas they found ready cash, something almost unavailable in the Territory; they were able to buy much-needed harness and farming equipment. Also, shoes for themselves and families; stoves, dishes and cooking utensils for their women. Cotton was raised mainly for home consumption; even if the home consumer did not buy or trade, the gentiles would, so the cotton grower availed himself of the ready market. In the spring of 1866 alone, 11,000 pounds of cotton lint were hauled to the California market via the Spanish Trail. Ever after this exportation, there were 16,000 pounds of lint still on hand.

**BRIGHAM YOUNG ORDERED: WILL PAY ANY FOR COTTON**

When President Young learned that cotton had been exported out of the Territory, he was offended and wrote to Jesse Crook, stating that if the brethren were having to send their cotton abroad to find a market, he would buy all they
had to dispose of, and pay money for it. The needed articles, unobtainable in the Territory, could then be brought for cash, and the cotton would not be sent away. It was astonishing to Brigham Young that the missionaries would even propose sending out their precious cotton. The President concluded his letter by saying that "all who may persist in so ruinous a policy as sending away cotton, under present circumstances, will soon learn that they can not prosper in so doing."

To further contentment, and provide a home market for the missionaries’ cotton, Brigham Young furnished them several hundred bushels of wheat in exchange for their cotton.

COTTON OF THE EAST

Lack of machinery with which to work up the cotton was the primary cause of the marketing problem. Then President Young visited the cotton country in 1862, the big question with the growers was, "What can we do with our cotton now we have it raised? We have no cards to card it, no machinery to spin and weave it into cloth". He found the people entertaining the attitude that if there was no market for it nor means of making it into cloth, it was not profitable to raise it. In the past, cotton had been wasted because of there being no ready market. The cotton missionaries were advised to save their lint, for machinery was coming from the east, and in the near future their product would be useful to them. But after a survey of the cotton fields, Brigham Young realized

that tons of cotton would be ready for market before the following spring. Money, and indispensable commodities were needed, and it was imperative that they find an immediate market.

...after returning to Salt Lake City, he talked with several merchants about the matter of providing a market for Dixie's cotton. William Godbe agreed to buy all the cotton the southern growers would sell him. He also had goods coming in from California via the Spanish Trail, near the cotton country, which he would exchange for lint. Cotton was in demand in the east, and Godbe knew he would find a ready and profitable market there. He purchased 15,000 pounds, either for cash or goods and freighted most of it east.

Brigham Young also encouraged the cotton growers themselves to raise 3500 pounds or more while waiting for machinery to be installed within the Territory, then to hitch up their teams, load their wagons and haul their cotton east. "Can we make anything and transport it to the east at 45 cents per pound?" he asked. "I think we can. Let some of the brethren try the experiment by raising 3500 pounds this season, putting it on a light wagon, hitching on three yoke of oxen and hauling it to the States and having it there worked up on shares."

Cotton being scarce in the east, the brethren were sure of getting their raw product worked up on half basis in the factories at St. Louis and other cities. This would give the grower, of a ton or two of cotton, 1750 pounds of yarn which was worth $1.25 a pound, and if he were to have it made into cloth, it was highly probable that the manufacturers would give the Utah grower three yards and keep one, because of the extreme scarcity of cotton in the States. On this arrangement, the Utah cotton farmer would secure 5100 yards of cloth which, according to the going price for fabrics in Salt Lake City, would give him the profit obtainable from the same number of bushels of oats. "By exporting one load of cotton to the East," said President Young, "a man can make cloth enough to clothe his family many years."

Within eighteen months after the settlement of the country along the Rio Virgin, by the missionaries of 1861, almost 74,000 pounds of cotton were being freighted east by independent haulers, or by teams going to Florence after immigrants. Erastus Snow, a score years later, reminiscing the heyday of the Cotton Mission, said in 1881: "In those days we raised cotton, more than enough for our own use. * * Cotton was sent from here West to the Pacific Coast and sent thence to New York; also sent north and freighted across the plains by ox teams and forwarded to New York, where it was sold from $1.40

5. Ibid.
to $1.90 per pound."

With much of the money obtained from the sale of cotton in the States, machinery for future manufacturing was purchased, and hauled west by the teams and wagons.

**REMARKABLE THAT COTTON WAS SENT EAST**

It was little short of remarkable that cotton should be imported from the new Territory of Utah to supply the needs of the United States, but such was the case. A correspondent in the Deseret News in the year 1863 writes with pride:

"By the Church and other teams going to the States several tons of cotton grown in Deseret, will be taken East where it commands a much higher price than here, rendering exportation profitable. It is somewhat remarkable that even in the infancy of the cotton growing business, the exportation of raw material should attract the attention of men engaged in mercantile pursuits, whose sole aim is profit, buying where they can the cheapest, and selling where they can obtain the highest prices. By the exportating operation a new impetus will be given the cotton growing enterprise, as most of the cotton in market has been brought up for that purpose, and the probabilities are, that by the time the Pacific Railroad shall be completed large quantities of cotton will be produced for exportation."  

**LOCAL MARKET IMPROVES**

The cotton sent east was over and above that needed in the Territory. Cotton farmers continued to put their product before the local people, and when they impartially examined the cotton raised in Southern Utah, they were astonished at the quality of it. As an example: In February of 1863, a

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cotton grower of Utah's Dixie brought a load of cotton bales, yarn, etc. to the little settlement of Spring Lake Villa in Utah County. The settlers upon examination of his load were delightfully surprised. A reporter to the News said, "It began to make folks open their eyes to know that we were actually being provided with cotton yarn—home grown and home spun." Not only did the people here gladly exchange their wheat, potatoes and cash for this cotton and yarn, but the crowd gathered about his wagon, gave a lusty shout and cheered the cotton growers of the Rio Virgin.

ACCIDENTS WHILE MARKETING

Freighting cotton north and east to the states, was not without its accidents. Indians burned a wagon or two; a few loads were lost while fording rivers, and drivers were caught in washes when sudden floods carried their cargo away. The following incident is an illustration of a typical accident while marketing cotton: Jesse N. Smith was on his way North on Christmas day of the year 1867 with a load of cotton yarn for Thomas Birch. About seventeen miles north of Washington, while crossing a wash known as Dry Sendy, he observed that a flood had recently passed by. He selected what he figured was the best place to cross, and drove his team into the sandy wash; even though he was driving a strong team, he became stuck in the heavy sand. As he was urging the team

8. Letter dated February 26, 1863. See also Journal History.
to pull, the wagon was tipped over. He had just unhitched his horses and begun to carry the cotton yarn to the other bank, when another flood suddenly came upon him, bringing with it boulders and sand, which shattered his wagon box and carried it, with about one hundred bunches of cotton yarn, down the stream beyond all hope of recovery. Smith was almost drowned, but was saved, providentially.

**SENDING COTTON ABROAD DISCOURAGED**

With the importation of machinery, the cotton growers were discouraged from exporting their lint east to the States or West to the California Market. President Young and Horace S. Eldredge had machinery sufficient to keep thirty-five power looms going, and had hired a Mr. Wilmarth from Massachusetts to set up the equipment and operate it. This cotton mill was located west of Salt Lake on Big Canyon Creek, a short distance above the penitentiary.

William Bringhamurst and Jacob Houtz set up machinery for the making of cotton into cloth at Springville, and Abraham C. Smoot was expecting looms and spinners from the east by the Spring of 1864. A Mr. Croft had imported six or seven hand "spinning jimmies", each machine capable of spinning and carding five pounds or more of cotton a day. Ephraim Hanks, whom Brigham Young had dissuaded from going to California, had built a small cotton mill at Parowan, which had begun opera-

tion in 1863. In 1864 Hanks enlarged and improved his machinery. Until the cotton factory was built in Washington, he made a yearly visit to the cotton country and purchased a large quantity of the lint for his factory. Brigham Young bought cotton from the growers, paying a little cash, some wheat, and exchanging five pounds of yarn for twelve pounds of lint.

**CASH NEEDED AS WELL AS PRODUCE**

The setting up of cotton machinery in the Territory, provided a partial market for the raw product of Southern Utah. More and better equipment for the converting of cotton into cloth was needed, however, to take care of all which was raised. When power looms were installed, the growers could exchange their cotton for cloth, but they needed cash, as well as the finished product made from their lint. The 70 cents a pound received in money from the States, was missed by the cotton growers of the south. The Church leaders, sensing the cash needs of the cotton growers, at October Conference of 1864, called attention to the necessity of sustaining that mission, with some of Zion's wealth, as well as her brawn. To effectually meet such a necessity, over one hundred men were summoned, principally from the wealthy. They were required to furnish the needful and substantial requisites, to enable the

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10. Sketch of the Life of Hannah A. Crosby. p. 3.
12. Journal History. January-June, 1864. President Young said, "We sent some (cotton) to the States to show that we could raise cotton here."
laboring and willing poor, already located there (in the cotton country) "to accomplish the work designed by the Priesthood and inspiration that sent them there". The "needful and substantial requisites" were cash or articles, implements and equipment which could be had only with cash.

**COTTON GROWERS SET A UNIFORM PRICE ON PRODUCT**

As a protective measure, and to assure themselves of a standard price on cotton, a convention of experienced men met in November, 1864 and set a uniform price on cotton, in exchange for grain and different products of other localities. It also set a cash price on their cotton at 31.25 per pound to be paid in "gold or its equivalent". This action was taken at this particular time, because of an invitation given the cotton growers by William H. Hardy, to trade with California via the Colorado River. He enclosed a price list of some articles he could furnish at his landing on the Colorado, in exchange for cotton. As alluded to in the previous chapter, arrangements had been made for such commerce on the Colorado River.

Four years later, in 1868, a Co-operative was organized known as the Southern Utah Co-operative Mercantile Association, for the purpose of bettering their market difficulties, and of making better purchasing bargains in the California markets. The first agent chosen to make purchases, in ex-

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change for their cotton and other products of Southern Utah, was Franklin B. Woolley. While returning from his first trip to California with freight, Woolley was killed by Mojave Indians.

WASHINGTON FACTORY FURNISHES MARKET

The finding of a cash market for their cotton was ever a dark problem for the growers of Dixie, but with the building of the cotton factory at Washington, a disposer for their lint was found. The cotton grower could always get cloth, produce, and some implements in exchange for his cotton at the factory, even though he seldom heard the jingle of silver or gold in his pocket.

15. The organizing and regulations of the Association along with the account of Woolley's death is told in Bleak. Ibid. pp. 282-295.
A great number of the early converts to Mormonism came from England, Scotland, Denmark and other northern European countries. Many of these people were unaccustomed to the rigorous toil of farming, having spent their days in factories where textiles were manufactured. Some adjusted themselves to the hard arduous labor of tilling the soil. The Church, from the beginning of their settlement at Nauvoo in 1840, formulated plans to care for the workers of manufacturing industries.

There were among this variety of former laborers of the manufacturing business, many experienced in the spinning and weaving of cotton fabrics. The Church's policy of a self-contained commonwealth, welcomed the establishment of cotton factories, to furnish needed employment for these industrial workers, and also to supply the needs of the community. A year before the death of Joseph Smith, one reads an entry in his day by day history, such as: "At home. Brothers Livingston and Goodrich from Peterboro, I., visited me about establishing a cotton factory in Nauvoo." The prophet had invited men of means to come to Nauvoo and build a cotton factory,

which would furnish employment to the newly arriving English industrial workers, and also to the need of bringing in wealth. The precarious state of the Prophet's life, during this period, along with the persecution and harassment of the saints in and around Nauvoo by the citizens of the state, prevented the realization of a cotton factory during the life of Joseph Smith.

The dream of having a mill for the manufacturing of their own cotton goods never died, however. In 1848, Wilford Woodruff, then in England, organized a joint stock company entitled "The Mutual Business Association" for the purpose of raising funds from the English saints, with the end in view of assisting the enterprises of Nauvoo, and one specifically mentioned was a cotton factory. Again, this second plan for a cotton manufacturing center was destined to wait several years—until the Church settled within the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

ness of the inter-mountain region, he had encouraged the im-
porting of machinery for the manufacture of cotton goods. 
Lack of cash among the pioneer businessmen prolonged the ad-
vent of machinery. Finally President Young took the initiative 
and imported a machine to clean and prepare cotton; also a 
carding machine, three drawing frames, and a throttle frame, 
containing sixty-four spindles. This machinery was hauled 
south to Parowan. Ebenezer Hanks was to supervise the running 
of it, and William Wilcox, an experienced machinist recently 
emigrated from the shops in England, was to set the machinery 
up and put it in working condition.

By the early winter of 1862, cotton brought up from Utah's 
Dixie was being made into yarn. The yarn first manufactured 
was coarse, being numbers 8 and 9, yet, according to those who 
saw the finished product, it was of "a superior quality". A-
bout thirty-five pounds of yarn were made a day. The machinery, 
being somewhat limited, few persons were needed to operate it.
The drawing and carding frames were tended by one man, the rov-
ing and throttle frames were run by three girls and an Indian 
boy. This humble beginning gave high hopes of extensive cotton 
manufacturing throughout the Territory. A correspondent, 
writing from Cedar City on November 24, 1863 said, "As the cot-
ton growing business in the southern part of the State (meaning 
the State of Deseret) is expected to be greatly increased,

and Landmarks." p. 231. Also Kate B. Carter. Heart Throbt 
of the West. "Parowan, A Pioneer Industrial Center." 
pp. 238-239.
other and more extensive mills will of course be erected at no distant day."

In the spring of 1863, Horace S. Eldredge was sent east to supervise the emigration of the saints coming to Utah. While in the east he, having considerable means of his own, invested $8,000 or $10,000 in machinery for a cotton factory. This machinery was purchased from Messrs. Danforth and Company of Patterson, New Jersey and President Brigham Young had the machinery freighted to Salt Lake City. President Young later bought the machinery from Eldredge, and having built a factory at the mouth of Parley's Canyon, set it up there.

The machinery was the latest design of the day. Other than the cotton mill "silk was released to thirty-five long..."
40 was manufactured. Number 18 proved to be the most popular size as it was strong and even, and was well adapted to making jeans linsey, as well as durable sheeting and shirting. One enthusiastic visitor exclaimed, after seeing the machinery in operation, "If cotton planters will keep the factory constantly supplied, we see the time when Utah can be happily independent from present enormously high prices for every kind of cotton goods."

Brigham Young, desiring to fully supply the cotton needs of his people, continued to encourage others to set up cotton mills. Responding to this invitation in 1865, Jacob Houtz, Jackson Stewart and William Bringhurst built a cotton mill on Spring Creek north of Springville. Solomon Chase had the contract to build the factory while Norton Jacobs installed the machinery. When the machinery was in operating condition, Dixie cotton growers brought their lint and exchanged it for cloth or other commodities, which the factory owners had on hand. When the factory was built at Washington, and the Dixie farmers sold their product to the local factory, rather than close down, Houtz freighted cotton from St. Louis. The manufactured products of this mill were sold in California, Montana, and Nevada. At one time twenty-two wagons were on the road the year around, going south to California in the winter, and north to Montana in the summer, with cotton yarn and fabrics.

8. Ibid.
BRIGHAM YOUNG PLANS FACTORY IN COTTON COUNTRY

These above mentioned factories were Utah's first, but all of them were from 70 to over 300 miles from where cotton was grown. The cotton planters wanted a market nearer home. Too much time was spent and often material loss was involved in freighting cotton great distances. Besides this handicap, the three mills in operation did not supply the cotton demands of the people. One merchant assured Brigham Young, after his machinery began making cotton goods, that now no more such material would have to be imported from the east. The President told him he had not computed correctly. After some reflection, he figured his out-put of cotton fabrics, and discovered that he had sold more cloth himself than the President's factory was making with thirty-five looms in operation. A larger factory was needed, and that factory should be in the cotton country itself. For these reasons, President Young wrote to Erastus Snow on May 5, 1865, requesting him to "look out suitable places" on which to erect a cotton factory, so that when he came to St. George in the fall, he might determine the best possible location. News of this proposal revived the drooping spirits of the cotton growers. A writer in The Yenricula, a manuscript newspaper of early Dixie, writing June 1, 1865, welcomes the news of a factory coming in to the cotton country.

The leading business of our planters is the culture of cotton, he writes, and the greatest article of demand, of home production is thread. The want of mills in our midst to convert the lint into thread has discouraged many in raising the amount they otherwise would have done. The lint is light, and we have no suitable presses to condense it, nor have we the necessary bagging with which to preserve it.

In its crude state it is very inconvenient to handle and subject to waste and injury from handling and from wind and sun.

These facts render the news of President Young's intention to remove his cotton factory to Dixie most welcome intelligence. We know of no enterprise of the same magnitude that could be so beneficial to our country provided the operative would convert cotton into thread upon reasonable terms. * * *

Mills in our midst will enable our planters easily to convert the raw material into thread, in which shape it is more convenient to handle, less subject to injury and waste from handling, easier of transportation and more saleable.

So accessible article demands so good and so ready pay as cotton thread; hence we will hail the erection and operation of a mill in our midst as the dawn of a brighter day for Dixians.

BUILDING A FACTORY AT WASHINGTON

When Brigham Young visited the cotton country in September of 1865, he selected a site for his factory, along the bank of Machine Creek on the west side of Washington. President Young wanted construction of the factory building to begin at once. An experienced man was needed to supervise the construction and Brother Brigham knew the man who could do the job well. Appleton Harmon, inventor and builder of the odometer, which had recorded the distance traveled by the pioneers along their trek to Salt Lake Valley, was living in

Toquerville, having been called to Dixie in 61. President Young immediately sought his services. Harmon wanted to know the amount of money he would receive for building the factory and Brigham answered, "...pp, I will pay you a thousand dollars." In those days a thousand dollars was a small fortune. Appleton took the contract.

In the fall of 1865, the exact date is not recorded, construction of the cotton factory began. Voluntary subscriptions were made of labor and means by the men of St. George, Washington and other nearby settlements. Sandstone was quarried out of the red hills north west of Washington, and hauled for the mason to lay. Elijah and Elisha Averett were the stone masons. On Wednesday morning, February 21, 1866, George A. Smith and Erastus Snow visited the site where the factory was under construction. They found the building rising rapidly and Appleton Harmon, the contractor, well satisfied with the work being accomplished. Hyrum Walker and August Hackelprang hauled the first lumber which went into the new Washington Mill from the Cedar saw mills in Cedar Mountains. Other lumber was hauled from the Pine Valley saw mills. John F. Chidester was foreman of the timber work during the construction. By December of the following year (1866) the building was one story high.

13. Interview with William Palmer of Cedar City.
14. Interview with James Hall, one time employee at Factory.
On the 24th of July, 1866, a celebration was held at the factory, and President Erastus Snow dedicated the partially completed building. Early in January, 1867, a call was made for subscriptions to make a mill race for the cotton factory. Eighty-five men volunteered $450 in money to pay for labor, one hundred and thirty-five days in labor, two days of team work, and one load of wood toward the making of twenty-one rods of mill race. A few weeks later the work was completed.

With one story of the building finished, there was enough space for machinery to be set up. Wandle Mace, a resident of Washington writes in his journal, "A building of stone was erected this season here to be ready to receive the machinery to card, spin and weave into cloth, the cotton ** produced in this part of the country." President Young promised the Dixie people that he would send the machinery from his factory in Parley's Canyon, in order to start manufacturing as soon as the building was built. More machinery was to be purchased later from the east. With William Carter in charge, teams were sent to Salt Lake City to bring back the machinery for the factory. By December, 1866, it was on its way south. Along with the machinery came James Davidson, recently from

15. Charles Walker Journal. p. 357. Walker writes: "P. H. went over to Washington, the citizens met us before we got there and welcomed us to the town. We all went to the President's Factory which Brother Snow dedicated. After which the remainder of the time until after midnight was spent in dancing, singing, etc."


Scotland, to help assemble the contrivances, and superintend the running of them. With him came his wife, a grown daughter and a young son. The daughter, Maggie, had worked in textile mills in Scotland, and proved an efficient teacher of the various steps in cotton manufacturing, such as lapping, carding, spinning and weaving. Her first pupils were Amanda Pace, Mary Covington and Lucinda Clark. These three girls became the first employees of the factory.

Before the installed equipment could function, wooden cogs were needed for the driving wheel from which the machinery obtained momentum for operation. To secure hard wood for these, Andrew Sorenson and Leonid Alexander made a trip out to Moccasin, north of Pipe Spring, in Arizona, and cut some maple which served very well for making the cogs.

With the machinery set up and operating, the cotton farmers brought their lint in, and it was transformed into yarn and cloth. The people of Dixie felt confident that in the future the inhabitants of the cotton country would not only be known as a "producing but also a manufacturing people". Unfortunately the records of production were burned by a wife of the company's secretary, and the amount of cotton made into yarn or cloth is not known. Two gentlemen from the southern


19. President Glen Snow of Dixie informed the writer that his Grandmother, not wishing the debts of her friends found upon the factory's accounts, made known to any casual observer, burned many of the record books containing valuable information concerning the operation of the cotton mills.
states, making a trip on horseback from Montana to Arizona, visited the factory on January 19, 1868, and found the machinery running at full production. One of the travelers, reporting his experiences along the journey to the Frontier Index, tells of visiting the cotton factory:

We were shown through the cotton factory here, (Washington) which is the third one we have seen south of Salt Lake. My sole companion, Dr. Boyd, from Louisiana pronounces the quality of cotton from good, ordinary to middling. It is put in the gin here (meaning no doubt the processing within the factory) and comes out both white and colored cloth. It was amusing to see my portly bachelor friend looking around at the Buxom Girls, and mechanically nodding a 'yes, yes', to the explanations of the seate Bishop, (Robert D. Covington) as to the different processes of cleaning, rolling, spinning, twisting and weaving. The manufactures and every other important thing among the Mormons, are kept under the general supervision of Brigham Young by telegraph. 20

A one story building was found to be insufficient; therefore, the factory was raised two more stories during the summer and fall of 1868, which made it an attractive building of red sandstone. Later two wings were added, the one on the west was made of red sandstone, and the one on the east of lumber. The estimated cost of the building is set at around $60,000. The stone structure, which once housed the largest assortment of cotton machinery west of the Mississippi, stands in good preservation to this day on the south of Highway 91, west of the town of Washington. It is a monument to the faith, sacrifice and industry of the Dixie cotton missionaries. The

Utah State Road Commission has erected an historic marker north of the old factory building on Highway 81, containing a brief account of the cotton industry in Utah.

**ADDITIONAL MACHIRY IMPORTED**

Joseph Birch, a missionary of 1861, and an astute businessman, was sent east by President Young during the summer of 1870 to procure additional machinery for the enlargement of the factory at Washington. He left Salt Lake for the city of Philadelphia on July 6. After spending some time in the east, examining machinery in various cities, Birch purchased equipment from Alfred Jenks of Pridesburg, Philadelphia for the manufacturing of not only cotton goods, but for wool as well. The machinery was shipped on the Philadelphia Central Railroad and was ferried over the Missouri River at Omaha, and brought into Salt Lake City on the Star Union Line. This was the first machinery brought into the Territory unboxed, and so well had it been handled that not one scratch was to be found upon it. The shipping weight of it was 57,500 pounds. On August 27, 1870, a number of teams were sent to Salt Lake to freight down the woolen and cotton machinery. By November 10, it was being rapidly installed in the factory. Among the machinery brought from the east were clipper looms, the latest of their kind, a mule spinner, and carders. Birch, in writing

to Alfred Jenks in October, stated that the loom-man was delighted with the appearance of the clipper looms and was very anxious to see them run.

**MACHINERY IN OPERATION**

While in the east, Birch, the superintendent of the factory, secured the services of F. X. Loughery, an experienced machinist and operator, to superintend the putting up and the operating of the new machinery. A Mr. Ashworth, also adept at cotton manufacturing, was brought from the east. After looking over the equipment and the quality of cotton grown in Utah's Dixie, Mr. Loughery was satisfied that cotton fabrics could be manufactured by the Washington Factory which would be as cheap as imported goods.

The factory now had spinning machinery of sufficient capacity to work up 250 pounds of wool, in the dirt, and 260 pounds of cotton per day. This was enough to keep thirty looms constantly in operation, but they had only fourteen looms, eight of which were newly imported and only four were of the clipper kind. With the fourteen looms, 560 yards of plain factory cloth could be woven as well as 60 yards of linsey and flannels a day.

With Loughery managing the running of machinery, the factory operated more economically than heretofore. In the spinning department, only half the labor was required, and a

girl of twelve was doing the work formerly accomplished by two young women. The biggest handicap was lack of experienced workmen at the looms. It was necessary for one hand to attend two looms. Plans were in the making, when the workers at the looms acquired more experience, to have one person operate three or even four looms. The sizing of the cotton, which was formerly done with hot water with the new equipment, was done by steam, and 1000 yards were sized each day. With a new beaming machine, a warping mill, along with other improved machinery, it was the expectation of those concerned that in the future, more cloth of a superior quality would be manufactured than had heretofore been seen in the Territory.

**MAKING OF COTTON AND WOOL INTO CLOTH**

When baled cotton (baling made the cotton easier to handle) was brought into the factory by the grower, it was first put on an apron lapping machine. This contrivance rolled the lint into rolls for the carding machine. The carder stretched the cotton and layed it length wise so that by the time it got to the spinners, all the fibers were parallel. According to James Hall of Washington, who worked for many years in the factory, there were four spinners, each of which was "as long as a house". The cotton from the spinners was ready for the looms, to be woven into cloth. Plain all white cotton cloth was called "factory". That which was checked or striped, with a cotton warp and wool filling was called "jeans". Flan-
nel was all wool, and linsey was of cotton warp and woolen filling. Table cloths and napkins were made on a wide loom.

Before cloth could be made from the wool, it had to be washed and put on a picker, which picked the wool to pieces; it then was put on a carder, supplied with wire teeth, after that, it was delivered to a cylinder where it was oiled to keep it from flying about. From the cylinder, it went on the mule or jinny to be stretched and prepared for the weaving. But even after the woolen cloth was woven, it was not finished, for it had to be placed in a vat of fuller's earth to remove the oil from it, and then rinsed. After this was done, the cloth had to dry in the drying room, and have the fibers sheered off with a machine. Then the cloth was pressed in a huge pressing machine.

Both the cotton and woolen yarn was coarse, but durable. Men's shirts and women's dresses, made of cloth from this yarn, never wore out.

MACHINERY NOT ADEQUATE

Despite the fact that the new machinery was in full operation and worked splendidly, there was water power sufficient to run twice as much machinery as was functioning, and with plenty of yarn on hand, this additional machinery was needed. Joseph Birch, writing to Brigham Young on May 24, 1871 expressed the urgent need of expanding.

We also find, he writes, that we are able to produce with the cotton and woolen preparing mach-

inery enough yarn to make 800 yards of cloth per day which will require some thirty looms to weave, we now only run 14 looms, which causes a great waste of employees' time, inasmuch as we have to have a carder, mule spinner and cotton spinners and their time can not be fully employed without piling up woollen yarn which is subject to being damaged by moths and becoming dry and not work to same advantage as worked as soon as spun, in fact we can produce 800 yards of cloth per day. We had the looms for an additional cost of ten dollars ($10.00) per day, now we make from 3 to 400 yards, causing a loss of at least 40 or 50 dollars per day providing we had the raw material enough to keep it running. 25

After careful consideration of the expediency of expanding the factory's machinery in order to accelerate production and keep the employees occupied, the board of directors concluded that Joseph Birch, the Superintendent, should go east about the 7th of June, (1871), and procure second hand equipment to fill the need. This decision could be carried out only with the approval of Brigham Young. The President readily approved the proposal of the board, and Birch, in the latter part of June, journeyed east to purchase additional machinery. The previous year when Birch was in Philadelphia buying looms, carders, spinners, etc., he realized that there were not enough looms purchased, but not wishing to involve the new factory by borrowing money for more extensive buying, returned west with what machinery he could pay for. Money had to be borrowed, however, to buy these additional looms. Altogether $44,000 were invested in machinery.

At this early stage in the factory's history, the directors were certain that ample raw material would be furnished, and that not one yard of cloth or yarn should have to be shipped north of Beaver to be sold. It was sure to be a paying institution, as everything concerned with its operation looked much more encouraging than it had appeared twelve months before. However, it was considered prudent and more profitable, until the additional looms arrived, to work up all raw materials on hand, and then close down until a new supply of cotton or wool was brought in.

Optimism was flourishing among the factory heads. They had been able to pay all their eastern liabilities, and for all improvements made about the factory, and could secure a little money toward buying the looms, which Birch was to bring from the eastern cities. With a fully equipped factory what might they not do!

THE RIO VIRGIN MANUFACTURING COMPANY

While Brigham Young was visiting at St. George in the spring of 1869, he told the people of the cotton mission that if they would raise cotton and wool in abundance, he would bring his factory from the north and establish it among them. He said that the people might enter into a cooperative association, take control of his cotton factory, and allow him an interest in it as a stock holder. Accordingly in 1870, the

factory at Washington was incorporated by the leading men of Washington, Kane and Iron counties, as Zion's Co-operative Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company. Erestus Snow, as head of the Mission, became president, James G. Bleek, Mission Historian, the company's secretary, Joseph A. Birch, superintendent of the factory and agent for the incorporation, Adolphus R. Whitehead, clerk and Jacob Gates, a member of the first council of seventy, with other prominent churchmen of the Rio Virgen region, members of the board of directors. According to George A. Smith, the Cooperative Company was composed of the "most able men in Washington and Kane counties and some of Iron County". The organization of the Company was finally completed on the first Monday in January, 1871, with a capital of $100,000, under a newly established Territorial statute of the winter of 1870.

In the early summer of 1871, the Southern Utah Cooperative Mercantile Association, organized in November of 1868, amalgamated their business with the factory. This combination provided commodities, otherwise difficult to obtain, for the cotton grower in exchange for his lint. There were times when the citizens of the cotton country would have been destitute, had it not been for the outside purchasing power of this cooperative association in connection with the factory. R. F. Gould, writing from Washington on October 12, 1873, makes mention of this benefit afforded by the factory cooperative in

27. Letter of Smith to editor of Millennial Star and found in Vol. 33: p. 89. See also Documentary History, p. 9 and Journal History. January 8, 1871.
the following words: "I will also remark that there will be no lack of bread-stuff in consequence of our light harvest of wheat, from the fact of the cotton factory having made heavy purchases of wheat in Sanpete and extended the privilege to the brethren to haul it on shares."

**PRESIDENT YOUNG SELLS FACTORY**

On March 29, 1871, Brigham Young sold his interests in the Washington cotton factory to the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company for the sum of $44,000. The company had no ready cash and President Young agreed to dispose of his interest for promissory notes, which were drawn up by Erastus Snow, president, and James G. Bleak, secretary. The first payment was to be made one year from the date of the drawing. This was to be in the sum of $9,000 at 10 per cent interest. The remaining amount was to be paid in yearly installments of $5,000 extending over a period of eight years. On the 29th of March, a mortgage on the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company's factory and property was effected in favor of Brigham Young.

**SELLING CAPITAL STOCK**

With the factory and the indebtedness for it on their hands, the board of directors sent out representatives among the people to sell capital stock in the company. As an example of how this was done, we quote from a letter written

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by Erastus Snow to President Young, dated February 5, 1872 from St. George. In it he writes:

A week ago tonight I returned from a tour through Kane County accompanied by Elders Bleak, Gardner and others. Had an agreeable and profitable trip.

Brothers Gates, Birch, and Cannon meantime made a tour of the Northern and western settlements and had a profitable time and sale of several thousand dollars capital stock in the factory, which will in the course of the spring ease our burden of debt. 31

Each family head bought stock as his resources would allow. Some paid in kind, such as cattle, or products of the soil, wheat, molasses, etc., while others paid in wool and cotton; but cash was the item most needed and sought after. Orson W. Huntsman of Enterprise tells of buying stock in the factory. He writes in his journal on May 10, 1871:

I spent the following 16 days attending the general stock drive here and Bull Valley and Pinto. I turned out 64 dollars in stock or in other words I bought $64.00 capital stock in the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company. President Brigham Young owned the factory and the people throughout southern Utah were buying it from him, and with this $64.00 I was a stock holder and soon got more stock in it. 32

Besides the special traveling solicitors, the bishops were given the onerous task of persuading the members under their guardianship to buy stock in the factory. If such subscriptions were slow in coming in, Agent Birch wasn't bashful about reminding the bishops that their members were tardy with their payments. To Bishop Smith of Rockville, he

31. Ibid. p. 201.
wrote: "We should also be glad to have all those who promised to pay on subscriptions to pay up or as much as possible right away."

Meeting the payments to President Young and the other indebtedness became a major headache to those in charge of the factory. This trying problem will be discussed in the next chapter.

PRODUCING AND SELLING OF GOODS

The men running the factory were anxious that only the best cotton should be grown. To make this possible, new seed was purchased from the southern states and brought west. The cost was ten cents a pound, which included the freight charges. As referred to in a previous chapter (supra Ch. VII.), Birch wrote a circular letter to all the bishops, pointing out to them that in recent years the cotton raised had degenerated principally because poor seed had been planted, and he recommended that new seed be procured. As late as 1905, when the settlements on the lower Virgin at Bunkerville and Mesquite, Nevada, were the heavy cotton producers, Armand Hof, lessee of the cotton factory, imported from Alabama sixty bushels of first class cotton seed, with the hope of having better lint produced.

34. Letter to Bishop Smith of Rockville in Ibid. p. 30.
Naturally the better lint brought into the factory would produce a richer quality of finished goods. Therefore, as the raw cotton improved, the goods manufactured were noticeably ameliorated. Richard Bentley of St. George went to Salt Lake City in 1872, taking with him some specimens of manufactured fabrics. Those who examined them noted that the enterprise at Washington was "showing how rapidly they are progressing in the manufacture of woolen and cotton goods." A reporter of the Salt Lake Herald further stated: "We examined yesterday some very fine specimens of woolsey, plain and striped, which were substantial fabrics, well woven from evenly spun thread, and most excellently colored, an evidence that their dyer is master of his business." The dyer, incidently, was a Mr. Boekhoff who had been brought in from the east. The dye used was imported from Messrs. Browning Brothers and Philip Diesenger, both firms being in Philadelphia.

Some of the Washington factory fabrics were sold to the recently (1869) incorporated Z. C. M. I. of Salt Lake City, and according to a newspaper report of the day, a stranger, stopping in the clothing department, could see the home product and the imported cloth side by side and he would be unable to distinguish between them as to quality and appearance.

In 1872 the quoted prices of Fabrics manufactured by the

36. Salt Lake Herald. March 10, 1872; also Documentary History. 855 and Journal History.
37. Ibid. September 22, 1870.
Washington Mill were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeans</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red and Black Tweed</td>
<td>$.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple and Black Lisleay</td>
<td>$.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black and White Flannel</td>
<td>$.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shirts made at the factory sold for $2.75 each, and pants re-tailed at $4.00. Cotton batting was priced from 30 to 40 cents a pound. Cotton yarn sold for $3.00 a bunch, while yarn doubled and twisted for stockings, crochet work, and carpet making brought $3.75 per bunch. Table cloths were re-tailed at 40 cents a yard, and wagons covers, being in demand, were made by the factory but no price list is available. Other articles of clothing were manufactured, and according to early Dixie pioneers still living, a dress made out of cloth manufactured at the factory would never wear out. A variety of cloth was turned out by the looms at the rate of seventeen or eighteen hundred yards a week, and Superintendent Birch, in a letter to David Cannon, who had been sent out to canvas the settlements for capital stock, wrote: "You may safely say to the people that the factory is now doing well and is able to compete with Eastern goods both in price and quality."

The factory at Washington supplied many cooperative mercantile establishments throughout the Territory. Besides the C. J. M. T. in Salt Lake City, which took considerable goods, 39

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small cooperatives did a steady business with the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company. Such establishments were at Parowan, Cedar City, Panguitch, Ephraim and as far north as Nephi. Many businesses, not dealing in merchandise, took cotton and woolen goods for jobs done, such as: ads in papers or labels printed. George C. Cannon made several thousand labels and tags for the factory, and was paid in merchandise. On August 15, 1871, the following order was sent by team to him, (part of which he credited the company for printing jobs done for them)

95 yards of Jeans $ .90 per yard $85.50
142½ yards of Linsey $ .70 " " 99.57
108 pounds freight $ .05 per pound 5.40

Total 190.47

The merchandise manufactured at Washington was put into the hands of merchants and individuals by salesmen, and in some cases a few pieces of cloth were sent with an invoice, requesting the store owner to sell the goods, and return the money as soon as possible. As an illustration: a Mr. John Chatterly, manager of a cooperative, was sent some cloth with the following letter from Agent Birch: "We have sent you two pieces of cloth with our invoice encloses. We would like you to sell them for us and pay us the money as soon as sold. We have put them as low as we can and would suggest that you retail them at 65 and 90 cents per yard."

40. Ibid. p. 81.
Factory goods sold well in St. George when the people did not know the cloth, yarn, etc. were home made. People there, as elsewhere, maintained the notion that imported goods were better. To find more markets, salesmen were called and sent out for the purpose of soliciting trade in other communities. One of these was Charles Fulsipher. He was sent out with $1149.65 worth of goods. His instructions were to visit first the cooperative stores and make sales with them, allowing 15 per cent discount on retail prices payable within sixty days, or if cash were paid down, he was to allow a 17 per cent discount. If he found the stores unwilling to buy, he could sell to individuals at retail prices. On retail sales, he would be paid one half of all sales over and above the wholesale price, and on wholesale selling he was to receive 5 per cent. When he arrived in the Sanpete area, where wheat and flour were plentiful, he could sell part of his goods for flour.

A saleslady from Cedar City---Mrs. Haight did some selling for the factory in 1872, and was informed that if she took produce she was to allow cash prices. The factory would allow 50 cents a pound for wool: cotton brought 20 and 25 cents: molasses went at $1.00 per gallon and peaches 6 and 11 cents a pound, if delivered at the Factory.

There is nothing found in the records to indicate how many sales were made, but some salesmen disobeyed instructions and placed the company in some embarrassing circumstances.
During the forty years the factory was operating, few accidents occurred. It is rather remarkable that despite the fact that inexperienced help manipulated many of the machines, few were injured. Those who did meet with accidents were not seriously hurt. The Salt Lake Herald reported in 1874 a little girl getting her finger crushed in the machinery, and James Hill, a living resident of Washington, who once worked in the factory, told of a man being thrown to the floor by a belt and breaking his jaw. Dr. Affleck made a special clamp for the broken jaw, which held it in place, and the break soon mended. Possibly the most severe accident occurred when Mr. Lowchery, the experienced machinist brought in from the east, caught his right arm in some machinery and injured it considerably. Dr. Higgins of St. George dressed the wound and the man was, in a short time, using his arm.

VISITORS AT THE FACTORY

President Young first visited the factory, and examined the running of the machinery, with satisfaction, shortly after the installment of the equipment, the latter part of December, 1870. Other Church dignitaries visited the mill, noted the running of it, and examined the finished products with self-contained pride, in a home industry accomplishing its purpose.

But the visitor, upon whom the machinery and the workings of

41. Interview. Summer 1846.
42. George ... Smith sent telegram to Salt Lake informing editor of Deseret News of the accident. December 18, 1870.
the factory made the most pronounced impression was a Noquis
magistrate from Grita Villea. He and his wife had accompanied
Jacob Hanlin on his return from Arizona in 1870 for the pur-
pose of getting information in regard to agriculture and man-
ufacturing. Tooty, the Indian, was himself a skillful spinner.
As brought out in Chapter III, the Hopi Indians raised cotton
and made their clothing, so this red man was adept with the
spindle. Then he beheld the three hundred and sixty spindles
in operation at the same time, he sighed and told Jacob, "he
had no heart to spin with his fingers any more".

TILL OF FACTORY OPERATING

The Washington Cotton Factory operated, roughly, from
1867 to 1910. Of course, there were a few years when it either
ran very little or not at all. In 1910 Charles W. Nibley,
Presiding Bishop of the Church, advised closing the cotton
factory and property. The company's water right was to be
sold at 1,000 and the machinery with the property owned by
the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company for 1,000 or more. In a
letter to James Andrus of April 14, 1910, Bishop Nibley writes:

If you agree to it, then we would like you to
dispose of all the other property (besides water
right) to the very best advantage possible in the
interests of the stockholders of the company. I
figure that the sheep and wool you have ought to bring
about $4500.00, the water right $1000.00 and you may
be able to get $1000.00 or more for the land, build-
ings, machinery, sheds, etc." 44

26, 1870.
44. Letter typed written from Presiding Bishop's Office
and is in possession of Glen Snow, St. George. Andrus
was President of the Rio Virgen Mills at this time.
One notes the enormous depreciation of the factory and machinery, during the forty years of its existence from the above letter. The cotton industry of Utah was no longer a paying proposition. For years it had been on the wane. Imported goods could be had cheaper. Farmers found other crops more profitable than cotton. Cotton batting still was in demand, but the cotton was not forthcoming. In the Mormon's economic struggle for a self-sustained commonwealth, the cotton industry had fulfilled the measure of its creation.
CHAPTER XI
THE PROBLEMS OF OPERATING COTTON FACTORY

Many were the problems and difficulties which beset the men operating the cotton factory at Washington. Some of the problems were: lack of efficient employees, bills to be met, and no money; delayed supplies, necessary for the operation of machinery, and the machines being forced to stop. Despite the factory's benefaction to the people of the Territory generally, to make ends meet was a discouraging and almost unsolvable problem. Man's health was impaired because of the strain and difficulty of bringing the output of the factory on a paying basis. Often the people were lax in their support of the factory, and were chided by their leaders. Still cotton was planted and ginned; wool sheared from sheep, and washed, and both staples blended into fabrics.

LACK OF SUPPLIES AND LACK OF CAPACITY

The cotton crops of 1871-72 had been light, and naturally little yarn and cloth were manufactured. The people generally, were uneasy because of food scarcity, brought about by drought and grasshopper ravages. They had not supported the factory too wholeheartedly. Brigham Young came to St. George in the latter part of October, 1872, and, learning of the indifference manifest toward the factory, told the people during a conference held November 1, that "it was the duty of the people
of the south to sustain the factory at Washington by raising wool and cotton and by sending our girls there to learn to spin, weave, color and dress cloth. The President at a later date, told his hearers that he had established the cotton factory in the south for their good, leaving them the task of producing cotton and wool in great abundance in order to supply it. He said that if all the saints would combine their efforts, and put their energies unitedly into the support of the factory, he would give the $40,000 due him to the Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company, and cancel their indebtedness to him. This was cheering news, as the $5,000 they owed him each year rose like a black spectre before the factory owners, which they could not placate. So embarrassing to the stockholders was their inability to meet the payments, that at one meeting of the directors, Erastus Snow, the heaviest stockholder in the south, offered his entire investment to any man or company who would guarantee the payment of the debt due President Young.

The Board of Directors were anxious to pay all their debts, but because of lack of funds were forced to hold payments in obedience. Money was extremely hard to get in the seventies. A. R. Whitehead, writing to a creditor in 1873, expressed their destitution when he said, "It is impossible to squeeze blood out of a turnip, especially a bad one, and if orders come for cash and we haven't got it, the parties

2. Ibid. p. 317.
holding orders will have to wait until we have it."

The products of the factory were readily sold, but often the buyers paid in kind, having no cash, or in the case of goods sold to cooperatives, credit was granted, and the stores failed to remit payments to the factory when cash was sorely needed. Letters of distress were sent to cooperatives, pleading for money, such as the following addressed to Joseph Fish, Manager of the Parowan Cooperative: "We are very hard up for a little cash to meet some of our liabilities." And in a letter to Bishop T. J. Jones of Penaca, Whitehead wrote to "ascertain if you can let us have a little more cash as we have payments in the East to meet immediately".

To the cotton and wool producers, the highest prices were offered, but not in cash. "We can not promise money," was written to James Dalley who had inquired regarding the price of wool, "because we have not got it and do not know where to get it." The factory had on hand useful commodities offered in exchange for cotton and wool, which the growers received almost as readily as they would the money were it accessible.

This dearth of money during the seventies often placed the operators of the factory in embarrassing circumstances. Supplies, such as dye-stuff, purchased on credit from eastern

4. Ibid. p. 146.
5. Ibid. p. 283.
6. Ibid. p. 203.
companies, often could not be paid for within the time limit, and the creditor was asked to charge the factory interest until the debt could be settled. As an example, to Messrs. Browning Brothers on November 14, 1872, twenty dollars was paid as interest on $710.82 owed to this eastern firm. Then to accentuate the money problem, in March, 1873, a check of $500.00 was lost while it was being sent to Salt Lake City. Even though this check had been cancelled, the firm of Drexell, Morgan Company in Los Angeles on whom the check was issued, refused payment. A. R. Whitehead was beside himself, because of the failure to redeem the money. Supplies were needed to continue operation and there was no money with which to buy them. Some essentials for running the machinery had arrived in Salt Lake City, but Whitehead was fearful that H. B. Clawson would refuse to load their freight wagons, because the money could not be forwarded. On August 30, 1873, he wrote to Jacob Gates, then superintendent of the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company, depicting the precarious condition of their financial status. He inquired of him what should be done. "Had I better order dyestuffs and oil and trust to Providence for the money", he asks, "or wait and see if something will turn up? We are now owing over $100,00 east for a few dyestuffs now on the road and a few extras got a short time ago. What shall I do? I am completely bothered."

BORROWING MONEY

As a final measure in the desperate attempt to meet pressing bills and enlarge the operating facilities, Erastus Snow instructed Whitehead to write to William Jennings for a loan of $3500.00. Jennings was a leading merchant of not only the Territory of Utah, but also the West, who was doing a $2,000,000 business annually in his famous Eagle Emporium. He had in 1869 assisted in the organization of the Utah Central Railroad Company. Previous to this, the factory had borrowed $1,000.00 from Hooper and Eldredge Bank of Salt Lake City. Jennings, it seems, did not respond and Erastus Snow, with other leaders, found themselves with the task of collecting cash on capital stock. The Board of Directors also tried to borrow money locally in sums not less than $100 payable in two years, with interest paid annually.

DIFFICULTIES GETTING SUPPLIES FROM THE EAST

The factory, being over 2,000 miles from a market and 230 miles from a railroad, made the getting of parts and supplies difficult. Often months elapsed before needful articles were obtained, such as rings, catgut, travelers and rope, all indispensable to operation of the looms and other machinery. There were times when letters were lost, and several orders had to be written before action was secured. On one occasion, in ordering a pump to supply cold water to a six horse boiler,

used in the dye house, a half dozen letters were written to three different concerns in Philadelphia before the pump finally arrived in Salt Lake City on December 20, 1870.

Oil for lubrication of machinery and dyestuff for the coloring of the cloth were the most difficult to get on time from the east. There are several items stating that the factory was forced to close, because the oil had run out or the dyestuff had been exhausted. In the effort to supply the oil needs of the factory, castor beans were grown and oil extracted, the coarsest of which was used to lubricate machinery.

As we have seen in a previous chapter, indigo failed to grow satisfactorily in the cotton country, and other home produced dyes with the exception of madder, could not be had in sufficient quantity to supply the needs of the factory; therefore, all dyes were bought from eastern companies. Several shipments were purchased from Browning Brothers of Philadelphia, and later from Bocher and Wolkewitz of St. Louis. A sample of the kinds of dyes used at the Washington factory is given as follows: (from a bill of Dyestuffs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>extract Logwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>extract Beachwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>canwood in good boxes or barrels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>extract Furtie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Indigo (ground)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chlor Tin Crystal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Chrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Sal Soda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pea Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Extract Redwood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With this order went a complaint from the dyer, that the ground indigo sent in a previous order was adulterated, and a plea to "please let us have a good quality (indigo) as it is for cotton".

After the oil and dye had arrived in the Territory, it had to be freighted by team and wagon from Lehi. In a letter to Daniel Miller, who had the contract to haul the factory's freight from the Railroad Terminus at Lehi, is urged the absolute necessity of bringing, at the expense of all other freight, the oil and dyestuff. "Be sure and bring the Dyestuffs and oil and if you can not bring all the freight there for us, leave anything before the Dyestuffs and oil as we must have them, in fact we stop the factory tonight for want of them." So urges the writer of the letter to Miller.

EXPLOITMENT PROBLEM

Another ever present and pressing problem during the running of the Washington factory was the securing of efficient employees. The Deseret News for December 6, 1873, stated that there was a great scarcity of mechanical laborers in the cotton country, and emphasized the urgent need for persons skilled in mechanics and manufacturing, to settle in Dixie.

In setting up the machinery and getting it in operation, experienced men were brought from the east. When their allotted time expired, there were no persons around capable to

10. Ibid. p. 152.
11. 22:737. also Documentary History. 3343.
take their places. Mr. Loughery quit and went into mining.
Mr. Boekhoff, the dyer, discontinued his services with the
factory, and Erestus Snow was advised to write to the Phila-
delphia Press, and advertise for another dyer. During the
time there was no dyer, sales diminished because buyers wanted
brightly colored cloth; black, brown, and white were too drab.

Letters were written to C. P. Ronnow of Panaca, Nevada,
(had once been employed at the Washington factory as dyer
but being unable to get along with agent Birch, had resigned
and moved to Panaca) asking him to return to his former em-
ployment. Now that Birch was no longer superintendent, he
was advised "to lay all former feelings aside" and come im-
mEDIATELY. He did not answer within a month or more, so
Bishop Thomas J. Jones was asked to use his influence with
Ronnow, and entice him to come and dye for them until Presi-
dent Snow, then in the east on his way to Europe, could send
an eastern man. Ronnow refused to come, but told the Board of
Directors that an experienced Swedish dyer, living in Ephraim
, could be had. After many fruitless attempts to get an out-
side dyer, a young fellow was worked into the job and became
rather proficient.

While Joseph Birch was in charge of the factory, he
wrote to Brigham Young in June, 1872, reporting to him the
progress of the business. The machinery had operated only
one third of the time. Birch pointed out the causes for this

were lack of material and efficient help. If sufficient employees could be obtained in order to run the factory to its full capacity, Birch was confident the business would pay out in three years. The reason for a deficiency in labor was laid to the enticement of the mines, which lured many young men away. The cotton country abounded with the good things of life if only enough help could be brought in "to turn the wheel of fortune".

Birch felt the need for help in the successful running of the factory so poignantly that he suggested to Brigham Young that Chinese labor be brought into Utah's Dixie; "as the Chinese are accustomed to a warm country and (we) could use them in our factories, gardens, vineyards and fields". But then he went on to say:

I fancy I can hear you say: "What do we want with Chinese labor until they are converted to the Gospel? When we have hundreds of poor saints in England, Denmark, etc. who would be glad to come to Dixie if you would only send for them—and if you want to emigrate anybody why don't you emigrate the saints?" I fancy you would say this, because I know your desire to build up the house of faith first, and from what you said last winter here, when speaking of inefficient help in our factory, you stated you had no doubt there were many in England, who are working in factories, who would be glad to come and work in our factories by arranging with them and providing for their emigration. I wish we had such help. 13

The converts from Europe had proved themselves steady, frugal, and stable. The Swiss, who had come to Santa Clara in 1861, had remained. Through their industry and perseverance,

13. Ibid. Birch tells Young that he takes "this liberty of writing you because I feel myself a part of the factory and am anxious to see its prosperity".
they had become the most substantial individuals in the Cotton Mission. The Danes, who had settled at Washington, were made of the same hettle. These were the type of persons needed in the factory. If the factory were to be brought up to a paying basis, they had to have not only capable people, but those who also could be depended upon to stay.

If President Young answered Birch's letter, and he undoubtedly did, there is not extant a copy of his reply. One point is significant, however, and that is in March 1873, Birch was called on a mission to England. While there, he gathered several factory workers and brought them to America on the steamship Nevada, which sailed from Liverpool June 10, 1874, with 243 souls aboard. Many of these were Dixie bound, with the objective in mind of working in the factory.

While in England, Birch received a letter from the factory Board of Directors, asking him to use his influence in encouraging factory workers to emigrate. They needed especially a dyer, weavers and a good finisher. He was not to promise them money, as mammon was very scarce in Zion, but the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company would pay their emigration expenses, and give the recipients ample time to repay. All they needed in the way of food and raiment would be furnished them.

Birch later writes the Board, that a man with a family of six, an experienced factory worker, and several weavers

were making ready to emigrate to Zion. When the time approached for their arrival in Salt Lake City, Allen Taylor was sent with a wagon and team to convey them to Dixie. A letter was sent to Bishop Edward Hunter and George Goddard, asking them to care for the emigrants as soon as they arrived. They were to assure them proper conveyance to take them South, and provide them with the necessary provisions. To impress these brethren that neglect to contact properly the emigrants planning to work in the factory, would be hazardous to the manufacturing concern of the South, the letter ended with, "How brethren, we are so hard up for hands and Brother Taylor can bring some eight or ten down and by assisting us all you can in this you are doing a public favor as well as assisting us and our Dixie Factory."

The factory workers alluded to above arrived the first part of November, 1873, and were transported to Washington. Others who came with Birch on the steamer Nevada arrived in Salt Lake City, on July 2, 1874 and were hauled by team and wagon to the southern factory. President Young and party, returning from a visit to Dixie, met a group of Swiss converts at Provo on July 3, 1874 on their way to the cotton mill at Washington. These experienced factory hands gave new impetus to production of fabrics.


July 5, 1874.
DIFFICULTY SUPPLYING EMPLOYEES' NEEDS

Is the factory help paid almost entirely in produce and wearing apparel, the task of keeping well stocked was a trying one. A large amount of goods used in exchange for cotton and wool or services rendered by employees came from the Z. C. M. I. To assure regular and prompt shipments of essentials, the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company made arrangements with all Cooperative stores south of Nephi who were owing them, to pay Z. C. M. I., accrediting the payments to the Rio Virgen Company. When the cooperatives failed to make remittance to the Salt Lake firm, the shipment of needful merchandise was often delayed. The factory clerk promptly reminded the delinquent manager that his payment was long past due, and further delay would hamper punctual remuneration for services rendered by mill employees.

The goods obtained from the Z. C. M. I. were commodities not home raised, such as contained in an order of March 18, 1873:

2 dozen Scythes
1 dozen Grain scythes
1 dozen Grain cradles
3 boxes Soap
2 sacks Sugar
2 boxes H. M. Candy

18. The Panquitch Coop. failed to send in funds to Z. C. M. I. and a letter was sent asking them to remit the amount due immediately. See Letter Book. cp. cit. p. 166.
2 boxes Tobacco
50 pounds Z. C. M. I. tea
1 case Oysters
20 gallons Kerosine
2 pounds Camphor gum
1 case Axle grease
24 sets Common jewelry
2 dozen Linen dusters
1 dozen Panama hats
500 pounds bacon (pork was home raised but not in sufficient amount)

There was a note in the order stating that if the above articles did not weigh 2200 pounds, to make up the amount in bacon. After the $500 check was lost, there was danger of not receiving goods from Z. C. M. I. which were needed badly. In the hope of getting the merchandise freighted down south, the clerk wrote Thomas Williams, treasurer of Z. C. M. I., asking him if the factory could pay dried peaches, cotton batting, stocking yarn, and tweed cloth. If cash was not available, the factory must barter for what they needed.

Even the home-grown products were at times hard to get, and the operators of the mill were in a quandary as to where they could acquire certain necessities. David Cannon was asked to accompany Jacob Gates and A. R. Whitehead on a tour of the western settlements for the purpose of gathering cat-

tles, bacon, eggs, potatoes, wheat, butter, and flour. The stock and food stuffs were to be applied on people's capital stock. The factory would pay $6.00 a hundred for flour, $2.00 per bushel for wheat, 35 cents a pound for ham and bacon, 30 cents per pound for butter, 20 cents a dozen for eggs, and $1.50 for a hundred pounds of potatoes. He was also instructed to bring from Bishop Henry of Meadow Valley 200 gallons of wine. Workers and cotton growers needed a bracer. The above articles were urgent. He was advised not to listen "to the complaints of the people as to their not being able to do anything, but would like to if they could."

He was to counsel them that the only way for them to get out of poverty was to own stock in the factory. The bishops of the various wards were also urged to encourage their people to bring in on capital stock food for the employees. To the Rockville bishop, the factory agent wrote: "We are needing for the hands flour, corn, beef, pork, butter, cheese, eggs, potatoes and dried grapes. ** Try and have the people bring us some of the above."

Cattle was wanted as there was usually a ready market for livestock, and cash was urgently needed as has already been noted.

PROBLEM OF MAKING FACTORY PAY

The most discouraging problem facing the operators of the Washington factory was that of trying to make the factory pay. In a letter written to W. C. Dunbar of the Salt Lake Herald November 26, 1872, Whitehead said: "You have been in the country long enough to sympathize somewhat with home manufactures in this country. We can scarcely raise money enough on our goods to purchase oil and Dyestuffs although our goods are beginning to demand cash." During the most promising period of operation, the records show that the factory averaged only about $40.00 per day, exclusive of taxes and the superintendent's salary, which when included, brought the amount down to a little over $25.00 a day. On January 4, 1873 Erastus Snow was informed that the total amount of capital stock guaranteed was $4,941.41. The interest alone on the mortgage to Brigham Young up to June 1, 1872 was $6,688.95. Instead of conditions improving, they grew worse. So hard pressed was the factory in 1873, that the Board advised Whitehead not to pay President Young, if by so doing the business was losing money every day.

At a Board meeting held April 31, 1874, it was reported that during the last six months the factory had been running, only $48.75 had been made over operating expenses. The Company was owing $14,081.96 in cash, and had only $3500.80 in their

22. Ibid. p. 116.
23. Ibid. p. 133.
treasury. There was a possibility, however, that debts owed to the factory in grain might meet the cash indebtedness. The factory had 2000 pounds of wool, almost all of which was washed, 4800 pounds of cotton, and about 4000 pounds of woolen and cotton warps and fillings. But how could this raw material and partly manufactured goods be made into saleable articles with no cash to buy supplies? Without oil, dye, and other supplies, the factory couldn't run. The clerk who had been striving to put the factory on a paying basis was about as discouraged as a man could get. His health had been impaired because of worry and overwork, and he was ready to quit. The employees were requested to cooperate more than ever before, and try harder to pay more attention to their work, be more saving with materials, and make better products, or the factory would be forced to close.

In November, 1874, the Board of Directors instructed Whitehead to close all accounts, and collect all debts, either by note bearing an interest of 1½ per cent, or by immediate payment. By December of the same year, the factory was forced to close until cash could be obtained to buy oil. The establishment of the United Order helped allay the threat to close the factory, as it united the people and through unity, cash and more cotton was secured.

In the spring of 1874, A. R. Whitehead told the Board of Directors that he was tired of trying to make the cotton fac-

24. Whitehead had bought a pig; and rendered the lard which was used for a week to grease the wool.
25. Bleak. op. cit. p. 466. Here Whitehead himself reported that the order was a "decided benefit" to Washington.
tory pay. He reported, "We are getting worse off all the time." Although Jacob Gates was the superintendent, Whitehead had had the task of running the operation and sales of the factory. On February 21, 1876, Thomas Jefferson Jones, bishop of Panaca, was appointed superintendent of the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company's factory with the hopes that his business ability might generate new vitality into the cotton industry. Jones held this position for six years. During the years Jones was overseer of the factory, business improved very little, in fact in the late eighties it shut down for a period of three or four years, because little cotton was raised and the market was poor. In 1887, the Church stepped in to help put the factory back in operation, and President John Taylor, Trustee and Trust, through the hands of his attorney and agent, William James Jack, sent the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company a certificate for $60,690.85.

The cooperative at this time was not anxious to continue operating the factory as a company, and at a Board meeting held in November, 1888, the capital stock of the organization was transferred to the St. George Temple Association. At this meeting there were over 50,562 shares of capital stock.

OPERATING CONDITIONS DURING THE NINETIES AND UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE FACTORY

On Tuesday, April 15, 1890, the Rio Virgen Company leased the factory to Thomas Judd. The Church held controlling interest in the company. For the first time since the factory's beginning it began to pay dividends. In less than six months after he took over the operation of the mill, at a stockholders meeting held in St. George, a dividend of 4 per cent was declared. This dividend was to be paid thus: 1/4 to be credited on capital stock and 3/4 to be paid in manufactured goods at cash rates.

There was a revival of cotton growing during the early nineties. To furnish water for the irrigating of more acres in and around St. George and Washington, a rock dam was made on the Virgin River below Leeds. Much of this land was to grow cotton. In the fall of 1889, and the spring of 1890, ditches and dams had been destroyed by flood waters. This rock dam was to be substantial enough to withstand the ravages of the river. The First Presidency of the Church appropriated $4695.00 to assist in this work. Of this amount $483.31 was to be paid in cash and merchandise; $1410 to be paid in factory pay; wheat was furnished to the amount of $451.69 and $2350.00 in labor tithing. Salt Lake newspapers impressed their readers with information that much more cotton would be raised in the South than had been grown during the past several years.

30. Ibid. pp. 6, 13.
31. Salt Lake Herald. op. cit.
Judd was shrewd and energetic. He secured markets, demanding cotton batting and other goods made from wool and lint. All during the time Judd operated the factory it paid well and proved "a great benefit to the people, especially during the panic of 1893." Money was even more scarce than formerly, and the factory could furnish the farmers goods for raw materials and products raised on the farms. According to D. H. Morris, who operated the factory after Judd, he (Judd) had a paying business and the stock holders received 100 per cent dividend on their capital stock. He employed between sixty-five and seventy-five persons, pushed his output as much as possible, and finding ready markets for all his goods, exchanged them for flour, molasses, cheese, butter, meats, lumber, etc. and a little cash. James E. Hell, now living in Washington, worked for Judd and told the writer the employees were paid one third cash, one third factory pay, and one third store pay.

After the factory, under Judd's supervision, had been in operation a little over a year and a half, at a stock meeting held on November 14, 1891, a dividend of 6½ per cent was declared payable. Two per cent of this was paid on capital stock and four and one half per cent in manufactured goods. On January 2, 1893, the following statistics were compiled

33. Ibid.
34. Interview. Summer 1946.
by the lessee of the mill and presented to the stock holders:

Wages paid at Factory (Washington) from August 1, 1891 to December 31, 1892, 17 months, about $18,000, a little over $1,000 per month, 1/4 of which was paid in store pay.

Dividends paid during same time over $4,000.00.

Cotton used about 50,000 pounds.

Wool bought for which cash was paid during same time, between 5 and 6,000 dollars and for dyestuffs, etc. about $1,500.

Goods produced during this period about $40,000.

The factory if properly looked after will pay running expenses and necessary attention, together with dividends, taxes, etc., but nothing more. 35

He also reported that he had been very successful in finding markets for cotton batts, and could use forty thousand pounds of cotton a year. This would bring the farmers $4,800 in goods.

Thomas Judd made improvements on the machinery and built a new reservoir to hold the water, which was conveyed into the factory through a steel pipe to the turbine wheel. This power wheel ran the machinery. When Judd leased the factory, he installed a new turbine wheel costing $1,000.00, and steel pipe to convey water to the wheel. A fly wheel was set up to regulate the speed of the machinery. In 1896, when a new reservoir was needed to replace the old one, which had been damaged by floods, he proposed to make a new ditch leading into the reservoir, with headgates and other improvements necessary for the successful operation of the factory for $1,100 payable in dividends during the years of 1897 and

1898. Isaac C. Macfarlane, county surveyor, after making the survey of the ditch and reservoir site, estimated the cost of construction to be $1,162.70.

Possibly at no time during the factory's existence was it run so efficiently and kept in such thorough repair as during the nineties under Judd's supervision. On one occasion something went wrong with the machinery. None of the mechanics about the mill could repair the trouble. Finally Judd brought an old man from St. George named Laser, who understood the mechanics of carders, weavers, etc. He fixed the broken machine and it ran very well. Judd asked the old man what his bill was for making the repair. Laser replied, "Twenty-five dollars and twenty-five cents." When he was asked what the twenty-five cents was for, Laser answered: "Oh, that was for the work, the twenty-five dollars was for knowing what was wrong."

During the ten years Judd ran the factory, the stockholders were paid dividends. After the turn of the twentieth century, little manufacturing was done. In 1901, Armand Hof leased the factory to work up silk. He wanted enough room and power in the factory building to operate a small amount

of machinery. Hof was to manufacture silk products in beh-
half of the Washington County Silk Company. Mrs. Sarah P.
Alger of St. George was president of the silk organization.
In the agreement signed by Hof, Mrs. Alger and Daniel D. Mc-
Arthur, President of the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company,
Hof agreed to care for the building, see that dams, ditches,
and reservoirs were kept in good repair, and to prevent fire
by keeping combustible materials away from the factory. He
was to make certain all doors and windows were locked before
leaving the building and to guard against vandalism on the
part of mischievous boys on Sundays. This contract was
drawn up on November 9, 1901.

After a little over two years, Hof came to the conclu-
sion that there was no profit being made for himself, nor the
silk association, therefore, he wrote the President and Board
of the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company on February 1, 1904,
requesting the use of their cotton batting machinery. He,
having made arrangements with the silk raisers and cotton
planters to supply the raw materials, believed he could pay
running expenses and make a little profit by working both
products into thread, cloth, and batting. On March 26, 1904,
an agreement was drawn up between Hof and the Rio Virgen Com-
pany, with Daniel D. McArthur as President, and James G.

39 Bleak, Secretary.

Hof agreed to pay the Company for any cotton seed he might

39. Agreement appears to be in the handwriting of James
G. Bleak and is in possession of Earl Bleak, St. George,
a grandson of the mission historian.
use, belonging to the factory. Upon investigation he discovered only the top seed could be planted, the rest had spoiled. That the cotton planters might be supplied with seed, he imported sixty bushels from Alabama. The growers on the lower Virgin at Punkerville and those on the Muddy planted twenty-five acres into cotton. Hof paid the farmers 3 1/2 cents for cotton in the seed and 11 cents for lint. The batting he made sold for 18 1/2 cents a pound. According to letters written by Hof to Daniel Mc Arthur and James G. Bleak, he found a pressing demand for Dixie batting. In a letter of August 28, 1904 he wrote, "I sold batting in Salt Lake for 18 1/2 cents a pound and could have sold 20 times more if I only had more seed; all for cash and the freight paid by them."

With the hopes of making a living in his old age by making cotton batting, Hof spent all his resources on repairing machinery, buying cotton seed, and fixing the turbine wheel and water pipes. His total cash output was $500.00. Then when he was prepared to begin operation, he received a letter from one of the Board members saying, "Tell Mr. Hof he can not start the water wheel before he pays me." This notification greatly upset Hof. He told the Board of Directors, "I can not wait long, because my means are limited and spent

41. Letters in possession of Earl Bleak all in original hand writing.
42. Letter to Daniel D. Mc Arthur.
43. Quoted in Letter to James G. Bleak, Dec. 6, 1905.
for cotton and cotton seed from Alabama and large expenses now." This misunderstanding over the water rights was settled and Hof was permitted to make up raw materials.

After a few years it was evident to all concerned that cotton culture in Utah's Dixie was doomed. There was too much labor connected with it for the profits received.

The Presiding Bishop advised disposing of the property owned by the Rio Virgen Manufacturing Company in April, 1910. (supra. Chapter X) The association had eight hundred and seventy-one sheep by October, 1911 that they leased to Riley G. Williams of Kanarra. Later some of the machinery was sold to a woollen mill operating at Beaver. The contrivances remaining were either appropriated by local persons or destroyed by playful children.

Despite the many obstacles connected with the operation of the cotton and woollen factory at Washington, it proved itself to be a blessing to the people of the south by supplying them a market for their raw materials, and in return furnishing them with the staples of subsistence. It also gave considerable employment to the people living in the locality. An appreciative citizen of the south wrote: "The cotton factory is also a blessing to the inhabitants of Washington in another respect--it affords employment to quite a number of hands who draw their supplies from the factory, also affording excellent

44. Letter December 6, 1905--in Earl Bleak's possession.
facilities for clothing, thus enabling the people to appear neatly and comfortably clad." The cotton factory was an asset in furthering the Mormons' realization of a self-sufficient common-wealth.

CHAPTER XII
COTTON GROWING ON THE LOWER VIRGIN

On January 1, 1877, a meeting was called by several settlers of Santa Clara. This gathering was for the purpose of locating a fertile area, unclaimed and unsettled, where these people might go and establish a colony. In February, 1874, Brigham Young began the United Order at St. George. Nearby communities soon accepted the Order, and were baptized into it. For two years, Santa Clara citizens worked together under this communal system, then dissatisfaction was manifest by many adherents, and the Order broke up. This disruption of the system greatly disappointed a few persons who firmly believed the principle of united effort to be workable, and desired an opportunity to continue its operation. To accomplish this desire, a new location was sought. The many unsettled valleys north beckoned enticingly, but President Young had advised against going north. This meeting of January 1st was to decide the most practical location.

When Erastus Snow visited the Paddy settlements in 1865, he noted the fertile bottom lands along the south bank of the Virgin River, some twelve miles below the mouth of Beaver Dam Creek, and thirty miles above the Virgin's confluence with the Colorado River. The place seemed a plausible location for a

settlement. It lay just over the rim of the Great Basin. Its climate was dry and warm, and the altitude was 1,000 feet above sea level. One old settler, some years later, in speaking of this valley said, "We have nine months of summer, and three of pleasant weather." The fertile land, coupled with a long warm growing season, was ideal for cotton raising. After some investigation, a serious obstacle was discovered which was detrimental to colonization. Settlers, hoping to make their homes there, would have to use the water of the Virgin River for drinking and culinary purposes. The river carried with it sulphur and salts, making its waters bad tasting and nauseating. This held up colonization for years.

The Santa Clara people, bent upon continuing the United Order experiment, decided to settle on the bottom lands of the Lower Virgin. Having unanimously agreed upon this decision, they organized themselves into a company with Edward Bunker, Senior, President. On the next day (January 2) this newly organized company started for the Mesquite Flat (so called because of the heavy growth of mesquite trees) which was about five miles northeast of the bottom lands, referred to above. There were some twenty-three persons in the company, six wagons, and seventy head of cattle. After three days travel they arrived on the Mesquite Flat, January 5. Careful

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examination of the flat was made, and the decision was reached to cross the Virgin River and settle on the south side, two and one-half miles northeast of the present town of Bunkerville. Crossing the river on January 6, they went to work immediately and built a crude lumber shack out of rough materials, hauled over seventy miles from the Pine Valley saw mills. The location was called Bunkerville in honor of their leader, and boasted on the first day of its existence one lumber house and six wagons. Sunday, January 7, a service was held and a day of rest enjoyed. "On Monday, January 8, the brethren commenced work on a canal to convey water from the Rio Virgin to the flat which they had selected as farm land on the south side of the river. They vigorously prosecuted this work during the week."

This labor so vigorously begun, continued for two weeks. Ox teams pulling scrapers and plows; men with spades and picks working side by side, cut a four foot wide canal, extending a distance of two and one half miles from where the water was to be taken out of the river. Altogether one hundred and eight man days of labor were expended. On the 18th of January, the settlers began grubbing brush and clearing land. The first season some seventy-five acres were cleared and planted. Much of this land was uneven, and considerable leveling was necessary which cost, according to the calculations

5. Jas. G. Bleak, op. cit. Book D. p. 136. Mr. Bleak wrote several volumes of historical occurrences in the southern mission, each volume has been designated with a letter.
of the laborers, found twenty to seventy dollars in labor per acre.

The settlers, having brought with them several pounds of cotton seed, began planting on April 23. Cotton planting continued until the 9th of June. The first year, fourteen acres were planted into cotton. The children assisted in the planting. After the seeds were sown into hills, they were covered up by mesquite brush being dragged by a horse over the land.

The first year cotton was grown on the lower Virgin, 7,040 pounds of lint was ginned. Edward Bunker, bishop of the Bunkerville settlement, reported in a conference talk at St. George, that 12,000 pounds of cotton in the seed were picked. These two varying reports come from Bleak's Annals. The first quoted figure appears to be correct, however, for Bishop Bunker did not make his report in the tabernacle until February, 1879 and could very easily have forgotten the actual amount raised a year and one-half previously.

Although the acreage planted to cotton for the years following are not recorded in the histories or journals extant, one finds that in 1878, 30,000 pounds of seed cotton were picked. On January 2, 1893, Edward Bunker, Junior reported

6. Wm. Elias Abbott. Interview. Mr. Abbott came to Bunkerville in the fall of 1877. He is now living in Mesquite, Nev.
8. In Bleak's Records found in Historian's Library for year 1879 entry for Feb. 9, one finds a report of the above address.
9. Ibid.
that he had produced 1600 pounds of cotton lint from two acres. He sold this amount to the factory at Washington for merchandise and realized $102.96. He figured the cost for planting, irrigating, thinning, hoeing, picking, and delivering was $122.96, therefore, his net profit was $70.00 or $35.00 per acre. According to William Ellis Abbott, an original settler of Bunkerville, one hundred or more acres were planted to cotton each year, after sufficient land had been cleared, ditches dug and seed procured. From this acreage, an average yield of 300 to 500 pounds of lint was realized. Such a large acreage of cotton was undoubtedly grown during the nineties when Thomas Judd was running the Washington factory. He reports on one occasion having worked up over 50,000 pounds of cotton lint. Almost all of this amount had been raised on the Lower Virgin.

The cotton fields were irrigated by the men every ten 12 days or two weeks, but the thinning, hoeing, and picking were done by the boys. Byron Abbott writes in his diary for July 8, 1880: "I attended to the water. * * The three little boys thinned cotton." Later on July 21, he again writes, "I watered cotton." When the picking season came around,

10. Ibid. For year 1893, pp. 1-2.
12. Ibid.
the wives helped the children pick. Often squaws were hired to gather the white fleece. Joseph I. Earl, an early resident of Bunkerville wrote in his diary for October 21, 1886: "Violet (his second wife) and the squaws are picking the cotton." (cotton) Other boys from Utah came down into the lower Virgin valley to assist in the cotton gathering. Joseph Graff, a boy living in Santa Clara during the early years of cotton growing on the lower Virgin, tells in an interview that,

I went down to help there picking cotton along with some other Clara boys. We would pick 11 pounds and get 1 pound. I picked cotton for seven weeks. I picked a field of 7 acres 3 times. We had a big load to bring back home. We took it to the factory and got clothing for it. 15

Before a gin was brought into Bunkerville, the cotton in the seed was hauled to Washington to be ginned, but the growers found it profitable to import a gin of their own. Cotton in the seed brought about three cents a pound, while the lint sold from 12 to 20 cents per pound. When the gin arrived, a fall was made in the irrigation canal, a flue put in, and the cotton gin with a baler set up. Joseph I. Earl made a press to be used in squeezing the cotton into bales. Myron Abbott operated the gin, and according to William E. Abbott, many tons of cotton were ginned and baled. During the

heavy ginning and baling season, a big "California wagon", once a week, would load up a rack piled high, like baled hay, with cotton bales. Each bale averaged around three hundred pounds. With four span of horses, the driver would start on his trip of sixty-six miles to the Washington mills. Five days were spent in making this trip--three days going and two making the return journey. One finds in the journals of the cotton growers, entries similar to the following: "I returned from St. George last night having been gone 5 days, took some cotton to the factory."

As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the people of the lower Virgin valley raised cotton until 1910 when, in the words of Brother Abbott, "Other things came along more profitable so cotton raising was discontinued." A settlement on the Mesquite Flat was made in 1894, after several attempts which met with failure; and a little cotton was grown on the north side of the Virgin. The number of acres planted, nor the yield of cotton for any year is not on record. However, according to a letter from Armond Hof to James G. Bleak, this intelligence (that cotton was grown) is given. During the thirty odd years that cotton was grown on the lower Virgin, thousands of pounds of lint were manufactured into cloth and thread, which augmented materially the supply of cotton fab-

19. Interview.
20. Letter written October 11, 1905 in possession of Earl Bleak, St. George, Utah.
rics within the colonies of the Mormon commonwealth.

DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME DURING THE COTTON GROWING PERIOD OF THE LOWER VIRGIN

The producing of the many tons of cotton, during the score and a half years the settlers on the lower Virgin engaged in cotton culture, was not accomplished without difficulties. The old story of men battling the ravages of the river, experienced so poignantly by the cotton missionaries at Washington and St. George, was reenacted at Bunkerville and Mesquite. Before the cotton bolls had begun to burst open, revealing to man the white fluffy secret concealed within their folds, the waters of the river dropped lower and lower. A dam of rocks and brush was built in order to raise the water to the level of the canal, which conveyed the precious life-giving liquid to the tender cotton plants. Shortly after the dam was constructed, in August without warning, floods boomed with violent results. The dam was swept away, leaving the struggling settlement without water. Men rushed to rebuild the dam and clear the debris from the canal. This became a common occurrence. One early settler tells of his part in rebuilding broken dams. He said, with pardonable pride:

"We got together a number of times in council as to whether we should try it again, but we kept
on and on, building dams, shoveling sand out of our canals, fixing breaks in our canals. I have worked in the river building dams in water up to my neck for two or three weeks at a time. We put into our dam at one time 300 loads of brush and 500 loads of rock, and this had to be done so often. 21

When ever floods broke out dams and ditches, the people suffered along with the crops. They depended on the irrigating canal for their drinking water. When water was out of the canal, the life-sustaining liquid was hauled in barrels from the river. This water was always muddy, and required hours before it cleared. Finally the settlers found that a little milk or the inner pulp of the cactus would speed up the settling process. 22

There were times during the late summer, when sudden electrical storms descended upon the settlement. Every wash and gully became a torrent of rushing water, sweeping the scanty vegetation before it. Ditches and fields were damaged. Such a flood poured down upon the Bunkerville settlement during the night of June 28, 1882. The women and children were hurried to the high places, while the men worked fervently to build levies, and turn the water away from their homes. One of the workers and eye witnesses wrote to the Deseret News, reporting the disastrous flood:

This flood lasted four or five hours, breaking our water ditch and carrying it almost entirely away. It is thought that it will cost the town in

the loss of crops, ditch and cutting up the land
(which we have labored hard to level) between three
and four thousand dollars. Things look rather blue
to us, but I think we will rebuild the ditch and
not abandon the place. Our hay stacks will have to be
torn to pieces and spread out to dry. 23

Battling the river and striving to control flood waters
proved to be the greatest difficulty on the lower Virgin, but
other problems had to be solved. Teams, worked hard during
the day, had to be fed and forage was scarce. Corn, cane and
alfalfa had not been raised, and grass in sufficient quantity
to furnish feed for hungry animals to crop, was found only on
top the table mountains north of the village. Every evening
after the day's work was finished, two boys were ready to
drive the work animals across the river and up on the moun-
tains, to feed during the night and brought back to the vil-
lage by sunrise the next morning. After crops were harvested,
this forage problem was virtually solved.

For more than two years after the settlers arrived in
the valley of the lower Virgin, they lived the principles of
the United Order. During the first year the people lived as
one big family, eating in a common dining room. The men and
boys who worked in the fields were fed first; afterward the
women and children ate. The work peculiar to women was div-
ided among them. Each week the women rotated their tasks in
systematic order.

23. Quoted in History of Hoapa Stake.
Before harvest time, many of these communal meals were rather scanty. Berries were gathered and made into puddings; tender alfalfa and salt weeds were cooked for greens. When the wheat ripened, it was boiled and eaten. Men, exploring the vicinity of Bunkerville, discovered innumerable wild cattle up in the Bull Valley mountains. Some of these sleek animals were killed, the meat put in brine and then dried. When this dried beef was brought into the settlement, there was a veritable "Thanksgiving" held. One of the struggling settlers later wrote, "You can imagine just what it (the meat) meant to a hungry people."

The opening of the Silver Reef Mines near Leeds, Utah proved an economic asset to the people of Bunkerville. Although the mines were over seventy-five miles from the struggling village on the lower Virgin River, much trading was transacted there by the settlers. The mining camp furnished a ready market for their agricultural products, and in return, brought in practically the only cash the people acquired. Rock salt mined near St. Thomas on the Muddy some forty miles southwest of Bunkerville, proved to be an ever welcome article of exchange. Salt was used at the mines as a flux, to promote the fusion of metals. Loads of salt by the score were hauled by the men of Bunkerville for more than a decade. The journey was long and tedious. More than thirty times, the

Virgin River had to be crossed and wagons got mired in quicksand. But the salt was brought to the mines and the hauler was paid $25.00 a ton, which he usually exchanged at the Wooley, Lund and Judd store (operated by three Mormons from St. George) for clothing, groceries and other commodities. To buoy up drooping spirits, the salt-haulers sang a song as they juggled along the rutted roads or forded the quick sand bottoms of the Rio Virgin:

We haul heavy salt over this hard river bed,
We break down our wagons, our teams are half-fed;
We mire down our horses and they get stuck.
We break up our harness, we have some hard luck.
Hurrah! Hurray! We're hauling salt yet.
And if we stick to it we'll come out of debt. 25

Hard and monotonous as salt hauling proved to be, it made possible the continuance of the settlement and the cotton raising at Bunkerville.

NATURE CONSPIRES AGAINST THE COTTON GROWER

The valley of the lower Virgin, if possible, was more desolate than the country bordering the same river in Washington County, Utah. One pioneer stated,

This was in very deed a land of desolation. There were many Indians in the valley and many coyotes, and during the long winter nights the only sound that could be heard was the howl of the coyote and the wail of the red-man." 26

To further accentuate the dismalness of pioneering such an arid area, malaria broke out among the settlers. Myron Abbott

25. Ibid. p. 21. Patriarch Abbott, one of the salt haulers, sang the song to the writer during an interview the summer of 1946.
26. Ibid. p. 18.
has such entries in his diary as: "Going out to administer to the sick." * * "Sick with chills and fever." * * * "Helped to take care of our sick babe that has chills and fever."

There were days when as many as nine men were down with the ague at once and unable to work.

Almost every day the wind blew. It was not a zephyr blowing gently from the west to soothe the flushed cheeks of the malaria victim, but blasts tempestuous enough to uproot the wheat crops and snap the tender cotton stalks off near the roots. To curb this destructive element trees were planted on the north sides of the fields which served effectively as wind breaks.

Then there were autumns when early frosts killed a prospective harvest. On October 16, 1881 such a frost came and again the night of October 24, 1883. One pioneer wrote:

"There was a frost last night that killed our cotton."

UNITED ORDER BENEFITS

With such obstacles to overcome one marvels at the accomplishments of the pioneers of the lower Virgin, of the acres subdued and planted into cotton bearing tons of fleecy lint; of the ditches dug and the dams repaired. It was little short of miraculous, and undoubtedly couldn't have been achieved without the unified labor made possible by the United Order.

With hardly an exception students making a study of the settlements along the valley of the lower Virgin River agree that

27. op. cit. entries for July 21, 1881; July 1, 1882, June 8, 1883.
28. Ibid. entry for March 5, 1880.
29. Ibid.
the functioning of the United Order among the early settlers
of this region gave the impetus necessary for successful con-
quest of the soil.

Edward Bunker, Senior, was a systematic organizer and an
able leader. While the Order was in operation each man had
a job to do. One cared for the community's swine; another was
to select men and prepare land for cotton planting; a third
was to supervise the planting of cane; other men went into the
mountains for wood to boil the molasses crushed from the cane;
two more men were appointed to round up and brand all the cattle. The women had their jobs assigned them as did the chil-
dren. Every man, woman and child knew his or her assignment
and did it with dispatch and efficiency. Thus results were
had.

With the closing of the cotton factory at Washington,
cotton culture in Utah's Dixie and on the lower Virgin Valley
ceased, never to be revived. The cotton missionaries and
those not called who planted the "white gold" turned to grow-
ing other products of the soil. Though cotton growing within
the Mormon commonwealth ended and has never been revived, let
not the energy expended; the faith and courage exhibited; the
perseverance and rugged toil of those indomitable missionaries
sent south to supply Utah Territory with this indispensable
staple be forgotten!

30. See Master's Theses by A. Karl Larson and Francis K.
Leavitt and Juenita Brooks. History of Bunkerville.
CHAPTER XIII
CONCLUSION

Cotton culture among the Mormons definitely contributed toward the dream of a self-sufficient commonwealth. Without the successful cultivation of cotton in Southern Utah, the problem of clothing the saints would have been acute. True, emigrants on their way to California exchanged clothing and other commodities with the Mormons at low prices, but generally the saints outside the vicinity of Salt Lake City did not benefit by these trades. Furthermore, the buying and the using of eastern textiles was directly opposed to the counsel of the Church Leaders. They could fore-see disruption in the east, which would curb the importation of goods, and advised their followers to manufacture their own wearing apparel. During the Civil War, especially the cotton industry of Zion, besides clothing the saints, in a small measure helped relieve the textile shortage in the east.

For three-score years, cotton was grown, ginned and manufactured into fabrics. Utah's Dixie became not only the Territory's principal farming area of southern products, but its foremost industrial center as well. This period of cotton culture was punctuated with bright hopes of success, and vast depths of defeat. It was a time when little money circulated within the confines of Mormondom. With little purchasing power, the saints could not buy necessities not wrested from the native soil, but with cotton, a raw product usually in
demand, exchange could be negotiated for needed articles. When money became the medium of exchange, the home-grown product could not compete with the cheaper southern states cotton, and failure was imminent. In hard reality, after the close of the Civil War, cotton culture never was a paying industry. The only reason for its continuance for another forty years was because of the loyalty and tenacity of the cotton farmers. Church leaders had established a mission, the prime duty of which was to produce cotton. The faithful colonizers in that mission were not letting their leaders down. Despite the influx of eastern goods, the Mormons were told that industrial independence was still the Church policy. Cotton culture continued, many years were bright with success, then hopes waned and finally the industry was forced to retreat before the competition of cheaper goods imported from the states. This observation should be made, however, that even though cheaper goods glutted the market, the cotton farmer would have continued raising this staple had he been so instructed by the Church Leaders. But when the Church no longer urged him to grow cotton, he shifted his efforts to producing other farm crops.

Cotton culture in Utah caused the importation of tons of machinery from the eastern states, and made possible the emigration of many anxious saints from Europe. Had it not been for the pressing need for experienced labor in the cotton factory, it is possible that dozens of factory workers, hcp-
ing daily for an opportunity to come to Zion, never would have had their hopes materialized. The bringing into the Territory of tons of machinery gave employment to scores of people and provided many indispensable articles of clothing. The buying and transporting of machinery was expensive, and the bringing of European Saints into the Desert Zion cost the Church thousands of dollars, yet the benefits derived greatly over balanced these expenditures. As we have noted in this thesis, cotton factories where ever they were built, served the needs of the people. The Washington factory, largest one erected, despite the headaches experienced by operators trying to make the ledger balance, proved a blessing to the saints. Without it and the clothing it produced, the colonizers of the Cotton Mission, in particular, would have suffered, and in many cases, destitution would have been their unhappy lot.

Cotton culture in Utah was begun for a purpose. That purpose was to help promote the realization of an independent people. Having fulfilled its purpose on the Western Frontier, it gave way to other more pressing needs. One can honestly conclude that the purpose for which the cotton mission was established was realized. Cotton was grown, clothing was made and the saints were clothed. Furthermore, the missionaries once settled on the Rio Virgin, persisted in the face of discouragement, hardship and disaster, built towns planted orchards and vineyards and cultivated farms. Today their children are reaping the fruits of these stalwarts' labor. These
hardy pioneers brought about stability in Dixieland, by harnessing the unruly river, by subduing the alkali infested lands, and by developing a lucrative agriculture.

A tourist traveling today through the section once known as the Cotton Country, is impressed with the productive farms, the heavily laden vineyards, the orchards bending with fruit, and gardens green with vegetables. The land once considered desolate and forbidding is fertile, delightful and inviting. The thriving communities boast of comfortable homes, green lawns, well kept yards, and attractive Churches. The city, St. George, which the cotton missionaries were sent to build, has grown into one of the important cities of the state. The first temple built by the Church, after settling in the Rocky Mountains, graces one of its blocks. The metropolis of the Cotton Mission is not static, its growth is very evident. In fact, everywhere along the Rio Virgin, one feels that the country, once noted for its cotton, has by no means exhausted its resources. Utah's Dixie is opening prophetic eyes upon the dawning of the greatest achievements even remotely dreamed of by the cotton missionary.

The days of cotton are now gone, but never can they be forgotten, for the soil once fertilized by the leaves and stalks of the cotton plant, has now given birth to a southland, which has become in reality a garden fair, by the side of a river.
### APPENDIX

Names of missionaries—called at October Conference, 1861:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamson, David</td>
<td>Spanish Fork</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Marshall</td>
<td>Ogden, (Volunteer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Aruille M.</td>
<td>Spanish Fork</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Allen, Samuel</td>
<td>11th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allphin, Joshua H.</td>
<td>11th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allphin, John Henry</td>
<td>11th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrus, James</td>
<td>19th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angus, John C.</td>
<td>Mill Creek</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ashby, Richard</td>
<td>Salt Lake City</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attley, Henry J.</td>
<td>15th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Printer</td>
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<td>Baddley, George</td>
<td>10th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Distiller</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bale, Joseph</td>
<td>3rd Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Mason</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ballard, John H.</td>
<td>Utah Co.</td>
<td>Fiddler</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barlow, Osward</td>
<td>11th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Mason</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barnes, William</td>
<td>7th Ward, Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
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<td>Barney, Edison</td>
<td>Provo</td>
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<td>Barrows, William</td>
<td>Hill Creek</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
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<td>Barney, Danielson Buren</td>
<td>Provo</td>
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<td>Birch, Joseph</td>
<td>Provo</td>
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<td>Bird, James</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bird, Taylor R.</td>
<td>Provo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair, Carlton J.</td>
<td>Ogden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blake, Benj. F.</td>
<td>12th Ward, S. L. C.</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bleak, James G.</td>
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<td>Bliss, Norman I.</td>
<td>Sugar House Ward</td>
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<td>Boggs, Francis</td>
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<td>Ennelli, Daniel</td>
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<td>Bown, Wm.</td>
<td>Springville</td>
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<td>Box, Thomas</td>
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<td>Bracken, James E.</td>
<td>Santaquin</td>
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October 15, 1862.

Elder George A. Smith and Franklin D. Richards read missionary lists for the Cotton Country to President Young, who directed the same to be read on the stand on next Sabbath, and the missionaries called together and those whose circumstances forbade their going were to suggest others.

Also, wrote a letter to Ephraim Tomkinson, Illard County, to go and establish a pottery at St. George. (Doc. History, page 20.)

**MISSIONARIES CALLED, OCTOBER CONFERENCE, 1862.**

Sunday, October 15. The day was pleasant in Great Salt Lake City. Two meetings were held in the Bowery. Elder Daniel Spencer and President Heber C. Kimball preached in the forenoon and in the afternoon Thomas Bullock read the names of 200 missionaries called to the Cotton Country.

Following are the names of the persons called to go to the Cotton Mission:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

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<th>Title</th>
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<td>History of St. George Stake. Ms.</td>
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