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FREIGHTING BETWEEN THE MISSOURI RIVER AND UTAH - 1847-1869

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church Historyand Philosophy
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements of the Degree of
Master of Arts

George L. Strebel

August, 1954

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The problem for this thesis was undertaken because of an intense interest which the writer has in general Western History and more particularly in the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. As the thousands of emigrants moved west to make their homes, they brought with them only enough supplies to support themselves for a relatively short time. When those supplies were gone they needed replacements in order not to bring hardships to the settlers. Where were these precious supplies to come from? Some few principally agricultural products could be produced, but by far the largest portion of these goods had to be imported, at least until the means of production could be established which would obviously require considerable time. The only other source of supply then was at the larger centers of population where the materials could be purchased and be shipped to the western communities where they were so desperately needed. Had the transportation not materialized, the emigrants would have perished before they could have become established. They did not perish, however. The transportation did materialize and thousands of tons of goods were shipped into the Valley for the support of the Saints. Who was entrepid enough to risk their capital, their time and effort to haul these life-giving supplies through all the dangers which would beset them to the valleys of the mountains? What were the problems which these men had to face in this enterprise? They knew there were rivers to cross, mountains to climb, and over one thousand miles of desert to subdue. How were these problems

met; what provisions were made to make the problems less hazardous? When they arrived what were the risks which they had to face in being able to dispose of their cargoes to an advantage, and what were their chances of realizing sufficient income from their effort to pay them for their time and effort? What special equipment would be needed to withstand the demands of the long haul across the plains and return for more goods? What about the personal problems which would naturally arise because of the interaction of the seller and buyer? How would the Saints react to large numbers of people coming into the valley who did not share their particular interests and beliefs? All these questions become the logical premise to this study.

With these needs in mind, preliminary reading was undertaken to determine how completely the problem had already been covered in the literature on the west. Even though the problem is recognized by all writers, little formal discussion could be found. Freighting was engaged in by many people. In conversation with almost anyone who had antecedents in the pioneer communities of Utah, they relate experiences of some of their ancestors with freighting, either as a regular occupation or as an incidental activity at some period of their lives. With this large field and the wide participation in the activity, it seemed a fertile field for research. The nearest approach to the treatment of the entire subject is to be found in a pamphlet which has been compiled by Kate B. Carter, "Trails and Pioneer Freighters Who Followed Them Including Toll Gates, Bridges, and Ferries of the West." Salt Lake City: Central Company Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1948. Pp. 53-116. This pamphlet is a compilation taken from "Heart Throbs of the West, Official Organ of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Central Company." Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947. This pamphlet is a compilation of materials gathered from the reports of certain members

who had either a recollection of the actual freighting business or had acquired records from their immediate families relative to freighting, and from published sources which were to be found principally in the periodicals of the day. The materials are of great importance in the study of the problem but do not make a detailed nor entirely sequential study of the freighting business in Utah. A portion of the freighting problem has been very ably discussed by Byron Grant Pugh, "History of Utah-California Wagon Freighting." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of California, 1943. The copy which was consulted in reference to this thesis is on file at the Latter-Day Saints Church Historians Office, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah. Aside from these two organized sources, materials are to be found in a variety of places. Articles in the "Deseret News" Vol. 1-19, 1850-1869, Salt Lake City, shed much light on the subject as do the advertisements in that and other contemporary periodicals.

The Deseret News makes a contribution not only in the articles which it carries on the freighting business; the arrival and departure of the various trains, and other related subjects, but also in the editorial comment which it makes. Being as it reflects the attitudes of the church in its comment, much light is thrown on the differences which arise between the official sentiment of the Valley and the freighting enterprise and the attendant activities. It evidences the economic hopes of the citizenry and the infringment of the freighter upon the realization of those hopes as soon as was anticipated. Sociological problems came in for their share of consideration. As is to be expected, the sentiment is in favor of the citizenry of the valley. Despite this biased point of view, the general picture is surprisingly fair, partly because of the presentation of both sides

in many arguments and also in a rather thorough reporting of the facts in the case, which tends to establish the actual conditions as they developed despite the official point of view.

Historians contemporary with the freighting activity in Utah treated the subject but only incidentally to other historical considerations. Chief among these histories is Edward W. Tullidge, "History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders." Salt Lake City, Utah: Edward W. Tullidge, 1850. This book presents some material on freighting in association with a consideration of the general economic development of the Territory. His finest contribution is to be found in a biographical appendix to his work in which he relates the experiences of some of the leading citizens of Utah, many of whom were freighters and merchants who made their principal contributions to Utah History in that capacity.

Travelers to and through Utah recorded their observations and impressions of the freighting activity as well as the social and economic conditions which they found in their travels. Richard F. Burton, "The City of The Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862. In this book, Burton gives some vivid and picturesque word pictures of his experiences in traveling West. The freighter and his peculiar activity and contributions come in for considerable attention in this account. He does a particularily good job in his descriptions of the freighter and the equipment which he used. Another account of conditions as they were to be found in the Mormon community is to be found in a record of the period. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchly, M.A., "A Journey to Great Salt Lake City." London: W. Jeffs, 15 Burlington Arcade, 1861. 2 Vols. In these books they give their impressions of conditions as they found them including the economic and social affairs which were closely re-

lated to freighting and its problems. Many of the others who passed through the valley had their particular impressions to record. These sources have been used rather largely by later historians in their discussions of Utah and her development.

Probably the most fruitful source of the details for the freighting activity and the problems attendant upon it are the diaries of early settlers of the Territory, either as freighters themselves, their acquaintanceship with the problem, or those associated with some of the related activities. Among the works relating these experiences are: Hosea Stout, "Diary of Hosea Stout." Vol. III, Sept. 1846 to June 1848. Vol. IV, June 1848 to Jan. 1852. Vol. V, Oct. 1852 to Mar. 1853; Nov. 1853 to Jan. 1854; and from May 1854 to July 1854. Unpublished Manuscripts. Typewritten copies are in the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. Such men as Hosea Stout, a lawyer and legislator, kept a careful diary from day to day and who understood particularily the problems of freighting and the conflicts associated with it, has made some invaluable contributions in understanding these phases of the activity. A. M. Harmon, who helped build and operate the first ferry established by the Saints on their way west, sheds valuable detail on the operation of such installations. An account of his experiences is to be found: Appleton M. Harmon, "Diary of Appleton M. Harmon Part III 1847-1857." Unpublished Manuscript. Typewritten copy is on file in Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. One of the teamsters who brought freight to Utah to support Johnston's Army tells of his experiences in: William Wallace Hammond, "Diary of William Wallace Hammond 1837-1869" in Mormon Diaries Vol. 6. Unpublished Manuscripts. Typewritten copies are in the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. His story is of interest because he came to Utah for a different reason than most of

the freighters and because he was associated with the largest single freighting enterprise ever to be brought to Utah. John Clark Dowdle gives considerable detail and descriptions of his trip across the plains with merchandise for the Territorial telegraph. His account is to be found in: John Clark Dowdle, "Diary of John Clark Dowdle 1836-1894. Principal Residence, College Ward, Cache County, Utah." Unpublished Manuscript. Typewritten copy is to be found in the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. The diaries of many other individuals shed light on the freighting enterprise to Utah. To attempt to make an encyclopedic listing of those who could and do shed light on freighting would be nearly impossible because so very many persons were directly or indirectly connected with the enterprise. Any list, however, would be incomplete without mentioning John Riggs Murdock, who was probably more intimately associated with the freighting business than any other single individual in the Territory. His association was in the actual freighting operation rather than in the capacity of agent and general merchandising representative as was the case with many other leading figures of freighting. His story and experiences are to be found in: J. M. Tanner, "A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock." Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909.

Recent historical works mention the freighting problem incidentally, but not with any concerted effort to present the problem as such. Milton R. Hunter, "Beneath Ben Lomonds Peak a History of Weber County 1824-1900." Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944. In this work he devotes Chapter 27 to a discussion of "Freighting in Pioneer Days," which is related principally to freighting to and around Ogden. In B. H. Roberts', "A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Century 1." Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930, is to be found some items

related to freighting, and makes some significant contributions in understanding the activity, but does not exploit the subject in any way. Leland Hargrave Creer, "Utah and The Nation" Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929, merely mentions freighting incidentally. Many other historical works make mention of the activity but find little occasion to develop the subject beyond mere mention. Howard R. Driggs, "Westward America" New York: Somerset Books Inc. 1942, presents a good general picture of the subject of emigration and freighting in which the Utah story is incidental to the great westward movement. He has treated the subject very generally and aside from providing some illustrative materials, his work has little value to the research associated with this problem.

Two works have made a considerable contribution to an understanding of the problem; these are: Hubert Howe Bancroft, "History of Utah." San Francisco: The History Company, 1890. This work treats freighting as incidental to the general historical picture, but because of the great detail and the respect for original sources which Bancroft evidences, it makes a considerable contribution to the detail of the problem. Probably the most fruitful source of recent publications is: J. Cecil Alter, "Utah The Storied Domain." Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc. 1932. Vol. I. In this volume Mr. Alter has made a remarkable collection of assorted information about Utah from its earliest history to the present. The materials are mostly quoted from various sources and the only sequence followed in the book is a chronological one with no concern for subject matter. It is by no means complete but the selections quoted are generally fairly representative and uniformly well chosen. The index of this material is entirely inadequate to serve as a guide to study. When time is taken to laboriously work through the collection for pertinent materials,

much is available which has made a considerable contribution to this study. The Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, is a looseleaf journal collection of materials relative to the history of the church and is arranged in a day to day sequence and is to be found in the L.D.S. Church Historians Office in Salt Lake City, Utah. This history has collected many valuable materials taken from letters, minutes of meetings, items from personal diaries and many other pertinent and important matters. To this work there is no index which is adequate to be of much assistance in locating materials on such a subject as freighting, the index which is voluminous is organized around individual and place names. To locate the materials necessary for this study, a thorough scanning of the volumes concerned was necessary.

Inasmuch as freighting and the attendant problems were of general concern to the citizens of Utah, many laws were passed which had to do with this activity in Utah. A perusal of the official records of these enactments have given much concerning details of supporting activities and installations which were legally established and supported. These records are compiled under the title of "Acts, Resolutions and Memorials passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah" Great Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, Public Printer, 1866. The copy consulted in this study is in the L.D.S. Church Historians Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. In these records, facilities for the assistance of the freighting industry such as roads, bridges, ferries, etc., were particularly considered.

The task then of research on this problem will have been partially to assemble pertinent materials and attempt to present them in an organized manner, and thus give a complete picture of the freighting business to and

from the Utah Territory.

The men who did the freighting to Utah were not generally noted for their literary talents but rather for their rugged ability to meet the difficulties and rigors of the freighting business. As a result, many of the important materials which might throw light upon the problem of freighting in Utah have not been recorded. The freighter, if he turned to some literary effort, was concerned with the experiences which were new to him and avoided the repetitious experiences which became a part of the workaday world. The discussion of the experiences of emigration are likely to appear in more prominence than the experiences of the later crossing of the plains as a freighter. To arrive at a coherent picture of the freighting enterprise and what it entailed from the experiences of any one person is rather difficult, but because of the great number of people who engaged in the business, and because of the many accounts concerned with freighting, it is possible to make a good composit picture of the freighting effort to this western country. This general approach will be taken to the problem. Because of the variety of source materials and the tremendous volume of information on the problem, it has not been feasible to present a complete collection of materials on the subject. Some materials are to be found in almost any account of the period under consideration. Regardless of how careful and complete the research might have been, unquestionably some materials would have been overlooked.

Many factors have made necessary the limitations placed upon this research. Because of a thesis which has been already completed on the California-Utah portion of the freighting activity, the writer has purposely avoided any illusion to that portion of the problem in order not to infringe upon the preemption of that study and to avoid any repetition in

this thesis of any of the material cited in Mr. Pugh's work. At the beginning of this study, the attempt was to cover freighting generally as it was carried on to, from, and within the Utah Territory, excepting the above mentioned limitation. As the material was being assembled, however, it became evident that the study would become too cumbersome, and might tend therefore to become general rather than specific in its presentation. Therefore, the study has been limited to a discussion of freighting to and from the Utah Territory from the east during the period between the arrival of the Mormon pioneers in 1847 and the completion of the Railroad in 1869. Even though the discussion will deal chiefly with wagon freighting, consideration will also be given to other modes of transportation which were seriously considered for the shipping of goods to and from this Territory prior to the coming of the railroad to replace the freight wagon as the chief instrument of transportation.

The writer would suggest that this study represents only one facet of the freighting story in Utah. A good study might well be made of freighting from Utah to the various mining camps and military installations which looked to Utah for a considerable amount of their supplies. A significant study could well be made of freighting within Utah prior to the coming of the railroads to many of our communities or before the development of the system of highways which has made possible motor transportation to all parts of the state. The writer recalls when wagon transportation was used to move commodities from some of the outlying areas of the state to the railroads for shipment, as recently as thirty years ago. Even though chapters will be devoted in this study to a consideration of some of the economic and social problems which influenced freighting in the intermountain area, and which were in turn influenced by freighting, it has by no

means exhausted the subject which might well serve as a significant study. It is the desire of the writer to undertake a study in the future which might present a more complete and integrated picture of the entire freighting picture in this area and thus give a fuller understanding of the importance which is due the freighter and his contributions in the development of this western country.

As the study of this subject continued and with the recommendations of experienced historians, the problem has been divided into eight general divisions.

1. In order to better understand the general attitude of the Latter-Day Saints and the problems they were to face in their new home and to understand how they would react to the problems, an effort will be made to present a summary of their history from the beginning of the movement to their coming to Utah. These people came with some different motives than are to be found in most migrations. They had been driven from their homes by persecution and were seeking a place where they could live in peace. Consequently, their prejudices and their hopes and aspirations were different from the average emigrant who came to this western country because of the hope he had of improving his condition and to glean the benefits which the country had to offer.

2. The problems which confronted the freighter were many. In fact, problem seemed to be the rule rather than the exception. He had to fight nature, Indians and other human beings in the accomplishment of his task. Time and distance were against him as were also heat and cold, water and drought. These problems will be considered in detail with an effort to emphasize how these difficulties were met and how adjustments were made to enable the freighting enterprise not only to be possible but profitable.

3. Many people entered into the freighting business to Utah. Many reasons impelled these men to risk their capital, their lives and their time in an effort to provide goods for the citizens of Utah. This portion of the problem will be considered from the point of view of classifying them as to their reasons for coming to Utah with special emphasis on the various groups who entered into this enterprise.

4. Freighting was a specialized activity which required special techniques and equipment. The purposes or the general philosophy of the freighter also came into consideration when the matter of equipment is considered. Some were concerned with special equipment which would bring the greatest economy in hauling but which would have little value aside from the freighting activity, while others were concerned not so much with the equipment being of a special nature and which would not necessarily be the most economical for transporting goods, but which would have an economic value in and of itself and would find a ready market at the destination of the haul; having characteristics of freight itself. These techniques and equipment will be the subject of yet another chapter of this thesis.

5. As travel to the west increased and the problems became more acute because of the numbers to travel over the routes, facilities were provided to assist in aleviating the many problems which arose for the traveler. At first glance, this may seem to be a little outside the specific providence of a discussion of freighting inasmuch as these facilities were used so extensively by emigrants, army personnel, and other travelers. These facilities were encouraged by the steady traveler and the repeat traveler. When it is considered that freight was so very vital to the livelihood of the settlers, it can be seen that the freighter who used these facilities repeatedly did much to encourage their construction and support.

These facilities provided safe passage early in the spring and late in the fall, thus lengthening the season of freighting. Because of the importance which they assumed to the freighting enterprise, these installations might well be said to be an outgrowth of freighting. Emigrants might well have been able to do with makeshift facilities inasmuch as they would probably pass along the route but once, but the freighter came that way at least every year and often more frequently. These installations will be discussed along with the problems which they gave rise to.

6. Fundamentally, freighting was an economic venture. Some few exceptions might be noted, but on the general pattern people entered into the freighting enterprise with one question in mind, "How much money can I make?" In order to understand the freighting business then, this underlying motive will need to be investigated. How much would the costs be to buy and transport goods to Utah? What costs other than the primary ones could be expected? How much could be expected in pay for their services? Would the economic advantages be sufficient to support them and assure them of a profit on their venture? These are all questions which would obviously be of paramount consideration. This economic problem will form one of the general subdivisions of this study.

7. Inasmuch as the Mormon people had been driven to this western country, they would naturally be suspicious of any people who would come from the area from which they had been driven and attempt to settle among them or to do business with them. The freighters on the other hand often had some preconceived ideas about the Mormon people which they brought with them usually associated with the peculiarities of the religious beliefs of this people. As these two groups met, the ideal atmosphere had been established for misunderstandings and conflicts. Some of the peculiar economic

beliefs of the Mormon people which had been shaped by their religious concepts also became a source of antagonism toward freighters.

8. Even though the freighters had their own way most of the time in their activity, there were, nevertheless, outside influences which had a profound affect on the success of their enterprises. The arrival of large amounts of goods from unexpected sources with commensurate price changes had their effects on the profits of the freighter. Increased costs due to unexpected natural and economic influences would determine the success or failure of the enterprise.

With these considerations as a guide, the hope of the writer is to present sufficient pertinent material and to be able to present it in such a logical way as to make a significant contribution to the understanding of this facet of Church History and to bring a better understanding of the freighter and his much underrated contribution to the establishment of the intermountain territory. Considerable romance is associated with the development of the West, but the freighter has been relegated to the workhorse class in his contribution in this story. It is good to have fine show horses and handsome animals which can excite the imagination of the thrill-seeking public, but when the story of civilization is written, it is the work horse which has made it all possible. So it is with the freighter. The romance of the Pony Express is fine to contemplate and the dashing frontiersman had his place, but when the establishment of this inland empire is the consideration, the unsung hero of the freight trains cannot be ignored.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The problems of freighting in the Utah Territory from 1847 to 1869 are closely related to the history, tradition and beliefs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. During a period of persecution of seven years, being driven from their homes, being thrown in prison, and even seeing their numbers murdered, the attitudes, the prejudices and practices of the people who came to Utah to escape from all this hatred could not but be influenced.

The Mormon Church had its beginning in the state of New York in 1820. A young man by the name of Joseph Smith found himself surrounded by a hotbed of religious revival in which many opposing teachers of religion were vieing for the patronage of the citizens of those frontier communities. "Young Joseph," as he was called in contra-distinction to his father, was not satisfied with the varying claims of these revivalistic preachers. He turned to the scriptures for information on his problem. He read in the book of James in the Bible, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him" (James 1:5). In response to this divine injunction, he retired to a grove of trees near his home where he approached his Heavenly Father in prayer and received a most remarkable vision. The Father and Son appeared to him and told him, among other things, that if he were faithful he would be permitted to establish the true church upon the earth, which church was not at that time to be found among the numerous religious sects of the day.

Because of the relation of this visitation, Joseph Smith was subjected to severe persecution which persecution continued all his life. Additional information was frequently given to him to enable him to carry out his sacred and most important obligation. The Book of Mormon manuscripts engraved upon gold plates were delivered to him by the angel Moroni, the last writer and keeper of the records. They were translated by "the gift and power of God" and delivered to the world as the Book of Mormon.

From the preface it can be seen why the Latter-Day Saints have such a distinctive attitude toward the American Indian.

Shortly after the publication of the Book of Mormon, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was organized with six members. The church was organized in the home of Peter Whitmer in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, according to the laws of that state, on April 6, 1830.[1] Almost from the day of its organization the new church and its prophet leader, Joseph Smith, were subjected to constant and annoying persecution principally from the rival religious factions which were their neighbors in New York. Because of this persecution and because of an extraordinary success in proselyting in the vicinity of Kirtland, Ohio, the Prophet Joseph Smith with his family moved to the western frontier[2] and established the headquarters of the church in Ohio. The members of the new church desired to escape the persecution of their old neighbors in New York state, and wanted to be near their Prophet. They moved West and built new homes.[3] Part of these emigrants settled in and around Kirtland, Ohio, while many moved farther west and settled in the newly created state of Missouri.[4] During this

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[1] Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Period I. Ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902) I, 2-6.

[2] Ibid., p. 145. [3] Ibid., p. 173. [4] Ibid., p. 191.

exodus of the saints west, the missionary efforts were bringing into the church many new converts. As they moved, they had to sell their homes and possessions for whatever they could get, which was often far below their actual worth. This loss, coupled with the expense of travel, placed many of them under economic necessity.

The new church soon became faced with the problem of caring for its poor members who were not able to provide adequately for themselves. The church found little assistance from outside their own ranks in solving their economic problems. The church was, however, eminently prepared to provide in this situation because of its expanding organization and program. Through revelation, the Law of Consecration was given to the church. It provided that everything possessed by the membership of the church should be given to the church and should be administered for the corporate good of the church membership. All surpluses were to go for the care of the poor, but very pointedly the command was given: "Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer" (Doctrine and Covenants 42:42). All could lay claim to support under this plan, yet everyone was required to contribute to the common welfare. Although abuses brought this system to an end, it did develop in the church a tradition, a tradition grown out of the early years of struggle for survival as a church, which has given great impetus throughout its history to concern for all the "Brethren and Sisters" in the faith. It has given strength of purpose to sacrifice and cooperation for the good of all.[5]

Because of economic problems and internal strifes which developed within the church, Joseph Smith was forced to flee from Kirtland, Ohio, into a scene of intense hatred and rivalry in Missouri. It was because of

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[5]William Edwin Berrett, The Restored Church (5th ed. Salt Lake City: L. D. S. Department of Education, 1947) p. 331.

this existing condition in Missouri that had already caused the "Saints" to leave their homes and move into the western counties. Here they hoped to find peace because those areas were relatively uninhabited. It was here that common interest and the pressure of persecution fused the membership still closer together. It drove the less devoted out of the church. This sifting process was to stand the church in good stead in the years to come. Persecution and need increased as time went on and strength among the members became increasingly more necessary to hold the church together.

In 1839, the hatred toward the church in Missouri had grown to such a degree that open warfare broke out, and the final driving of the saints from Missouri began. The expulsion was not accomplished without some resistance and protest from the saints, but to no avail. The hatred against the "Mormons" had become such that no appeal for protection or support was heeded by officials of the government. Popular support was discouraged by the supporters of the saints, being classified as one of the hated people. The saints were deprived of their property and goods until they had little left for their support. Then came the infamous extermination order of Governor Boggs of Missouri. This order proclaimed that the Mormons should be treated as enemies and should be driven from the state or exterminated.[6] The saints were in hope that the execution of this order might be postponed until spring, but it was not. To make matters worse, the leadership of the church was arrested and thrown into jail. The task of organization fell then upon individuals who were not considered of sufficient importance. Chief among these individuals was Brigham Young who excelled in the leadership of the disorganized and discouraged people.[7]

The church had reached its last outpost on the frontier in Missouri;

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[6] Ibid., p. 200. [7] Ibid., p. 203.

therefore, they had only one choice left. That was to return in the direc- from which they had come, back into the United States east of the Mississippi River. News of the terrible persecution of these unfortunate people had preceded them. They had prepared for them a reception in some of the towns in Illinois. Especially was this true in Quincy where the compassion of the inhabitants toward these homeless exiles prompted them to offer temporary asylum to the saints. They were received, but obviously the great numbers of the refuges precluded their staying in Quincy. They could not depend upon the economic resources of that community and its neighbors to provide them with the necessities of life for any considerable period of time. They were, therefore, referred to a small community known as Commerce some sixty miles up the Mississippi River from Quincy. This community had been settled but had again been abandoned because of the unhealthful surroundings, principally the prevalence of fever there. Commerce provided little in the way of shelter, it being made up of a very few log and stone houses scattered along the river banks. It was, however, a place they could go and at least organize for another move. As a result, they moved to Commerce and established themselves in tents and other forms of temporary shelter awaiting a decision of their fate.

In the spring of 1839, Joseph Smith, who had been kept in jail in Missouri and had been subjected to unjust and extreme mistreatment, escaped from prison and joined his people in Commerce. He found his people discouraged, ill, and in destitute circumstances. As the prophet looked upon the situation, he did not encourage a move from that place but rechristened it Nauvoo which means "City Beautiful." Thus began the great task of reestablishing his people in a city of their own.

Nauvoo has a remarkable story of its establishment. In the short

period of seven years it had grown from an unhealthful riverside town to the largest city in Illinois. The swampy areas along the Mississippi River had been drained and made healthful for the people to live here. Tents were replaced by substantial dwellings, many of them equal if not superior to any of the finest homes of that day. A million dollar temple was constructed on the top of the hill back of the center of town. The population grew rapidly. All this took place during the time when many of the leaders and others were carrying the message of the Restored Gospel to all sections of the United States and into many foreign lands.

The last two years of this seven year period, the Saints were deprived of the leadership and council of their prophet leader. He had been killed by a mob. This had been a culmination of a period of persecution which saw all the old bitterness of the Missouri persecutions revived and augmented by new grievances which originated in Illinois. It was obvious that the persecutors of the Saints who had put the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum to death in the jail at Carthage planned that the church would come to an end with their death. When it became evident that the pause to the church was only momentary, the influence continued to be felt and the membership of the church continued to grow in Illinois. Persecution broke out anew and finally forced the movement of the population of Nauvoo to leave for the West. Only a few of those who were willing to denounce their religious affiliations with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints remained. The persecution of these non-Mormons became so intense they, too, were finally forced to leave.[8]

During the sixteen years which passed from the organization of the church in 1830 to the time the Saints left Nauvoo on their way West, many

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[8] Ibid., p. 331. Quoting: Ford, History of Illinois.

things had been learned which were to stand the church in good stead in the time of colonization in Utah. They had learned the value of cooperation for the common good of the community and the value of doing for themselves all the things which could possibly be done for themselves and the folly of depending upon others for any of the necessary services to the people, particularly those who might be expected to be unfriendly to the church. They had observed the almost super human accomplishment of community building which comes from people learning to work together. The church had been moved three times. During this short time, they had built at least three separate communities. They had learned that if they were to succeed in any settlement they could not depend upon the kindness of the old settlers for understanding and general acceptance. Illinois must have seemed an ideal place to settle inasmuch as the inhabitants seemed to be so understanding and willing to accept them. Joseph Smith, seeing the familiar storm clouds of persecution and jealousy arising, began to lay plans to move into the new area which was just then coming into prominent notice, the Rocky Mountains.. He said, "I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. Many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains."[9]

When the mob could see that the death of the prophet did not mean the end of the church, they began to put pressure on the Saints through a series of atrocities and persecutions to induce them to move. Brigham Young and the council of the twelve asked the mob to allow them to stay un-

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[9] Ibid., p. 265

til spring when roads were firm and grass was plentiful. The mob agreed to give them until spring, but as the winter wore on, anxiety began to plague the mob and misgivings as to the intentions of the Saints. As a result, it was February 4, 1846, when the first company of Saints crossed the Mississippi River and made camp at Sugar Creek. Here they spent the last of the winter until the roads became solid enough to travel and grass became plentiful enough for their stock.[10]

During their trip across Iowa, the leaders of the church learned more about the business of colonization. A new problem arose. They were no longer a group of people moving from one community to another. They were now facing a new element in life. They could no longer depend upon established economic institutions to supply them with their needs. The few commercial houses which they came in contact with were unable to even begin to supply such a great number of people with their needs. Their alternatives were either produce what they needed or import from larger stocks of supply located in other places.

No longer did they look forward to the building of homes and settlements. They were, for a few months at least, to live in an entirely new environment. Their homes were to be covered wagons and temporary shelters. Their plans had to include moving and their belongings of necessity were to be of a nature to lend themselves to being readily transported. Their diet would need to consist of materials which could be kept for long periods of time and under adverse conditions.

Their first effort was to produce for themselves all they could possibly produce. Two communities were established between Nauvoo and the Missouri River, Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah, each roughly one third of the

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[10] Ibid., p. 317.

distance across what is now Iowa.[11] At these places they produced cereal grains and other foods which could be either carried in their dried condition, or processed into foods. These could be readily transported in their moving homes and would furnish nutrition without difficulty in preservation or transportation. As there was a continuous movement of people across this area, the first to go through would plow the ground and plant the grain. The next companies would take care of it, build fences, cabins, and other facilities to satisfy the needs of the people who would follow. Finally the last group through these settlements would harvest the crops and transport the products ahead to serve for the further movement of the people again in the spring. A mill was established at Winter Quarters where the grains were processed into flour and other cereal foods for the consumption of the Saints.

One of the needs which was very acute at this time was the lack of cash. It was sorely needed to supply those things which the people could not produce for themselves such as wagons, mules, horses, and oxen. Able bodied men were sent into the communities along the route of march to find work and thereby help to furnish the commodities which were so badly needed by the exiles.[12] Many of the Saints had come from homes of culture, either in the eastern states or in Europe, and were accustomed to finery and the materials indicative of culture. When they came onto the plains, however, they discovered that such materials were of little value in their lives. Their needs were not for fine clothing and costly jewelry, but for the wherewithal to keep body and soul together and to prepare for the future of wandering. As a result, the people stripped jewelry, watches, fine lace, rich clothing, and other cherished possessions from their store of goods

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[11] Ibid., p. 325. [12] Ibid., p. 322.

and traded them for the necessities of life with the people whom they met along the way West.[13] Many of the Saints, both men and women, used their spare time and the materials readily obtainable, preferably without a cash outlay, to manufacture articles for sale along the route and in centers of population which could be reached from the line of march. Being craftsman himself,[14] this means of supporting themselves pleased Brigham Young and probably influenced his choices of activity for the Saints after they settled in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Plans were in the making to send a scouting party into the Rocky Mountain region during the fall of 1846, but when the first companies came to Council Bluffs on the Missouri, they were met and requested to furnish 500 armed men to march for the United States Army against the Mexicans during the Mexican War which was then in progress. So many men were away from the main body of the church in search of employment at this time that Brigham Young was hard pressed to find the men to fill the request. He was finally able to recruit the necessary men but the plans for the future had to be changed somewhat because of it. It was decided to make Winter Quarters across the river from Council Bluffs. It became evident that no start could be made on their projected pioneer trip west until the following spring. All joined in to establish themselves as comfortably as they could against the winter. Some harvested the wild hay along the river bottoms while others built and improvised shelters, built corrals, and other installations to secure themselves for winter. The community thus established was only to be a temporary settlement; only until a move could be made in the spring.

During the entire course of this first year as fugitives, the all

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[13] Ibid., p. 322. [14] Ibid., p. 154. [15] Ibid., p. 326.

prevading effort of the Saints was to work for the good of all and not for the good of a few. Every person in his effort felt it his duty to provide all the facilities and privileges which the community could afford to all the members of that community. The winter at Winter Quarters was a hard one; first, because of the weakened condition of the people, and second, because of the lack of proper provisions for them. The enlisting of the Mormon Battalion from among the Saints had much effect upon intensifying the suffering. This was because of the scarcity of able bodied men to undertake the provisioning of the Saints. The hardships of the people at Winter Quarters is graphically told by John Pulsipher in his diary:

> A great share of the camp was not out of Provision & the only chance to get supplies, was to go from 100 to 300 miles to the settlements in Missouri, & that was a big job for the few able bodied men to go that distance across the bleak Prairie & work & pay for the grain to support 8 or 10,000 families.
>
> About a week after I got home, Father & Bro. Charles started for another load, in co. with B. L. Clapp sold some property for grain & a drove of fat hogs & drove them up to winter quarters & killed them there & saved hauling the pork.
>
> On the 14th of Jan. Charles & myself started again with 2 teams--2 boys without any co. Weather awful cold--one of our steers froze so he died, I made a yoke for a single ox & hitched the odd ox a wild one to, on lead of one team, he worked firstrate. We found places where the rivers were froze & we crost on the ice & saved paying ferriage.
>
> We sold a saddle for corn, gathering & shelled it, took it to a mill got it ground, & returned home in company with Bro's Brady, Allen, & Turnbow.
>
> After hauling wood & etc. & done a few chores at home, Charles & I started again for the settlements leaving Father sick & lame with the scurvey & rheumatism he had been lame since he returned from Missouri. We hated to go & leave the family in such a situation but it was the only chance to save the lives of the people--a load of corn would last but a short time where it had to be divided among so many hungry people. Hundreds & hundreds were sick & could not get the means to make themselves comfortable.
>
> To give a faint idea of the wants of the neighbors I will tell it in the words of Father he said he laid on the bed one day trying to take a knap & people kept coming in so often that he could not sleep, & for his own amusement he counted to see how many came in--& in the short time that he lay on the bed, which might have been a little over an hour, there was 17 persons called all wanting something to eat or drink or to comfort the sick &c. He said he did not know as they called any oftener that day than common. I mention this so you can see how much company a family has that are liberal to give to every one

> that calls altho it be but little. Seeing the wants of the people were so great, every good man felt like doing all in his power to bring provisions to save their lives.
>
> Such were the circumstances that call my Bro. & me forth in our youth & ignorance (he was past 16 and I 19) to endure the blasts of the bleak timberless Prairies that were stretched between us & the settlements in Missouri.[16]

All during the winter the Saints were constantly preparing for the move in the spring which would take them to their new home away from the persecution of the last years. Materials had to be gathered at Winter Quarters for the move in the spring. As a result, much freighting was done and many lessons learned by the Saints.[17]

Some of the Saints found work as freighters in the employment of anyone who would afford them an opportunity to earn a few dollars or some provisions. These experiences taught the Saints many lessons which were to be valuable in their later travels and colonization. They also developed skills and a reputation for this kind of work. An example of this type of employment is to be found in the diary of Henry Weeks Sanderson:

> . . . the soldiers this season were removed to what was then called Grand Island afterwards called Fort Kearny by which name it is now known about the time the ferrying season was over Captain Warton the Commander of the troops at Grand Island came along moving his family out had I think three wagons & carriage mule teams one of his teamsters an Irishman could not manage the team three span on Wagon some of the mules being unmanagable he was inquiring for a sutable person that he could hire at $25.00 per month to fill the Irishmans place I was recommended to him & he engaged me. . . I started with the Captain found that my team had not been fairly broke the leader (we drove with a single line) & saddle mule were the only thourghly broke animals in the team & their was one large black mule the off tongue animal that was particularly viscious would bite & kick and had to be tied short to the

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[16] John Pulsipher, "Diary" (Ms. Brigham Young Library) I, 22

[17] Ibid., p. 21: In preparation for the move in the spring, goods were brought to Winter Quarters. John Pulsipher cites a case in point. "Soon after this a call was made for a number of teams to go and get a lot of goods, mill stones & irons &c. church property that was landed at St. Joseph Mo. because the river was too low for steam boats to come to Winter Quarters."

loaded wagon to get harness on or off & then was dangerous to handle he at one time bit button of my coat he was in the habit of charging down hills the steeper the hill the faster he wanted to go. I soon broke him of that by the liberal use of loaded black whip over the head & learnt him to Stop when I gave the word. The weather was very cold & I had my feet frozen three days in succession after getting about half way out the snow got so deep we were forced to turn back I found that the handeling of mules in Severe cold weather (better) than hitching up & un hitching Oxen & I should have Said that on our way out one of the wagons was broke down & left & had to take on more load filling the wagon up to the bows & put another span mules into my team making four span we got back to Missouri the Same day that an Ox train arrived that had returned from Fort Kearny & the night was Spent in drinking & carousing & where their had been fellings existing between parties they took occasion to Settle with a fight & finelly became disgusted with the proceedings got hold of the big stone Jug in which the liquor was kept & hid it in such a manner that it was not found again during the night but it raised a great outcry and many threats made if they could find out the guilty party.[18]

During the winter of 1846 at Winter Quarters, Brigham Young learned some valuable lessons and formulated a course of procedure toward the Indians. When the Mormons first came into the Indian lands along the Missouri, the Indians were ready to accept the Saints as their brothers in exile, having been moved from their homes themselves to this comparatively inhospitable area.[19] The hospitality was either not sincere or there were some ulterior motives concerned, because, during the winter the Omahas, especially, lived on the stock of the Mormons either by gift or by theft. Brigham Young in his history says, "The Omahas caused them some trouble, as they would steal with one hand while we fed them with the other."[20] From this experience and probably from a relatively high opinion which was held by the Mormon people of Indians, Brigham Young formulated his famous Indian policy: "It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them." This

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[18]Henry Weeks Sanderson, "Diary" (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 72.

[19]Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah, (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), 236.

[20]Ibid., p. 237. foot note.

philosophy served to do much in smoothing over the troubled times with the Indians both while crossing the plains and while settling in Utah.

In the spring of 1847, Brigham Young, with his company of pioneers, set out from Winter Quarters. He wished to find a place of settlement and rest for the Saints away from everyone else who might gainsay their rights to live their religion according to their own desires. According to previous plans, he settled in the Valley of The Great Salt Lake. He proceeded to prepare a home for the exiled Saints from all the world and began to actively encourage the emigration to that place. Against the advice of many, he chose this spot because it would afford isolation from the other peoples of the world and at the same time separation from their prejudices and hatreds. It would be a place which no one wanted to take from them and, therefore, would furnish a social climate in which the people could cultivate a civilization patterned after the beliefs and religious doctrine which they held so dear.

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CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF FREIGHTING

The Needs

On the day that Brigham Young made that prophetic statement, "This is the right place," he not only decided on a gathering place for the exiled Saints, but he also gave rise to problems which became the concern of the freighters for many years to come. As the small band of pioneers moved into the valley and began the task of making homes for themselves and their families, they faced immediately the problem of supplying themselves with the necessities of life. Not only were they concerned with their own needs, for which they may have been able to provide by foraging from the land, a meager existence, but there were others on the way who would also need supplies. By the end of the first year (1847) there were in the valley 2095 souls,[1] and with the coming of another year thousands more to come. John Pulsipher, one of the early settlers in the valley, observed:

> No set of men without the Priesthood or faith in the Lord would ever venture such a hazardous undertaking leading so many hundred of people, families, friends, & all they hold dear on Earth into this desolate, untried region with nothing but the little they had in their wagons to depend upon 'till they could raise a crop--& then suppose they could raise no crop, just imagine what a fix they would be in, their provisions gone, no harvest. The snow in the mountains cutting off their retreat & they more than 1,000 miles from any supplies.
>
> They were told also by Mountaineers who had roamed over this country with the Indians, that no people could sustain themselves here by agriculture, for they positively knew that there was frost in Salt Lake Valley every month in the Year. Old Jim Bridger, a wealthy mountaineer of 18 years experience said he would give $1,000.00 for an ear of corn

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[1] Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History, (13th ed.; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950) p. 461.

> ripened in Salt Lake Valley. Bro. Brighams reply was: give us time & we will show you plenty of corn & other grains & etc.[2]

Supplying these needs became an early concern of the leadership of the church. In epistles to the Saints in all the world, signed by both the Council of Twelve and by the First Presidency of the church, the membership of the church was urged to bring into the Valley all sorts of machines, plans, and other means of production as well as every useful and needful article which might be available and which would contribute to the welfare of the people here. From an epistle sent from the Twelve Apostles of the church to the Saints who were scattered abroad in the whole earth the following estimate of needs is to be found:

> . . . And to all saints in any country bordering upon the Atlantic, we would say, pursue the same course: come immediately and prepare to go West--bringing with you all kinds of choice seeds, of grain, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines--everything that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man, that grows upon the face of the whole earth; also, the best stock of beast, bird, and foul of every kind; also, the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, and dressing cotton, wool, flax, and silk, &c., 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 any people. So far as it can be consistently done, bring models and drafts, and let the machinery be built where it is used, which will save great expense in transportation, particularly in heavy machinery, and tools and implements generally.
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> . . . . . .
>
> It is desirable that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education --every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and, also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, &c., to present to the General Church Recorder, when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be gleaned to compile the most valuable works, on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generation.

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[2]Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 30.

We have a printing press and any who can take good printing or writing paper to the valley will be a blessing themselves and the Church. We also want all kinds of mathematical and philosophical instruments, together with all rare specimens of natural curiosities and works of art that can be gathered and brought to the valley, where, and from which, the rising generation can receive instruction; and if the Saints will be diligent in these matters, we will soon have the best, the most useful and attractive museum on the earth.[3]

In a communication to the New York Herald of June, 1849, and quoting the first General Epistle from the First Presidency of the Church, we find the problem again given prominence but with a different emphasis:

> The scarcity of grain since the settling of the valley has caused the slaughter of a multitude of cattle, which leaves room for a fresh supply as fast as opportunity shall present; and the emigrating brethren will do well to remember that they are liable to lose many on the journey; also their cattle are property after their arrival, and there is no fear to their bringing too many cows, young cattle, sheep, oxen, or choisest breed of stock of any kind, to this place; for any of these articles are better here than gold, for they will purchase here when gold will not do it; as will also geese, ducks, turkeys, peafouls, guinea-hens, domestics, dry goods, groceries, window glass, nails, (mostly 6, 8, 10, shingle and a few four-penny) cotton yarn, a variety of dye stuffs, particularily dye setts, paints, gum myrrh, copal and shellac, spirits of turpentine, paper, books, saws, files, screws, and sheet tin of the best quality, hardware, cutlery, iron suitable for mills and all kinds of farming unensils, sligo sheet iron, steel of various kinds, copper and brass sheetings, crockery, glasses, looking-glasses, shoe leather, harness, harness trimming, mill saws, mechanics tools, wire of various sizes, door locks and trimmings, cupboard and padelocks, all of which are better than cash in this city. Crockery and glass of any description had better be packed in cotton for safe conveyance and the cotton will be very useful here. A variety of shoe leather is particularly wanted this season, and a large amount.[4]

Brigham Young was interested in more than just materials. He was concerned with ample skilled workmen to help provide for the needs of the community. In a letter addressed to Orson Pratt in 1850, Pratt being at that time on a mission in Great Britain, Brigham Young advised:

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[3]J. Cecil Alter, Utah The Storied Domain. (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1932) I, 82-83.

[4]Ibid., p. 95, quoting The L. D. S. Milleneal Star, August 1, 1849.

Great Salt Lake City, Oct. 14, 1849.
To Elder Orson Pratt, Dear Brother. . . .

P.S. We want a company of Woollen Manufacturers to come with machinery, and take our wool from the sheep, and convert it into the best clothes--and wool is ready. We want a company of Cotton Manufacturers, who will convert cotton into cloth and calico, &c., and we will raise the cotton before the machinery can be ready. We want a company of Potters, we need them, the clay is ready and dishes are wanted. Send a company of each, if possible, next spring. Silk manufacturers and all others will follow in rapid sucession. We want some men to start a furnace forthwith, the coal, iron, and moulders are Waiting. Brigham Young.[5]

Obviously time would be required for this transfer of materials to the valley of the mountains. It was a goal, however, and all efforts were made to accomplish as much of this task as possible in the time available. With these needs evident, it was only natural that various individuals and groups would undertake to satisfy their needs, and so the freighting to Utah began. Before this supply could be provided, however, the Saints suffered greatly for the lack of these articles of importation. In "Experiences of a Forty-niner," William G. Johnston says:

So far as our observation extended, they were destitute of many of the ordinary comforts found among even the poorer classes in the States. Beyond question there were more groceries in any wagon of our train than could be found in the entire settlement, excepting doubtless the harems of Brigham Young, and those of the other church dignitaries. . .

One lady begged a handful of coffee, saying that in two years she had not tasted that beverage. Another asked for as much as would make a cupful for a sick friend. She of Syro-Phoenecia, we thought, was scarce more modest or humble in her asking. Many other requests showed less of modesty, but those asking least usually fared best. So far as we felt able we distributed groceries among them, but, of course, this could only be done to a very limited extent, while painfully regretting our inability to do more. The things which they possessed in abundance, butter, cheese, milk and buttermilk, were excellent, and to us, of course, great dainties, upon which we luxuriated, putting restraint upon eager appetites, and as a consequence there were some cases of sickness, which, for want of a better name, we set down as Mormon fever.[6]

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[5] Ibid., p. 101, quoting The L. D. S. Milleneal Star, May 1, 1850.

[6] Ibid., p. 102, quoting William G. Johnston, Experiences of a Forty-niner (Pittsburg: 1892).

To those who undertook the task of freighting to this area either from the hope of gain or because of devotion to the people who lived here, many problems presented themselves.

Problem of Weather and its Effect Upon Freighting

Utah was 1200 miles from the Missouri River and the bases of supply at that place. They were 800 miles from California, where supply was by no means certain, especially in the early years of the struggle for existence. It was necessary to cross over a range of mountains in either direction, and especially from the East was this an acute problem because of the snow which covered the ground for so many months during the year. Stories of the hardships of traveling through the snow are numerous. The Church Train which brought the sugar factory machinery to Utah experienced this inclement weather:

> On the Sweetwater, west of Green River and still some two hundred miles from Salt Lake City the first severe snow storm was encountered. Snow fell to the depth of two feet, and the thermometer dropped to below zero.[7]

In 1855, T. S. Williams & Co.'s train was late in arriving and were caught in the snow. The story is told in the Deseret News:

> T. S. Williams & Co.'s train, reported on the way in from Fort Bridger last week, arrived on Monday evening, the 17th. They lost 15 head of oxen more this side of Weber, and were 9 days on the road from there in. The snow on the east side of the Big mountain was seven feet deep, and they were three days and two nights getting over, during which time their cattle were without feed and were not unyoked, but Captains Moore and Knowlton, who were in charge, succeeded in overcoming every obstacle, tramped and packed the snow and got the wagons over contrary to our expectations. (E.S.)[8]

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[7] B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Century I, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930) III, 398.

[8] Deseret News, Dec. 19, 1855, p. 325.

The problem of snow and storm were serious but not insurmountable. Often ingenuity had to be resorted to and almost insurmountable obstacles had to be faced. John Riggs Murdock, who crossed the plains often as a freighter for the church and for private concerns, relates his experience with storms and snow:

> "Our party," he says, "met the emigrants near Fort Bridger. It began to snow on us in Echo canyon and did not cease until the snow was three feet deep on the low grounds and on Big Mountain it was at a depth of ten feet, largely through drifting. In getting over the Big Mountain, I consider that I had performed the big feat of my life. The train, consisting of about seventy-five wagons, had been ploughing in the deep snow all day. I went ahead on horseback, leaving the rest of the relief party behind. It was very difficult, but I managed to struggle through the snow to the top of the Big Mountain. I was quite alone, but here met two men, with six yoke of oxen, who had come up on the west side of the mountain. They came from Provo to assist the handcart company.
>
> When I told them their teams were needed at the farthest end of the train, they said they would go back to their camp and remain until the next day. I said no, and told them that if they would do as I said we would get the whole train over that night. I took full charge of all; for I realized that many of the people would perish if left on the mountain that night. My plan was to take the oxen and hitch on to the first two wagons and pull them through the snow, and thus open the road and enable the whole train to pass through. My advice was followed, and we succeeded in getting the entire train over by ten o'clock at night. The company then passed on quickly to a camp ground, where there was plenty of firewood prepared by the men who had been left behind. When the train had passed through, the cut in the snow bank was ten feet deep. You could lay a pole across the chasm and a covered wagon could easily pass under it.[9]

Naturally, winter would be expected to be the season of inclement weather, which it was, but traveling through the mountains at any season of the year was likely to bring one into storm and cold. G. A. Smith, in correspondence to the Deseret News, dated May 15, 1856, relates:

> . . . At 10 p.m. (May 3rd) a dreadful storm commenced from the north east and continued to increase until morning; the men turned out of their beds and tied blankets upon the animals, and thus preserved them from perishing. They were driven in the teeth of the storm to a patch of willows in a bend of the Sweet Water, about three miles distant,

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[9]J. M. Tanner, A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock. (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1909) p. 112-113.

where they could get a lettle shelter and some brush to eat. The Storm continued with unabated fury for fifty six hours.

The snow was drifted to a considerable depth. Most of the men got no sleep during the storm, but kept their bedding tied upon their animals, also fed them flour, biscuits, etc., and all but two were saved, though the whole were greatly weakened.

On the 6th we left our stormy camp, and regained the road with considerable difficulty, which we could not follow as the snow was drifted in all the hollows, in many places five or six feet deep. Most of the day was cloudy, but in the afternoon the sun came out for a few hours, and all our faces were severely sunburnt. Elder Orson Pratt, Thos. King, O. P. Rockwell and several others were struck blind and suffered the most excruciating torture for several days. Most of the camp were also afflicted with inflammation of the eyes.

While on Greasewood creek, on the night of the 10th, we encountered another severe storm, which lasted most of the next day.

While at Willow Creek, snow covered the ground nearly one foot deep.[10]

Summer storms were not without their disadvantages and their dangers.[11] William Adams records in his Diary:

> . . . On the return home, traveling on the Platte River, a thunder storm came and lightening killed three oxen in that and ignited the straw in the wagon where there was five hundred pounds of powder. My son, who was sitting in the front of the wagon was stunned. By the assistance of the teamsters the fire was extinguished without any further damage. With the Captains assistance my son was able to proceed with the company.[12]

Problem of Crossing Streams

Swollen streams and large rivers occasioned by spring run off or by storms were a constant problem for the freighter. Because of the distance and the difficulty of travel, it was necessary to start early in the spring in order to make the journey through to Salt Lake City before the winter would set in. As a result, high waters were encountered at many places. This was especially true when the round trip freighting started. The Platte

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[10]"Latter-Day Saints Journal History," (Ms. L. D. S. Church Historians Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.) May 15, 1856.

[11]Howard R. Driggs, Westward America, (New York: Somerset Books, Inc.) p. 70.

[12]Williams Adams, "History of William Adams by Himself, 1894" in Mormon Diaries Vol 4, (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 27.

River and its tributaries were always a problem because of the quick sand bottom which made crossing very hazardous.[13] George W. Johnson in his diary relates his experience with the Platte River and high water;

> In the spring of 1864 I started for the Eastern Country on business taking my oldest son Amos P with me Our trip was pleasant and rapid from Salt Lake City to Councel Bluffs Nothing occuring of interest until we reached the Platte River oposite Julesberg Here we found the river overflowing its banks and many emigrants waiting to cross. Here we met a Negro with 13 yoke of oxen who offered to take us over safely for 10 dollars per wagon. This we promised to pay him and he hitched on to two wagons and started out The cattle found bottom until they got within about two hundred yards (200) of the other shore where they struck deep water and then the leaders turned around and all wound up like a ball and we had a lively time cutting them loose but never lost an ox But we lay in the water until after dark before we could get the wagon out and then we found we had lost everything except my trunk and its contents and one set of harness which were made fast to the wagon and one buffalo robe But we soon bought a few supplies from the emigrants and was on our way at ten o clock the next morning The rest of our journey was accomplished without anything occuring worth relating. . .[14]

W. H. Jackson relates his experiences in crossing the South Platte with loaded wagons on the 24th of July. This was rather late in the season but the problems were still there. He wrote in a letter to his parents;

> "We arrived at the crossing of the South Platte, some three miles above Julesburg, on July 24th. The river at this place is more than a half a mile wide and not more than four feet deep where the current runs the deepest and strongest. There were a number of other trains gathered there, engaged in crossing or preparing to cross. The river was filled from bank to bank with teams a dozen drivers to each, wearing but a single garment. The scene was an exciting and intensely interesting one, and it will be almost impossible for me to give you an adequate idea of it by words alone, I have a sketch, which I will send you, that will perhaps give you a better idea of what was done than my descriptions, but still conveys a little of the real life and action of the scene.
>
> "For our own preparations, the trailer wagons were uncoupled and to each single wagon the teams were doubled; sometimes even eighteen yoke were used. The first plunge into the river was into the deepest part. The cattle were excited and reluctant to enter the water; and when we got them in, it was difficult to make them string out and pull as they should.
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> "The river bottom is a shifty quicksand, and if the wagon is allowed

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[13]Driggs, op. cit., p. 69.

[14]George W. Johnson, "George W. Johnson, 1823-1893 Diary," (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 9.

PLATE I

Fig. 1. The Elkhorn River. This river was the first one crossed on the Mormon Trail. With its quicksand bottom, it was a constant threat to those who would cross.

Fig. 2. The Platte River. Flowing out of the west, this stream was a guide to those who traveled to the intermountain area. The wide expanse of quicksand, at this point a mile in breadth, was an effective barrier between the two sides of the river.

to halt too long, it will sink into the sand so far as to be almost immovable. When this happens, there follows a perfect pandemonium of shouting and yelling, with cracking of whips and thumping with sticks, as the drivers, up and down the line on both sides, urge on the floundering cattle so that there shall be no pause in their progress. And do it goes on continually all the way across, with hoarse gee-haws and whoa-haws enlivened with many shrill yip-hi-his. The current is swift and strong in the deeper places, sometimes taking the smaller cattle off their feet until they are pulled back into line by the others. We were about two hours crossing one wagon with doubled-up team, so there were many recrossings to take over the fifty separate wagons of the whole outfit.[15]

Various methods were used by freighters to solve the problems of crossing the swollen rivers. Ingenuity was the watch word:

> One of the stories of the California Crossing was that told the writer by one of the pioneers who made a trip from Utah back to Nebraska City on the Missouri for freight. "There were about twenty teamsters in our outfit," he related. "When we reached the Platte with our oxen and empty wagons, the high waters had filled it from bank to bank. What did we do? Well, we just turned the wagons into boats. Taking off the wagon boxes, we put the wheels and running gears into the boxes and 'chucked' our clothes there too. Then two of us swam with each boat across the stream. The other boys drove the cattle into the river, and grabbing the tails of the swimming oxen, were towed across with tiem. Our outfits were brought together on the opposite shore and we drove on to the 'Old Muddy.'[16]

The Platte was not the only river which caused trouble to the freighters. The larger mountain streams often proved themselves even more dangerous and violent during high water season than the Platte. Even with the facility of a ferry the Green River, for example, was still a dangerous crossing:

> . . . The water was very high that spring and we had to ford the streams. We arrived at Green River at Robinsons ferry on the Sweet Water route, on the afternoon of the 26th of June.
>
> We learned that six boys had been drowned the day before while crossing on the ferry boat. Two yoke of cattle that were on the boat had crowded to the upper side of the boat which caused the boat to dip water. The boat went down over the mens heads which caused the ropes not to break. Then the boat came to the top. Some of the boys got on the boat, others grabbed onto the oxen thus drowning the oxen, they then had to find their own way to shore. Six of the men were drowned. There names were: Niels Christofferson and Peter Smith of Manti; Peter

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[15] Driggs, op. cit., p. 69. [16] Ibid., p. 68

Nielson of Fairview, Chris Jensen and Chris Nebellar of Mount Pleasant and Thomas Yeats of Millville Cache Valley.[17]

Problem of Proper Feed and Water for Man and Animal

Because of the distance and the length of time required to travel it, animals had to depend upon grass and other forage for their entire subsistence. The men were dependent upon the presence of wild animals along the route and the skill of the hunters to furnish fresh meat for their diet. Often beef cattle were driven with them to help furnish meat. If nature could furnish that meat then the freighters had the advantage of saving their animals. At first buffalo were very plentiful[18] and fresh meat easy to obtain. Later, when the herds had been destroyed and when the natural movements of the animals took them away from the routes of travel, meat was often difficult to secure.[19]

During dry seasons, the water in certain areas, especially around the Sweet Water, Devils Gate, Independence Rock, etc., dried up somewhat and increased the alkali content to the point that it was dangerous to men and animals. Many animals, especially oxen, were lost in this area;

> As the Egan company creaked on toward Independence Rock, a great stone mound lying like a giant lizard in the sagebrush expanse, the air was filled with the stench of dead cattle strewn along the trail. Most of them belonging to the forty-niners, they had been victims of a sickness from drinking mineral water in the area.
>
> Death struck into the Egan cattle. Widow Jones' ox toppled, and then Widow Green's ox and a young heifer.[20]

In some dry seasons, water courses dried up entirely and forced marches sometimes were necessary to supply water as needed. During these

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[17]Thomas Bingham Sr. and Thomas Bingham Jr., Biographies, 1824-1906," (Brigham Young University Library. 1940.) p. 13.

[18]Driggs, op. cit., p. 59. [19]Journal History, May 15, 1856.

[20]Wendell J. Ashton, Voice in the West, (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950.) 20-21.

dry seasons, travel on the prairie assumed another more difficult aspect:

> "But not so when the prairies became dry and parched, the road filled with stifling dust, the stream beds mere dry ravines or carrying only alkaline water which could not be used, the game all gone to more hospitable sections and the summer sun pouring down its heat with torrid intensity. It was then that the train became a highway of desolation, strewn with abandoned property, the skeletons of horses, mules and oxen and alas! with freshly made mounds and headboards that told a tale of suffering too great to be endured. If the trail was the scene of romance, adventure, pleasure and excitement, so it was marked in every mile of its course by human misery, tragedy and death.[21]

Problem of Disease

Disease accounted for the death of both men and animals on the plains. Dysentary and cholera became the particular concern of those who engaged in the freighting business, although they were by no means immune to other weaknesses and illness. Cattle in great numbers were lost at certain periods of the year, some years more particularly than in others.[22] Often cholera reached epidemic proportions among the men who traveled with these freight trains. Harmon records in his diary:

> July 3. We passed fifteen wagons containing government stores. The teamsters were all left or had died with the cholera, and the wagons so near abandoned they could not move.[23]

In 1855, one Charles Smith of England had joined T. S. Williams as a teamster, but when he was taken sick he was left at the hospital in Fort Laramie.[24] The accounts of such illness is common in the story of freighting to Utah.

Problem of Indians

Indians were a problem throughout the entire period of freighting.

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[21] Driggs, op. cit., p. 31. [22] Deseret News, Sept. 7, 1859.

[23] A. M. Harmon, "Early History and Journal for His Travels, 1850-1852", (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 21.

[24] Deseret News, Sept. 12, 1855.

Even though the Mormons had pursued a very humane and even a solicious relationship to the Indians, others had not been so considerate and the Indians were constantly a menace to the freighter, not only because of the hatred which existed between the Indians and white men, but because of the value which they saw in the cargo and outfit which was being carried in the trains which they plundered. The animals accompanying these trains were especially sought after, because of their use to them and the comparative ease with which they could be taken from the herding grounds when the animals were in the charge of a few herders and not under the watchful eye of the entire camp.[25]

Usually in numbers there was safety from the Indians. They were loath to attack large bodies of men. Burton says in discussing the organization for the plains:

> The Latter Day Saints march with a quasi-military organization. Other emigrants form companies of fifty to seventy armed men, a single wagon would be an imminent danger from rascals like the Pawnees, who, though fonder of bullying than of fighting, are ever ready to cut off a straggler.[26]

Because of the propensity of the Indians to attack small parties before attacking large parties, the train of government goods being brought to Utah by A. W. Babbitt, who at that time was Secretary of the Territory of Utah, was entirely destroyed and all members of the party were either killed or taken prisoner.[27] Because of this outrage and other conditions, the government established a system of convoy for emigrants and freighters to the West under the protection of soldiers from Fort Kearney and Fort Laramie. Companies of sufficient size were collected at Fort Kearney to

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[25] Deseret News, Sept. 1, 1866.

[26] Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862) p. 138

[27] Deseret News, Oct. 8, 1856.

insure mutual protection before going on. William Adams relates in his diary:

> In the summer trouble began on the plains with the Sioux Indians. One company of six wagons were destroyed, all the men killed and one woman taken prisoner. The teams were killed and the wagons burned. I was detained two weeks at Fort Kearney by order of the Military. While we were lying there a company of soldiers returned having to retreat with the loss of one man and one cannon, and were nearly surrounded and destroyed by the Sioux. There were five hundred wagons collected at Kearney City before we were permitted to pursue our journey.[28]

Besides being in larger numbers for protection, the military requirements stipulated that each company be well armed.[29] How effective these soldiers were in controlling the Indians is questionable. The immediate benefit to the traveler is evident but the long range value of these troops is in doubt. The Omaha Nebraskan of June 5, 1863, summarizes the problem thus:

> We may here premise that, whether the presence of troops or armament will have any material benefit to the over land emigration by way of securing them against Indian hostilities depends in no small degree upon the manner of their procedure. If, when Indians make their appearance they pursue the conciliatory policy inaugurated by President Brigham Young during his incumbency as ex-officio Superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah Territory, and subsequently imitated by those having charge of the Mormon emigration--rather to feed than fight the Indians--it is possible they may be of some service to the itenerante; but if asuming the offensive, they raid through the country in vile search of Indians, squaws and children as has been done by some of the armed bodies sent into the Indian country--where they have done anything whatever to distinguish themselves more than loitering about the camp at or directly in the vicinity of stations or settlements. The indications are that they will not only afford slight relief or assurance to emigrants against attacks from the savages, but themselves fall victims to their uprising ferocity.[30]

The experience of the Mormon Freighters would bear out the above conclusions:

> He (T. S. Williams) says that they had no trouble with the Sioux until after Genl. Harney's attack upon them; that several visited their

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[28]Adams, op. cit., p. 28. [29]Driggs, op. cit., p. 55.

[30]Deseret News, June 24, 1863, quoting Omaha Nebraskan, June 5th.

> camp just before the attack and were very friendly, expressing a strong desire to make a treaty and be at peace, and a perfect willingness to give up those who killed the mail party. The Capt. names 120 (instead of 300) as the number of Indians killed, and says that since then they had to be constantly on their guard.[31]

In their attempts to control the Indians, the whites committed other crimes against the Indians such as holding them hostage, "Capt Heath is stationed there with 65 men. He has a Shian chief in irons, and intends to keep him until his nation delivers up some Indians who murdered a white man near that post about two weeks since." So reports G. A. Smith in 1856.[32] Vigalante groups were organized and bounties declared on Indians. C. E. Pomeroy, Esq reports:

> On Thursday, Plum Creek Station, 150 miles east of Julesburg, was attacked by 25 Indians. The operator fought them three hours, when the Indians were driven off. They returned on Friday morning, and it is reported that the operator and another man were killed and scalped. The Indians also drove off all the stock at that point.
>
> Three companies of volunteers will probably leave Denver to-morrow for the head of the Republican, on an Indian hunt. Central City has raised $5,000 to be paid for Indian scalps at the rate of $20 per scalp with ears attached. Several other companies are organizing in Colorado to go for Indians.[33]

It is little wonder then that the Indians, smarting under such treatment and seeing the white men moving in upon their lands and killing their game, should rise up in a general siege of Indian troubles which plagued the whites in all parts of the country during the years 1867 and 1868. Freight trains were attacked and robbed on the plains,[34] raids were staged on settlements all the way across the plains at the same time,[35] people were killed in many places[36] and property was stolen, even railroad trains were attacked and freight destroyed.[37]

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[31] Ibid., Oct. 17, 1855. [32] Journal History, May 15, 1856.

[33] Deseret News, June 12, 1867. [34] Ibid., June 12, 1867.

[35] Ibid., June 12, 1867. [36] Ibid., April 1, 1868.

[37] Tullidge, p. 68 Biographical Appendix.

Mail and stage coach parties were the most likely to be attacked by Indians because of the small number of people traveling in the group. In some of these raids, freighters who were traveling with them were involved in loss and danger:

> It is reported that the company who went east with the mail of November 1st ult., were way laid by Indians, 23 miles below Laramie, and Jamieson the carrier, a man named Wheeler and one whose name is not reported, were killed, and Mr. Charles A. Kinkead, of the firm of Livingston and Kinkead was badly wounded, and robbed of $10,150. The mail was badly scattered, but it said the most of it was picked up, and taken on to Independence.[38]

Because he was faced with so many problems and hazards, life was never dull for the freighter. Problems were his constant companions, if there was no river to cross, lost stock to locate or replace, stampeding buffalo to cope with, storms to battle, broken equipment to mend, forced marches to make to feed or water; he could be sure to find it necessary to be constantly alert for Indian attacks, robbers on the route, or even treachery from his own party. If none of these problems materialized, he still had to be alert for the needs of his own supply and comfort. Even such a prosaic chore as collecting buffalo chips for fuel might develop into an adventure.[39]

Economic Problems

Besides the problems inherent in the environment in which the freighter found himself, there arose a number of economic and sociological problems. Part of them related to the business itself and part of them related to the area and people which these freighters served. The Mormon people who made up the principal recipients of the service which these

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[38] Deseret News, Dec. 7, 1854.

[39] John Clark Dowdell, "Diary, 1836-1894." (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 22.

freighters had to offer, had come to Utah under some rather abnormal conditions and as a result, problems arose out of their persecution and prejudices.

Because of the considerable investment in goods and outfit to carry on the business, freighting was a business which could either make or break a freighting concern, be it a company or an individual. The principal cause of loss was represented in the animals which were lost because of disease, cold, starvation, stampede, robbery, injury, etc. The Deseret News of Oct. 31, 1860 records this observation:

> Mr. A. R. Wright, who went to the States last spring to purchase goods for himself and others, arrived on his return a few days since with a train of ten wagons, each drawn by three yoke of oxen, which was the last train of merchandize expected to arrive from the east this season. He had been fortunate with his cattle, having lost but one or two oxen on the trip, but having purchased them on the Missouri at high prices, as we understand, the presumption is that a fortune has not been realized by the operation.[40]

If his losses were such as to injure his fortune, what must have been the loss of men like Mr. Kerr, Gilbert and Gerrish, Livingston & Bell? After the hard winter of 1856, Heber C. Kimball wrote to his son:

> Mr. Kerr a Gentile, told me that he had six or seven hundred head (of cattle) and they were all dead. Messrs, Gilbert and Gerrish had about as many and they are all dead, as are also Livingstone's and Bell's.[41]

The above seems to be an estimate in round numbers. W. Woodruff wrote to John Taylor on May 29, 1856, "Gilbert & Gerrish lost all but 95 out of 700."[42] The firm of T. S. Williams and Co. suffered a similar fate through their losses, though their losses were not quite so severe:

> . . . Capt Hooper, of this city, one of the aforesaid firm, (T. S. Williams and Co.) informs us that of the stock left on the Weber, all the mules have frozen to death, and sixty oxen, and that of the eleven

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[40] Deseret News, Oct. 31, 1860. [41] Journal History, Feb. 29, 1856.

[42] Ibid., May 29, 1856.

hundred head they started with from the Missouri River last summer only about one half are now alive.[43]

Eighteen hundred fifty six was an exceptional year no doubt, but there was no guarantee to the freighters that such a year would not repeat itself at any time in their experience. Even in so called normal years, or average years, the losses from various causes amounted to considerable liability to the freighters. In every freighting season reports of losses were to be found in all quarters from a variety of causes. In 1850, the following appeared in the Deseret News:

> Mr. Holladay--merchant of Mo. left the river on the same day (May 1st). Some of his teams were failing, and he came foreward, to procure assistance which he readily obtained, and sent back.[44]

In 1855:

> Capt. Hooper left their 2nd merchandize train at the Pacific Springs on the 8th inst., and reports that the cattle were dying at the rate of about 7 head daily in each company, and that the companies cannot get further than Bridger, unless they are furnished with more cattle.[45]

Again in 1864:

> Capt. A. P. Patterson, is tied up at Deer Creek through cattle dying and the Captain requires those owing freight in that train to send him oxen and provisions.[46]

A wagon master in Johnston's Army summarizes the matter:

> Sutlers--we had four in camp who retailed their merchandize at enormous prices compared with those of the happy homes we left; but when the expense of transporting this merchandize hither, and the many severe losses, (in the shape of animals killed, stolen, and so forth) is taken into consideration, I presume their profits were not very usorious or considerable.[47]

Economic risks were by no means limited to the loss of livestock. Cargo was lost because of its spoilage or a loss of value between the time

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[43] Deseret News, Jan. 16, 1856. [44] Ibid., June 22, 1850.

[45] Ibid., Oct. 17, 1855. [46] Ibid., Sept. 7, 1864.

[47] Alter, op. cit., p. 262, quoting "The Utah Expedition."

of purchase and the time of delivery:

> . . . On the 1st of December nineteen men came into the city on foot, nearly famished, having been two days making their way over Big Mountain. Their wagons had been left on Echo Creek, and their animals at Willow Springs, where the snow, they said, was six feet deep on a level. Though many of these adventureres were poor, some of the trains were loaded with valuable merchandise, for which their owners expected to find a ready market on reaching their destination. But while sojourning in the valley, news arrived that vessels laden with similar merchandise had arrived in San Francisco, or were far on their way and that already the market was greatly overstocked.[48]

Often conditions would be such as to necessitate leaving goods out of doors during the winter which would preclude spoilage and loss through capital being tied up for long periods beyond expectations.[49] Wagons and cargo were lost in high water mishaps, upsets on mountain roads, and in countless other hazards. Details of the costs, rates, etc., will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

Of immediate concern to the freighters was the lack of ready cash in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Having been driven from their homes, and having spent a winter on the open prairies had taken all their surplus money. Consequently they had little with which to purchase goods from the freighter who came into the valley. Their scant supply of money was quickly spent leaving little to spend with the merchants.[50] When the money was gone, freighters and merchants had to resort to credit buying and the acceptance of whatever could be turned to cash. Freighters had to pay in cash for their commodities and could ill afford to sell their goods for any consideration which could not be converted into cash. Before a market came into being in this area, the commodities of the valley were of little value as pay for imported goods. The products of the farm, above and beyond the needs of the freighters themselves, had little value because they could not

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[48]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 299-300. [49]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 68.

[50]Deseret News, May 1, 1852.

be transported to other areas and sold to an advantage in competition with the same products produced in those areas. As a result, the first merchandising in the valley was done partly on credit and partly on the meager funds which were available in the territory. Accounts were difficult to collect because of the lack of funds and not necessarily because of the dishonesty of the creditors. As soon as a sale was found for the commodities of this territory, the bills were paid. In spite of these handicaps, there was still a surprising amount of business done here:

> In a country so little endowed with natural gifts, in a society scarcely installed, and so poor, it cannot be a matter of surprise that nothing as yet has been produced for exportation. Nevertheless, Utah has already increased its herds of cattle so much as to be able to spare some to the adjoining countries. The emigrants who cross the country on their way to Eldorado, are likewise able to provision their caravans at several points of the Mormon territory. But if the exports be next to nothing, it is by no means so with the imports, which have sometimes reached the amount of 300,000 dollars in a year. It is the city of St. Louis which is principally benefited by this market. In 1855, one American house, Livingston, Kinkead and Co., established at Great Salt Lake City, sold in one month merchandise to the amount of 30,000 dollars, payable at short dates. We should not be able to understand how the Mormons could find capital with which to buy what they want, if we were not aware that many of them came from Europe with money in hand from the sale of their property, and that, moreover, the Church has funds of its own. We have already mentioned in a previous book, that it is to the soldiers of the Mormon battalion we are indebted for the discovery of Gold in California. These luckey miners brought with them to the Salt Lake 94,000 ounces of the precious metal, which they lost no time, it is said, in offering to the Church.[51]

How much money was actually brought into the territory by the emigrants is difficult to say, but the freighters and merchants lost no time in exercising their ingenuity in carrying on their trade and finding avenues of getting pay for their goods. Livingston and Kinkead, the pioneer freighting firm, found in the Mormon Battalion a source of revenue:

> Mormon Battalion--The soldiers who served in this battalion will please take notice, that we will purchase claims to a land warrant and

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[51] Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, M.A., A Journey to Great Salt Lake City, (London: W. Jeffs, 1861) I, pp. 269-270.

and three months extra pay for which we will pay their full value in foods in advance, out of our store, at cash prices, so soon as the necessary papers shall have been signed.

It is not our object in purchasing these claims, to speculate at the expense of the Soldier, but to turn our goods into cash, hence the reason of our paying their full value.

We do not expect that any claim will be presented that has heretofore been forewarded for collection either with or without the knowledge or consent of the claimant.[52]

The commodity which brought white men to the Rocky Mountains, furs, were still in demand and were accepted as cash by freighters:

> The citizens of Deseret are respectfully invited to give their attention to this important branch of Home Produce, by which they can procure their merchandize and save their means within themselves. The subscriber will pay a liberal price for Beaver, Otter, Martin, Fox, Wolf, and Minx furs in goods at the lowest rates. He wishes to transport the Furs to the States in exchange for Goods, his profit being on the goods, and not on the Furs. And those who will thus take an interest in this only commodity of exportation, are requested to bring the fox skins whole, having been dried on a board, or stuffed. The wolves having been ripped and well stretched. If the citizens of this Territory will attend to this source of wealth, they can pay their taxes with the bounty, and obtain their merchandise.[53]

With the beginning of the gold rush, products of the valley sold to the emigrants at premium prices and money became comparatively plentiful in the valley. The same thing happened when the army came to Utah in 1858. With the coming of the emigrants to the West and the settlement of the territory surrounding Utah, a market could be found for the commodities of the Utah farms and money began to flow into the Territory through that avenue. Commodities could then be accepted by the freighters in payment for their goods and could in turn be converted into cash in the neighboring settlements. The effort being naturally to make a profit on both the commodities sold for goods and on the goods when sold for cash.

When California Gold began to flow into the valley, the Saints established a system of money based upon gold held as security against the

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[52] Deseret News, August 18, 1851. [53] Ibid., Dec. 27, 1851.

issue of money, both coin and bills. Much of the local business was carried on with this local coinage but some discounted the money while others accepted it at par. Naturally those who accepted the money at par were those who were favored in their dealings over others.[54]

The interchanging use of the term freighter and merchant is not a contradiction inasmuch as the freighters, especially during the first years of merchandising in Utah, hauled their own merchandise to the Territory, unpacked it and sold it to the customer. This gave them control over the quantity and quality of various goods brought here. Summer was the time for freighting goods here, and winter was an ideal time to sell those goods.

During the first period of freighting to Salt Lake City, the general practice was to bring in goods and freight trains from the Missouri River and then sell the whole concern: Wagons, animals, commodities and all.[55] In the spring return East and purchase a whole new train and goods, hire new teamsters, bring the whole through to the Valley and repeat again the next year. Driving a freight wagon provided many with the means of coming to the West. Some of the teamsters returned and many stayed somewhere in this western country.[56] Mormon emigrants found this a particularly advantageous service to them, it provided transportation for them and their families and at the same time paid them wages.[57] Freighters, on the other hand, came to depend upon the emigrants for much of their personnel.[58]

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[54]Deseret News, Jan. 10, 1852. [55]Ibid., Mar. 25, 1857.

[56]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 44-45. [57]Deseret News, August 6, 1862.

[58]Ibid., Sept. 5, 1855. Erastus Snow in a letter to the editor says: "This however does not embrace those families and teamsters who are with merchant trains, most of which have in part or in whole been supplied from our emigrants."

Problem of Limitations of Outfits and Services for Freighters

One of the major problems of the freighter was the limitations of his equipment and outfit. No more than one trip per year was feasable for a single outfit. Some attempted to bring in freight from California during the winter, but increased rates, occasioned by the added total distance traveled, often rendered this practice of limited value. Needs of the community, then, had to be anticipated for a full year or more in advance. If anything happened to upset the plans, goods were not available and substitutes were necessitated or the goods were eliminated entirely until such time as they could be delivered. The Deseret News, which depended upon paper, ink, type, and other materials being brought by freight wagon, was often inconvenienced by the non-arrival or late arrival of a freight train. Postponements and suspensions in publication were frequently announced by the news; typical is the announcement of July 30, 1853:

> The absence of paper prevent our knowing when the next number of the News will be issued, but we trust the time will not be long before we can print particulars; we expect a heavy stock is fast aproaching, and when it arrives our friends may expect to see the News as often as they wish.[59]

The size and weight of objects limited the service of the freighter in some cases and at least gave problems in outfitting such a shipment. The heavy machinery for the sugar factory in Utah gave such a problem to the freighters in that venture:

> Captain Russell had been sent on ahead of the machinery to secure fifty-two wagons thought necessary for the shipment of the plant across the plains. These were manufactured at Omaha and taken to Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri, to which point the machinery had been shipped on small boats on the rivers via St. Louis. Here it was discovered that the fifty-two wagons manufactured at Omaha were worthless; being too light they broke down under the great weight of the machinery, and had to be abandoned. Those not broken down were given to a number of poor families of saints gathered at Fort Leavenworth to accompany the "sugar

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[59] Deseret News, July 30, 1853.

train" to Salt Lake valley.

The funds of the company after the payment of the expenses of the journey thus far, the purchase of the worthless wagons, and buying more than four hundred head of cattle for the plains journey, were greatly depleted. But Young De La Mare, who here at Fort Leavenworth, was supervising the shipping of the sugar plant to Utah, fortunately met one Charles H. Perry, a non-"Mormon," who sold him on credit forty great Santa Fe wagons, of heavy weight, onto which the machinery was loaded.[60]

This problem was anticipated by some wholesalers and special equipment was provided to meet this need. In an advertisement in the Deseret News the following offer was proposed:

> The subscriber is engaged in a commission agency business, and is enabled to supply orders to any extent for machinery, impliments, &c. such as steam engines, carding machines, looms, spinning machinery, reaping and mowing machines, planeing machines for wood and iron. Any machine ordered can be built with special reference to the transportation over the plains: all the wood work can be left off, and drawings furnished, so as to enable persons in the valley to supply such parts themselves.[61]

Certain articles of merchandise were more economical to transport and paid a higher return for each pound shipped. These, of course, became the most generally handled commodities:

> This stock consists of a fine assortment of Staples and fancy Dry Goods, clothing, Boots and Shoes, a few doz. choice Grain Scythes and other goods.
>
> The very large expences attending the fitting up of this Train has precluded the possibility of transporting heavy goods, such as Groceries, Nails, &c. at this time, but a large stock of these goods are on the way, and will doubtless arrive early in next month.[62]

Naturally the amount of goods which could be hauled in a wagon and the number of wagons which could be effectively managed on the journey was limited (seldom more than fifty to a train), consequently the maximum operation was rather definitely fixed. Attempts were made to increase the size of the wagons and coupling of two wagons together in an effort to reduce the man power requirements. Aside from man power, which was comparatively

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[60]Roberts, op. cit., III, p. 397-398.

[61]Deseret News, April 8, 1851. [62]Ibid., July 10, 1853.

cheap, there was no particular advantage in enlarging an operation, each unit requiring about the same outlay as the one before.

In the early years of freighting to Utah, the freighter said good bye to all services and assistance after he left the Missouri River. Except for a fur trading post at Fort John (later Fort Laramie), there were no established stations between the Missouri River and Salt Lake. The freighter was on his own for supply, repair, and other services which in more populated areas could be had at way-stations along the road. Soon certain individuals recognized the advantage of establishing such posts or stations along the way to render service to the emigrants and freighters and to bring economic advantage to themselves:

> Messrs. Ward & Gurrier, at Sandy Point, 7 miles west of Fort Laramie, on the main emigration road, would inform travelers to and from the States, and the public generally, that they will constantly keep on hand at their station, a good supply of fresh animals, groceries, provisions, and general assorted merchandise, which they will furnish on reasonable terms. They will also trade for cattle, mules, and horses.[63]

These services often grew up around ferries, bridges, and other installations which were established for the use of the travelers.[64] As the years passed, more and more of these stations came into being. The services became more plentiful, but the distances between them was still great and often freighters had to furnish their own repairmen, veterinaries, etc.

Problems of Population

Problems of population had their influence on the freighting in the Utah Territory. The large numbers of people moving West caused an abnormal demand for the materials which the freighters needed to pursue their business. With thousands of wagons and tens of thousands of draft animals each

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[63]Alter, op. cit., p. 194.

[64]Appleton M. Harmon, "Diary Part III 1847-1857." (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 28.

year used to transport the great Western Migration, prices were abnormally high. Of the emigration the Deseret News says:

> We anticipate that the immense rush to the gold mines, will raise the price of teams in the States, so as to prevent some of the brethren from coming hither this season; while it will help others, who always have their dish right side up.[65]

In 1850 by the fourth of July, there had passed Fort Laramie 37,171 men, 803 women, 1,049 children, 8,994 wagons, 22,742 horses, 7,472 mules, 30,616 oxen, 5,720 cows, 45 sheep.[66] During the single month of June 3, 1850 and July 4, 1850, there had passed Fort Laramie 25,728 men, 684 women, 950 children, 5,806 wagons, 11,642 horses, 3,884 mules, 27,128 oxen, 5,587 cows, and 45 sheep. With few, if any, of these wagons and animals returning, the supply was short at the Missouri, with correspondingly high prices.

While freighters were trying to supply the needs of the people in Utah, the population was on the constant increase, thus raising the needs of the people. Considerable disagreement existed between the Mormons and the non-Mormons as to the actual population of Utah. The Mormons were anxious to establish the number at 100,000 in order to claim statehood, while the non-mormons being just as anxious to keep the count below that figure.[67] Regardless of what the actual count may have been or how accurate the estimate was, the fact of an increase in population in the Territory every year over the last was generally conceded. Speaking of the early years in the valley, Bancroft summarizes the matter as follows:

> The immigration during the season numbered some 1400 souls, who were added to the settlers in the valley and who, with the number remaining of those originally bound for California, made a large population to clothe, feed, and shelter.[68]

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[65] Deseret News, June 22, 1850. [66] Deseret News, August 10, 1850.

[67] Burton, op. cit., p. 293-294.

[68] Bancroft, op. cit., p. 298.

The task of feeding and clothing these people fell largely upon the resourses of the freighters. The population continued to increase during the whole early period of Utah History.

Sociological Problems

The problem of resistance to the freighters in Utah will be dealt with in a separate chapter of this thesis, but suffice it to say that because of a long period of cooperation and a tradition of self sufficiency, there was a natural tendency to resist dependence upon anyone. The lack of funds in Utah induced the leaders of the church to look upon the cost of goods freighted in, often at high prices plus high freight rates, as being the surest way of bringing themselves into economic bondage. In the twelfth General Epistle, the Presidency of the Church advised:

> There has also, a much greater supply of goods been brought into the Territory, than heretofore, for which however the demand seems constantly increasing, although large amounts of clothing are manufactured by the people. Home manufactured and productions have been a part and portion of our domestic economy, and should be practiced by every Saint. It is the only path in which we can walk with any assurance of securing our freedom, and of perpetuating that liberty which we inherit, as a rich legacy, from our ancestors and our God.[69]

Freight was looked upon as rank waste of funds, when there was any possible way of producing those things which were needed by the Saints. The call was to import machinery and equipment to manufacture goods not already manufactured.

> Brethren be wise, and eschew foreign production as articles not suitable or designed for Israel, and draw your supplies from nature's great storehouse the rich and abundant though undeveloped, resources with which we are surrounded, and which are clearly within our grasp. . . We say then to the Brethren, and Sisters in all these valleys of the mountains, learn now, to make your own clothing and encourage the home manufacturer and producer; and let those who intend to come here to reside, bring all manner of labor saving machinery, and such articles for its construction as cannot be readily procured here.[70]

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[69] Deseret News, April 25, 1855. [70] Ibid., April 25, 1855.

Officially freighters became looked upon as leeches and were genuinely discouraged in the carrying on of their business in the valley. Tullidge the pioneer historian observes:

> The early merchants of Salt Lake did next to nothing for the country, excepting periodically to bring in a few trains of States goods and to swallow up the money of the country, which the emigrants had brought in, and which they had put into circulation in the purchase of their lots and the building and furnishing of their houses. The Church, the emigrants and the Mormon people did almost everything for the country during the first decade.[71]

Such was the feeling about merchants in Salt Lake Valley, that even the Mormon merchants were criticized for their activity. Because freighters generally were considered as general enemies of the best interests of the people of the Territory, Mormon freighters may have been indited for their particular violation of trust. At any rate, Horace S. Eldredge was made to feel so. He says:

> There seemed to exist, for some unknown cause, a degree of prejudice against merchants, particularly Mormon merchants, to that extent that we concluded to retire for a season at least. Hence we wound up our business in the fall and divided our goods on hand, I concluding to store mine for the present.[72]

When the Mormon pioneers came West, the prejudices which had caused them so much persecution did not end but many of the vile tales and viscious stories followed them West in the form of the printed word and in the minds and on the tongues of those who were not of their faith and lived neighbors to them. Freighters, coming from the general area from which the Mormons had been expelled, probably carried some of these stories with them and found ready listeners and quick exchange for others equally as viscious as the ones they bore. One train at least became so overloaded with these tales as to refuse to serve the people of the valley:

> Having made arrangements with many of the Citizens of Great Salt

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[71]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 667. [72]Ibid., p. 67. Bio. Appendix.

Lake City, to deliver them Bacon, Groceries, &c., I am compelled to say such information was given to my drivers at Fort Bridger, as to induce them to mutiny, and refuse to come to this City; thus turning the whole train by Soda Springs.

I had sold Col Estill one third of this train on its arrival, thus disappointing him as well as the citizens here; which I regret, but could not prevent. Given under my hand this 2nd day of Aug. 1850, at G. S. L. City. S. R. Shrader.[73]

Because of the problems involved, both in nature and in the peculiar relationships which existed with the people, it was a hardy group of men who undertook freighting goods to the valleys of the mountains in the pre-railroad days of Utah. Reference is here made to the regular year in and year out freighter rather than the speculator. They were men who took a great gamble as to their ability to meet these problems and still make sufficient profit to offset the losses which they were likely to sustain.

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[73]Deseret News, Aug. 3, 1850.

CHAPTER IV

CLASSIFICATION OF FREIGHTERS

Chronologically, freighting falls into two general divisions; before and after the coming of Johnstons Army to Utah. Before the coming of the army, freighters generally were business men who came here for the principal purpose of providing for the needs of the people, either through the sale of their own commodities or through a supply to other merchants. In return they received an income which was sufficient in most cases to satisfy them, and repay them for their trouble and risk. Their freighting was carried on with the idea of selling both freight and outfits in the valley. With the money realized from that sale, they would return to the frontier and purchase entire new outfits. Each item was selected, both in the trains and the goods freighted, with the idea of suiting them to the taste of the purchasers, and therefore they would find a ready market and a handsome income for the freighter. In most cases the freighters, either Mormon or non-Mormon, were considered as members of the community and they were generally accepted even to intermarrying in some cases. Their general purpose was to cooperate in assisting the community, donate to its charities, hold offices, and even pay tithing to the church.[1]

After the coming of the army to Utah in 1858, the picture became

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[1]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 50, Biographical Appendix. "John Kimball, though a gentile merchant, had always been on the most friendly terms with the Mormon people, to whom he was so nearly related, and was as faithful as any brother in paying his tithing to the church, and as liberal as a prince in his donations to the poor."

generally changed. The old freighters still carried on their business as usual. They did, however, divide their allegiance between the Mormon communities and the army and its hangers-on. The freighters who came with the army started some new movements in the merchandising business. They were often hostile to the Saints and ready to cause trouble for them. They came into the territory with the army, which brought a war to the people of Utah. To oppose the Mormons was to be loyal to the army and its purposes. They were often in direct competition with the interests of the people rather than in cooperation with them. They became a challenge to the Mormon way of life in so many ways. When they came into the territory with the large wagons which were hardly adaptable to the use of the citizens of this area, the round trip freighter began to appear. They traveled either from Missouri to Missouri or from Salt Lake to Salt Lake. When the feasability of this type of operation became evident, even the church began to adopt it as a means of bringing the emigrants to the Rocky Mountains.

With the increased supply of materials in the valley, brought in with these large government freight trains, Brigham Young began to fear for the security of the Home Industry. In this industry he saw the epitome of Mormon independence and the control which the church had over the economic life of its members. In the challenge to this industry, he saw a threat to the isolation of the Saints which was fundamental to the purpose for which the Mormons settled in the valley.

Freighting, as such, may be considered in a very broad sense to include all hauling of materials and supplies. In such a definition, all the people who crossed the plains to Utah would come under the classification of freighters. However, in this discussion, this definition shall not apply to the people who brought materials for their own use and support. In-

asmuch as materials were brought to supply others, either by gift or sale, such hauling will be considered as freighting. Those who haul materials for hire or in the persuance of their business of supply will also be considered as freighters.

Freighting Incidental to Other Pursuits

The first freighters in point of time might be called the incidental freighters, those who brought commodities through to the valley with some other function than merchandising being paramount in their consideration. Emigrants often brought commodities tucked away in their loads of household goods, which would be of general value to the settlement, or which could be sold upon arrival in the valley. Tullidge says:

> It must be borne in mind also that these four hundred wagons came into the valley, in the fall of 1853, laden with almost everything to be mentioned that the settlers most needed excepting a competent supply of merchandise and machinery; and even of the latter the affluent emigrant brought a goodly share; while in the year following, as it is seen, the emigration agent received "orders from Salt Lake City to purchase a large quantity of merchandise, machinery and agricultural impliments."
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> First the emigrants from Great Britain came across the sea to New Orleans, with the best outfits they could bring to the new country; the choicest tools of the mechanic and manufacturer; the most useful and endurable clothing, enough to last the family for several years; milliners, dressmakers, etc., came with their stock in trade, and all their household utilities--indeed, excepting furniture and cumbersome articles, it may be said that from the opening of the general emigration to Utah in 1849-50, a thousand English, Scotch and Welsh homes were yearly transposed to Utah from the mother country. It was with these homes and their hordings of years that those 400 wagons with their 2,000 head of cattle, came laden into the Valley. They were as merchant trains of matchless worth to furnish supplies to the young colonies; in fine it was those trains of European and American emigrants, which yearly poured across the Plains from 1849; that started and sustained the commerce and business not only of Salt Lake City, but of every settlement of Utah, while the agricultural interests of the country were equally as well sustained.
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> A pound of tea, of sugar, of tobacco, a dress, a suit of clothes or a set of mechanics tools, a paper of needles or pins, a supply of silk, thread or tape, or a thousand other seemingly trifling articles which had been brought to the valley in those emigrant outfits, afforded means of purchase and trade; while the emigrant of the "independent companies" who arrived with several wagons and yokes of oxen and a small

> stock of merchandise possessed abundance, not only to purchase a lot and build himself a log or adobe house, retaining one wagon and one yoke of oxen for farm or canyon work, but enough to give him a fair start in business life.[2]

The first company of pioneers waited for the arrival of missionaries who were bringing scientific instruments with them from Europe which were to be used by the community and not by the individuals concerned:

> As John Taylor was reported enroute with some scientific instruments, the leaders awaited his arrival. On April 13 he brought into Winter-Quarters "two sextants, one circle of reflection, two artificial horizons, two barometers, several thermometers, telescopes, etc." These had been brought from England at the suggestion of Orson Pratt that such instruments would be needed in the new land.
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> John Taylor also brought a number of maps of the West, which he had obtained in Washington D.C., from General Atchison, then Senator from Missouri.[3]

Text books, paper, educational exhibits and many other materials were brought in the loadings of the early emigrants to Utah.[4] The value of these articles and their importance to the new community would be impossible to list. How much of these materials were brought tucked away in the wagons of the emigrants would be impossible to arrive at. That considerable of this type of freighting took place seems very evident. Plans for bringing such material were part of the emigration scheme. John L. Smith wrote to his brother George A. Smith, "As I drive all the cows, you can bring glass and also clothes, as much as possible."[5] Orson Hyde wrote:

> News from the valley since the 11th of October last has been received and it is good. The crops there have come in very well though much was destroyed by the crickets, yet it is thought there will be enough for all the population that is there; and they feel confident that they will be able to produce enough to meet the wants of the emigrants that may go there hereafter, and that instead of their taking so much provisions as hereto fore, they can load with iron, steel,

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[2]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 667. [3]Berrett, op. cit., p. 361.

[4]Deseret News, October 16, 1852.

[5]Journal History, Jan. 12, 1848.

> glass, nails, clothing, boots and shoes, sickles, and in fine every useful article in a community established in a new country except provisions. Saws, cross cut, mill and circular saws should be taken there--Most respectfully your Brother in Christ Orson Hyde.[6]

Many of the emigrants saw in this extra freight an opportunity to better their financial position in the new country into which they were moving. Burton in his City of the Saints says:

> The following estimate of outfit was given to me by a Mormon elder, who has frequently traveled over the Utah Route. He was accompanied by his wife, and family, and help--six persons in total; and having money to spare, he invested in a speculation which could hardly fail at least to quadruple his outlay at the end of the march: the stove for instance, bought at $28, would sell for $80 to $120. The experienced emigrant, it may be observed, carries with him a little of everything that may or might be wanted, such as provisions, clothing, furniture, drugs, lint, stationary, spices, ammunition, and so forth; above all things, he looks to his weapons as likely to be, at a pinch, his best friends.[7]

With the extensive needs in the valley, almost every useful commodity found a hearty welcome among the Saints, and every spare inch of space was utilized in the transportation of these much sought after needs:

> It is really gratifying to the lovers of good fruit to see the interest taken by our distant friends, who are coming to the valley to make their home, by their collecting and bringing hither the seeds of choice fruit from their native country. Perhaps no one has made a better effort of this kind that Mr. White from London, who informs me he occupied most of the last season in collecting the seeds of the best kinds of small fruit, such as the strawberry, raspberry, gooseberry and currant for the purpose of furnishing the valley with choice fruit. These seeds, with a variety of others, were neatly put up in a large tin case, and hermetically sealed, so as to exclude air and moisture; and on being opened a few days ago, appeared fresh and in excellent order--a good number of packages, containing 6 papers each, of the different varieties of currants, gooseberries, &c., containing sufficient seeds for any family, were in fine order and ready for sale.[8]

Because of his interest in the subject and because of his tremendous experience in the business, he undertook to give them some suggestions as to their traveling across the country. President Brigham Young said.

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[6]Alter, op. cit., p. 90. [7]Burton, op. cit., p. 138.

[8]Deseret News, Oct. 29, 1853.

> . . . When your outfit is loaded, if you still have extra room and team, it will pay you well to lay in groceries, and light staple articles, to sell on the way to those who may need, also to the inhabitants of Utah, should you pass thro any of her settlements, and enable you to keep the club in your hands when you meet the land sharks.[9]

Many of the emigrants unwittingly became freighters, particularly California emigrants. John Taylor writes:

> . . . The emigration the past summer, brought many things with them which they found superflous upon their arrival at the valley, and were glad to give them in exchange for horses, oxen, &c.[10]

In all their journeyings, the Saints were ever on the alert for goods which might be needed in the valley. When such goods were found they tried to squeeze them into their loads. They were eager to use them in developing their new home. Norton Jacob, one of the pioneers, writes:

> He now told the brethren that if they wanted any of the plows or iron to purchase of Father James Case, who had formerly been in the employ of the missionaries at this place and they were indebted to him, He therefore would sell some of their property to obtain his debt, and would write to the missionaries giving them an account of what he had done giving them a bill of iron and plows received of James Case by the twelfth ten to carry upon shares.
>
> Bill of things obtained by the company: Norton Jacob Capt. 76 pounds of iron. Stephen Markham 104 lbs of iron, one plow and one shire and four waggon boxes. George Mills, 2 plows and 37 lbs of iron. Joseph Hancock one breaking plow and 62 lbs of iron.[11]

As the Saints in Salt Lake sent teams and provisions back over the trail to the assistance of the emigrants, the goods were unloaded to provision those who were coming. John Pulsipher relates an experience which he participated in. It involved a kind of incidental freighting to load the empty wagons:

> . . . past another stormy night & it still rages among these mountains. Gathered up our teams Bro's Fuller, Blodget, Potter, Hardy, Wardsworth, Spafford, Haskel & Pulsipher took all the horses & 16 yoke of the best oxen & started with 2 wagons. Leaving the poorer teams to rest till we

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[9]Ibid., July 15, 1854. [10]Alter, op. cit., p. 100.

[11]Norton Jacob, "Life of Norton Jacob," (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 57.

> return & the men to gather up a couple of loads of Iron which lays scattered along the Sweetwater. The ruined wagon of the California Gold hunters iron is much needed at the Public works in the city.[12]

So through the early years of settlement, the Saints supplied their needs and wants with the commodities which came to Utah incidentally with the emigration. Certain durable goods such as tools, books, instruments, furniture, and certain implements, etc., remained serviceable for a long time, but the less durable goods, such as shoes, clothing, certain foods which could not be produced here and the less durable types of implements, were depleted nearly as fast as they could be supplied by the emigrants.

Despite the efforts of this incidental freighting on behalf of the settlers in Utah, the high proportion of emigrants who had to be supplied by those who were already here with food and other commodities during the first years drained the supplies so that in 1849 times were rather hard in the valley. Shoes were worn out, clothing was threadbare, implements were broken, foods which could not be produced in Salt Lake were long since gone,[13] by the time the forty-niners came. J. R. Murdock's biography says of these times:

> At one of the meetings at which the half starved and poorly clad Saints had gathered, Heber C. Kimball, in one of his prophetic outbursts, declared to the people that states goods; food, and raimnent to supply their needs would soon be sold in Salt Lake City, cheaper than they were sold in St. Louis. How could such a thing be! Some of the leaders were openly skeptical over such remarks whose fulfillment was wholy beyond the comprehension of the people. But the prophesy was fulfilled, as the eastern merchants had loaded large numbers of teams with merchandise which they were transporting to California in order to provide the miners there with merchandise.
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> The excitement, however, became so strong when they reached Salt Lake City in the fall of 1849 that they abondoned their merchandise in order to reach the gold fields at the earliest possible moment. They sold merchandise and teams at whatever price they could get, and made

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[12] Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 65.

[13] "History of Wasatch County, W. P. A. Historical Records Survey" (Wasatch County Library, Heber, Utah) p. 16.

any sacrifice necessary to get fresh animals. The story of this relief to the Saints is told in a few brief words of John R. Murdock, "For one good mule I received three yoke of good oxen and a new wagon. This provided me with a team so that I could go right on and make a home for my wife.

This unexpected supply of all sorts of merchandise--Merchandise which, it must be remembered, was selected for the needs of the miners of California, was peculiarly helpful to the Saints.[14]

By the time they had arrived in Salt Lake, their teams were jaded, time was running short, stories of gold were becoming more intense as they came near the "Diggings." The sight of gold which had been brought back from California by the members of the Mormon Battallion served to make the gold fever even more intense. In order to meet all these problems, they sold their commodities below market prices just to get to the gold mines. William Chandless says:

> Emigrants from the Atlantic States passed by in thousands, parting with their wares as impediments, for a trifle, and lavishing their gold in the purchase of animals to prosecute their journey. In a short time miners in California were starving amidst their wealth. . . . Meanwhile adventurous traders brought over goods to Salt Lake; many of these were what we should consider necessaries. The Mormons bought freely--nay fiercely: the first stores were beseiged from morning till night, and in ten days or a fortnight all was sold and paid for in specie; for the merchant must pay in the States for their goods in gold.[15]

A few of the forty-niners recognized the money which was to be made in the camps of miners in the matter of supply which would be necessary and would be readily sold because of the abundant supply of gold. Some of these freighters and merchants decided to stay in Utah, recognizing the ready market among the citizenry of this territory as a very promising one, and they were not disappointed. Still others who came with heavy outfits, found the season advanced by the time they came to the valley. Some of them were

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[14] J. M. Tanner, A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock, (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909) p. 101.

[15] Alter, op. cit., I p. 216, quoting "A visit to Salt Lake, Being a Journey Across the Plains and a Residence in the Mormon Settlements at Utah," by William Chandless, (1857) Chap. IV of Part II.

stopped by the winter weather before they came into the valley. They had received word that ships had sailed to California and were supplying the miners abundantly with goods at reasonable prices.[16] They decided to sacrifice their trains and go on to California as fast as possible to dig for gold. Just when it seemed that it would be impossible to supply themselves with the needed merchandise, this aid came to the Saints and goods were sold in Salt Lake cheaper than in St. Louis. In consideration of the unbelievable prediction of Heber C. Kimball and its fulfillment by these events, and the religious faith and devotion in their colonizing effort, it is only natural for credit to be given to God for this unexpected supply of goods. Joseph Holbrook expresses it:

> The emigrants came in this summer from the states a going to California to get gold and it literally seemed that the Lord inspired them to load down their wagons with every thing that the Saints needed for tools, to wear, as clothes, for food which they were ready to trade for something to assist them on their journey. The brethren were very patient through the spring a waiting for their harvest time for many subsisted on half and quarter rations while some did not taste bread for weeks but lived on roots and greens with a little salt.[17]

Such were the prices asked for goods in Salt Lake that some even suggested that the merchants in the east might find it to their advantage to come to Utah and lay in their supply of goods for the coming winter, inasmuch as there were plenty of wagons and draft animals available for the transportation of these cheap goods.[18]

Commercial Freighters

There were two types of import freighting which took place in Utah.

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[16]See note 9 of Chapter IV.

[17]Joseph Holbrook, "The Life of Joseph Holbrook 1806-1871," (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 12.

[18]Alter, op. cit., p. 100.

The first shall be termed commercial, which includes those individuals who came to Utah with goods for purely re-sale purposes. Such were the freighter-merchants and the suppliers of goods to the merchants who had established themselves in Utah. The second group which accounted for much freighting, particularly during the period of 1860 to 1869 consisted of the freighting carried on by the church, either by so-called church trains or later by the round trip freighters sent by the church to bring the poor across the plains. These goods were not intended for commercial purposes but to build up the area industrially and to add strength to the communities of the territory.

Among the first of the freighters to Utah came men who had a supply of goods to sell with no intention of becoming a part of the community. They were more or less speculators. The first of these, who was also the first freighter, was Captain Grant who came from Fort Hall with a small supply of merchandise which he sold.[19] In a letter to the Milleneal Star, dated Great Salt Lake City, the following appears: "Nov 21, 1849--Louis Vasquez, associated with James Bridger at Fort Bridger, opened a branch store in Salt Lake City. He sold sugar at three pounds for $2."[20] These men were comparatively unimportant in the story of freighting because of their short stay and because of the small amounts of goods which they brought with them. At about the same time, however, there came into Utah some more substantial freighters with their loads of goods who established the merchandising business in Utah. Tullidge says of this period and these individuals:

> In the year 1849, which was two years after the entrance of the Pioneers, the first regular stock of goods for Utah market was brought in by Livingston & Kinkead. Their stock was valued at about $20,000.

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[19] Deseret News, Sept. 28, 1854. [20] Alter, op. cit., p. 101.

They opened in John Packs adobe house in the Seventeenth Ward. . . . .

The following year, 1850, Holliday & Warner appeared, who constituted the second firm in the commercial history of our Territory. William H. Hooper came to Salt Lake City, in charge of their business. They opened in a little adobe building which had been erected for a school house on President Young's block, east of the Eagle Gate. . . . . .

Main street first began to define itself from the extreme upper quarter. John & Enoch Reese were the third firm in historical date established in Salt Lake City, and they built the second store on Main Street, upon the ground now occupied by Wells, Fargo & Co. J. M. Horner & Co was the fourth firm, and they did business in the building occupied by the Deseret News Co. This firm continued in business but a short time and was succeeded by that of Hooper & Williams. . . . Gilbert & Gerrish, before the Utah War, became noted as one of the principal Gentile firms; and Gilbert occupied his stand after the settlement of the difficulty with the United States and the evacuation of the troops. It was also at this quarter of Main Street where William Nixon flourished and where the majority of the young commercial men in Salt Lake City of this epoch, including the Walker Brothers, were educated under him.

William Nixon was an Englishman and a Mormon. His commercial career was first marked in Saint Louis. To this day the "boys" educated under him speak of William Nixon as the "father of Utah merchants;" it was the name that he delighted in while he lived.[21]

All these men engaged more or less in freighting in order to carry on their own business. They went to the east, purchased goods and either brought them to Salt Lake in their own outfits or hired others to bring it in for them. At least they took full responsibility for the success of the venture.

One of the first men to undertake such freighting was T. S. Williams who pursued almost every type of enterprise in the western transportation effort. He carried the mail[22] which gave him some added revenue. Before the government took the mail business over, it was not uncommon to receive from twenty-five to forty cents per letter delivered from Salt Lake City to the Missouri or visa versa. He undertook to guide groups of emigrants across the plains.[23] He freighted goods on a custom basis and brought trains of goods to Salt Lake to supply merchants, principally himself and

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[21]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 378-379. [22]Deseret News, June 22, 1850.

[23]Deseret News, June 22, 1850.

his partners. He joined with several of the merchants in business, but these arrangements did not last very long at a time. S. W. Richards tells of his associations with T. S. Williams which gives an idea of his operations in Utah. On Mar. 28, 1855, he records:

> . . . I was engaged in several items of business arranging with T. S. Williams, to bring out a carding Machine for us--Myself, Elias Smith, and Joseph Cain who were to be equally interested in the Matter, of obtaining and putting up the Machinery, Mr. Williams agreed to bring out the Machine, requiring us to pay 50% on the Cost of the Machine and the Freightage.[24]

On Mar 31 he records further:

> Wrote and mailed a long letter to Henry. Made up, and T. S. Williams signed the agreement relative to bringing out the carding Machine and Bro. E. Smith advanced $150 which I received and gave to T. S. Williams an order on E. Smith for any amount required to purchase the Machine in St. Louis. The brethren were dragging in the Oats, and wheat.
> Sun. April 1. Some writing occupied my time in the Morning, letters for the East to be sent by T. S. Williams.
> Mon. Tues 2 April. Bro Empy called and informed me of the name of the Company in Kansas to whom I was to write and authorize T. S. Williams to receive from them 7 barrels of Sugar stored there by him last Emigration with Riddlebonger & Co. Continued my writing from time to time to send out by T. S. Williams who did not leave until the 4th inst. and by him I sent letters to A. Dow, Milo Andrus, & Erastus Snow, St. Louis, & F. D. Richards, L'pool.[25]

Because these freighters sold their outfits and all in the valley and depended upon the purchase of new ones at the frontier, the spring of the year saw a general exodus of merchants, freighters, and others leaving Salt Lake by the mails. An item in the Deseret News records:

> The eastern mail left the Post Office at 8 a.m. of the 1st inst, and the California mail left the same time.
> Mr. Thomas S. Williams of the late firm of J. M. Horner & Co., now T. S. Williams & Co., W. S. Godbe, on drug business, G. W. Moore, Major S. Downie, P. A. Jackman, Alma Williams, Mike Dennis, Geo Knowlton, Quincy Knowlton, Lewis Sansansee, Mr. Donnell, Jr. Jos. Mason, merchant of Provo City, Jos Allen accompany the eastern mail; the majority are

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[24]Samuel W. Richards, "Diary of Samuel W. Richards 1839- 1874," (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 216.

[25]Ibid., p. 216.

> going with a view to purchase goods, and transact other private business in the States.
>
> In addition to transacting business for the firm, T. S. Williams, Esq. has purchased drafts to a large amount on several of the departments at Washington.[26]

Not all of the merchants and freighter-merchants were permanent residents of the Territory. Many came on a speculation, to get what the trade would afford them on a single trip and investment and then leave with no intention of returning nor of making much of a contribution to the community while they were here. An example is to be found in the Deseret News;

> On the 28th, Mr. C. A. Perry of the late firm of C. A. & E. H. Perry, left for Missouri, the firm, having very profitably closed out the stock of goods they brought in last fall. A brother of C. A. Perry has just started for California with a large drove of cattle.
>
> Mr. J. L. Mason has sold his fine stock of goods to the Trustee in Trust of the Church, and will leave for California, in a few days, with a large drove of cattle.[27]

Some of the Saints, when the opportunity presented itself, entered into a freighting and merchandising arrangement as in the case of Thomas Taylor:

> We dropped in on T. & W. Taylor's a day or two ago, and were pleased to see friend Thomas, after the labors of his late mission and the duties of the emmigrating season, looking and feeling so well. His stock is varied, with the quality good and the prices reasonable. He holds forth in the L. W. Hardy & Co's. old stand.[28]

Several of the citizens of the Territory, particularly members of the church, were afforded such opportunities of entering into the freighting business by their association with the emigration of the Saints to the mountains. As these brethren were placed in charge of a company of emigrants, they also assumed the responsibility to purchase for them the outfits, supplies, freight for the church and other functions. While they were thus so engaged, it was an easy matter for them to add a few wagons, a few animals,

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[26] Deseret News, April 4, 1855. [27] Ibid., May 30, 1855.

[28] Ibid., Jan. 4, 1866.

and a few articles of merchandise to the already large stock which they had purchased for the emigration and church. These goods could then be shipped to Utah either in the regular emigrant trains or independently. Mr. Horace S. Eldredge, the emigration agent for the church is an example of this type of freighting. Mr. Eldredge is quoted by Tullidge as follows:

> April 2d, I again left St. Louis for Chicago to purchase more wagons, finding that I needed more than I had engaged. After settling with Mr. Shuttler for the wagons already engaged, I contracted for seventeen more for my own individual use, and returned to S. Louis. . . . After attending to the loading and starting of my own train, under the charge of Jas. Lemmon, with seventeen wagons loaded with my own merchandise. I returned to St. Louis, accompanied by F. Little and his son James, to make further purchases and to load several mule teams that had been sent from the valley by Pres. B. Young, H. C. Kimball and others. . . . . .
>
> On the arrival of my train, in charge of James Lemmon, I sold, to W. H. Hooper, an interest in the goods and we opened them in a part of the building since occupied by the Salt Lake Herald.[29]

Merchants came often from less expected quarters. Parley P. Pratt in a communication to the Deseret News says:

> On the 13th of Nov. inst., there arrived in this city from New Mexico, Senores Jose Damain Giron, Thomas Chocon, Bieinto Charves and others.
>
> They have for sale some hundreds of woolen blankets or serapas some of which are manufactured by the Navijo Indians. As a speciman of the arts among that people, and as an article of home manufacture, they are worthy of patronage.
>
> They have also for sale a number of horses and mules.[30]

With the coming of Johnston's Army in 1858, the freighting and merchandising activity in Utah took a definite turn for the worse, for a time at least. All the freighters suspended operations from the close of the 1857 season until the 1859 season. Most of the Gentile merchants and freighters left the Territory for their own safety and the safety of their investment. The New York Herald of Feb. 23, 1858 reports:

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[29] Tullidge, op. cit., p. 67 of biographical appendix.

[30] Deseret News, Dec. 1, 1853

> Mr. Bell, of the firm of Livingston, Kinkead & Co. of Great Salt Lake City, having arrived here within the last few days, direct from Utah via California, and being the last of the "Gentiles" who left that Territory, our reporter sought an interview, for the purpose of obtaining reliable information on matters and things generally in Mormondom, and submit the following as the substance of an interesting "talk" with that gentleman.
>
> Mr. B. went out to Utah with one of the principles of the firm, in 1849, for the purpose of establishing business relations with the inhabitants of that Territory. Being well received, they immediately opened store, and from that time till the 8th November last, with the exception of six months absence, Mr. B. has been a resident of Great Salt Lake City.[31]

The Mormon freighters, not knowing what the intentions of the army were, but being informed that Col. Johnston would stop all freight to Utah as a military expedient, they stayed at home rather than risk their outfits and investment. As a result, the freighting of goods into the Territory all but ceased. The freight which was brought in from California during these years was rather inconsequential. In 1858, California was the only source of supply. The army sutlers and government freighters supplied most of the materials purchased by the citizens of the Territory. These goods were supplied either directly or through resale to Salt Lake Merchants. Many of the new merchants and freighters of the Territory got their start from the selling of goods brought from the army to the citizens of the territory.

While these commercial freighters were operating in the territory, the church was active in the freighting enterprise also. The interest of the church in the freighting business was to supply machinery and equipment rather than goods and merchandise. This freight was carried in either, so called "church trains," or in personally owned trains of members of the church. Much of the freighting was carried on in connection with the emi-

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[31] Deseret News, May 12, 1858. Quoting from the New York Herald of Feb. 23.

gration. As agents were sent to superintend the organization and outfitting of the emigrant trains, they were often given orders to purchase machinery and goods for the church. An extra wagon or two were included in the emigrant companies to bring that freight to Salt Lake. Horace S. Eldredge relates:

> The following Spring (1854) brought its cares and responsibilities, as a large emigration from Europe as well as many from St Louis and vicinity and different parts of the States were preparing to migrate to our mountain home, and all were more or less looking to me as agent to provide for them their outfits by way of teams, provisions and the various necessities for a trip across the plains. I also received orders from Salt Lake City to purchase a large quantity of merchandise, machinery, agricultural impliments, and to provide wagons, teams, teamsters, etc., for their transportation.[32]

Church Freighting

Even though there grew up a freighting activity with California, the church did business with the east only. When Jules Remy and Julius Brenchly were on their trip through Salt Lake, they apparently were in need of some financial assistance in California. They appealed to Brigham Young for help:

> He answered us kindly that the Mormons had dealings with the eastern states only, but that perhaps the house of Livingston might be able to render us the service we required.[33]

The first company of freighters organized for the church was started from Kanesville in 1849. This company was raised by the poor, driven refugees who needed every facility available to help them to move west. By subscription from the Saints of desperately needed wagons and supplies, an outfit was provided to haul the machinery to Salt Lake. This effort is described by Ashton:

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[32]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 67, Biographical Appendix.

[33]Alter, op. cit., I, p. 209, quoting "A Journey to Great Salt Lake City" by Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, M.A. in Two Volumes, I (1861).

A month later, the three apostles at Kanesville "fitted out" three ox drawn wagons with the Church Property. It included "a carding machine, printing press, type, box of cases, glue, stationary, printing ink, 872 bundles of paper. . . . . .

In turning over the printing press and other equipment to Egan, the three Apostles at Kanesville gave him a letter. In it they explained that the three wagons not only contained the printing press and supplies and carding machine, but also "an old Dutch clock," a "picker," and a box of German books, and another containing stationery. The largest of the wagons, they said contained about 2400 pounds, another, about 1800, and the third "not over 1600."[34]

As the community grew economically, more and more equipment was necessary to fulfill the added needs of the Territory. Within a year of its first issue, the Deseret News was already expecting a new press:

> Our large press is en route for the valley, and we expect it will be ready for use about the close of the present quarter of the news.[35]

Often the church would purchase machinery and equipment for the general benefit of the community, but more often an effort was made to induce private enterprise to furnish these needed articles. In a communication from the presidency of the church to "The Presidents, Bishops, and Saints Generally:"

> We wish the capitalists in your community to use their means for purchasing machinery--for manufacturing purposes--which will best meet the growing wants and necessities of the people of this Territory; and if the Saints residing in the settlements over which you preside want dry goods and groceries let them select brethren in whom they have confidence, and place means in their hands and send them to purchase goods in the eastern States.
>
> If the machinery for working up the wool grown in this territory were more plentiful, the people would manifest a much greater interest in taking care of their sheep than they do at present, for when it costs the people more to grow the wool and manufacture it than it does to buy cloth, we cannot expect them to employ much of their time and means in raising sheep; but let those brethren who are able, bring forward wool carders, spinners and power looms, and sheep raisers will multiply and the great profits which will be realized on the manufacturing of the raw materials may be retained by those whose interests it is to build up the kingdom; whereas if the people do not improve the present opportunity and obey this counsel, aliens to the government of God will possess themselves of that which the Almighty intended his Saints to enjoy. Cease paying the exhorbitant prices demanded by disinterested

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[34]Ashton, op. cit., p. 17-18. [35]Deseret News, July 12, 1851

> persons and our enemies for all imported articles, and hundreds of thousands of dollars may be saved annually by the Saints, and the revenue which has heretofore enriched those who have no interests with us, may be devoted to the building up of the Kingdom of God which we, as Saints of the Most High, have covenanted before heaven to do all in our power to accomplish, and woe unto this people if they violate those covenants. BRIGHAM YOUNG, HEBER C. KIMBALL, DANIAL H. WELLS.[36]

Large sums of money were sent by the church agents to the east to purchase needed machinery which was later sold to private enterprises in Utah.

Sugar was an item which was scarce in Utah. There was no adequate source of supply of the large amounts needed by the citizens of the Territory. Attempts were made to supply the need. One is cited in the Deseret News:

> Last week a sweet substance was discovered on the leaves of the trees. A few began to gather it by stripping off the leaves and soaking them in water; in this way Br. A. Daniels made 11 lbs of sugar in one day; it looks and tastes like maple sugar. Many scores of men, women, and children are now engaged in gathering it.
>
> Br. Aaron Daniels has just brought in three specimens which he sends to your care, and which you will please deliver as follows, Viz: one cake to Prest. B. Young, one to Br. G. A. Smith, and the other to Br. A. C. Cerrington. Br. Daniels says he made 20 lbs. yesterday, and he thinks it is getting better every day.
>
> When it was first discovered some said that it was honey dew, others said it proceeded from the Cotton wood leaves, but it is found on all kinds of leaves and on the rocks. My children have gathered and brought in a quantity of it, which they had taken from the leaves, as it is deposited, many of the leaves have scales of this sweet substance as thick as window glass and some a great deal thicker.
>
> Br. Daniels tells me that his process is to cut the twigs from the trees and after soaking in water strain and boil, similar to making maple sugar. I have tasted some excellent methaglin made from the same substance.
>
> (The cakes of sugar above mentioned came safe to hand, the grain and color and slightly bitter taste were doubtless due to the leaves, and probably arose from being soaked rather too long.)[37]

Besides the quality being inferior as cited above, the quantity

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[36] Deseret News, Jan. 11, 1851.

[37] Deseret News, August 8, 1855, from a letter from Elder L. N. Scovill to Br. Joseph Cain. Provo, July 31, 1855.

was far from being adequate. Brigham Young in his Governor's message in 1851 says:

> Upon this last named article (sugar) I will submit a single estimate for your consideration. Not more than twenty thousand persons would use 456,250 pounds, allowing only one ounce a day to each person; the expense of transportation alone, at the low rate to ten cents a pound would amount to $45,625; a sum adequate to construct the most extensive sugar manufactory.[38]

In an attempt to satisfy the needs from local industry, the church undertook to import, from England, machinery for the manufacture of sugar from beets. The pattern for this industry was taken from the practice in France. The importation of this machinery became a major freighting undertaking, requiring forty large Santa Fe Wagons,[39] hundreds of head of oxen and a cash outlay of $40,000,[40] to say nothing of the months of labor required to accomplish the undertaking. When the manufacture of sugar was contemplated, it was necessary for the agricultural facilities of the citizens to supply the beets for the industry; the seed for these beets became a matter of freighting on the part of the church.[41]

As the printing business became established in the valley, large amounts of paper had to be shipped in, most of it in church trains.[42] The cost of such importation was very high. In order to make the industry independent of shortages and excessive expense, which were inevitable, machinery for the manufacture of paper was imported. This was accomplished under the direction of Brigham Young:

> The Paper mill imported last season by President Young, is to be put into operation at the earliest possible date in the Sugar House Building, after the weather moderates so that the work can be prosecuted advantageously. . . . . .

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[38] Deseret News, Jan. 11, 1851. [39] See note 21, Chapter IV.

[40] Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 66. [41] Alter, op. cit., p. 132.

[42] Deseret News, Oct. 12, 1854.

> The expense attending the importation of paper for printing since the settlement of the Territory by the Saints, has been enormous, and there has not been more than one fourth as much printing done as there would have been if paper had been manufactured here. All that has been used has been imported, either from the States or from California, at an expense that few can comprehend who have not had experience in such matters. . . . . .[43]

The paper mill never fully supplied the needs, but it did much to improve the situation. As the increased circulation and size of the paper placed a strain on the old machinery, new and better machinery was imported.

Besides machinery, agricultural supplies and materials were needed to establish a productive economy in the Territory. Seeds, cuttings, and grafts of all kinds were sought for and imported into the area under the encouragement of the church. The Deseret News gives credit as follows:

> Elders Whiting and Edwards, with highly commendable forethought and care brought several grafts from the choice varieties of apple trees in the Western Reserve, Ohio.[44]

Merchandise was imported by the leaders of the church in the trains belonging to the church and emigrants. Their goods and commodities were for the use of the leaders of the church in their own homes and for the use of the church generally. They were not for the resale and competition with the established business men in the Territory. In 1859 the following article appeared in the Deseret News:

> The church train, so called, arrived on Thursday last, one day sooner than expected at the date of our last issue; . . . There were not many families with this train, as the wagons were freighted with merchandize, machinery, &c., for Presidents B. Young, H. C. Kimball & D. H. Wells, the Public Works, Prof. Carrington, H. Moon and others some eight of them being loaded with paper, type, ink and other materials for the Deseret News office, all of which was received in good condition.[45]

Two attempts were made by the membership and sanction of the church

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[43]Alter, op. cit., I, p. 325. [44]Deseret News, August 20, 1856.

[45]Deseret News, Sept. 7, 1859.

to establish express carrying companies. This was to improve the carriage of goods to the Territory and to improve the communication between the States and the Territory of Utah. In 1850 the Great Salt Lake Valley Carrying Company was organized under the proprietorship of Shadrach Roundy, Jedediah M. Grant, John S. Fullmer, George D. Grant, and Russell Homer.[46] Of this enterprise Bancroft says:

> A carrying company was established in December for the purpose of conveying passengers and goods from the Missouri River to the gold regions of California. In their prospectus, the proprietors set forth that, residing as they did in the valley, and being acquainted with the route, they could provide fresh animals as they were needed and save the loss of hundreds and thousands of dollars that had been incurred by former parties through inexperience. For passengers to Sutters' Fort, the rate was $300, of which $200 must be paid in advance, and the remainder on reaching Salt Lake City. For freight the terms were $250 per ton, of which two thirds must also be paid in advance.[47]

This enterprise did not come to fruition but did give impetus to the freighting business to Utah. Tullidge in speaking of A. O. Smoot and his association with the enterprise:

> In the fall of 1849 he returned east to establish a carrying company with Jedediah M. Grant, on the Missouri River, twelve miles from Winter Quarters, which however, was not accomplished, but they established a ferry there and started the largest portion of the emigration of that year. In the spring of 1850 he engaged to bring out two trains of merchandise, one for Colonel John Reese, and conducted one for Livingston & Kinkead--the former by his partner, Jedediah M. Grant, the latter conducted by himself. These were the earliest of the merchant trains that supplied the Salt Lake market after the one brought by Livingston & Kinkead the previous year.[48]

Even though this enterprise was unsuccessful, the names of the associates appear repeatedly both in commercial and non-commercial freighting to Utah. This start made an indirect contribution to the freighting enterprise in the Territory.

In 1855-57 the mail service in Salt Lake had been very unsatisfac-

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[46]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 298, (footnote). [47]Ibid., p. 298

[48]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 874.

tory. In order to have some control over this important function in the Utah Territory, Brigham Young encouraged Hyrum Kimball to bid on the contract at a ridiculously low figure, $23,600 a year, "a sum barely sufficient to defray expenses."[49] In order to impliment the mail contract and assist in its successful operation, and to provide means for communication and the bringing of goods to the Territory as well as assist the emigration, Brigham Young conceived the idea of establishing the Brigham Young Express Company. The name was changed to the Y X Company. Paramount in the consideration of the company was the advantages which would come to the community in improved facilities and not primarily a monetary return, however, a financial return was visualized. The details of organization and operation as well as the program for achieving these ends were set forth in a Deseret News editorial:

> Many are already aware that this company has in view the increasing the facilities for the transportation of passengers, merchandize, &c., from the Missouri river to Utah, and so soon as practicable, to California. To effect this object with the desired regularity, speed, safety and certainty, both in summer and winter, numerous stations will have to be located at suitable points on the unsettled portion of the route, buildings erected and yards and pastures fenced. Men who are active, industerious, courteous and trustworthy, and no other, will be wanted at each station, also a suitable number of good horses and mules, together with provisions and other suitable articles. So extensive an operation will obviously require a large investment of means, but those means are fortunately within reach, consisting as they do of labor, animals, wagons, &c.
>
> In Large operations designed to build up and sustain themselves, it is expected that each person who lends aid thereto, whether in personal time and labor at any point on the route, in animals, or in means of any other description, will do so upon the principles of expecting and asking remuneration only when profits accrue, at which time each person concerned will be entitled to his share, in proportion to his investment. This statement will obviate asking such questions as, "how much shall I have for my labor?"
>
> As to animals, Wagons and other property turned into the company, they will be priced and credited to the individual, and will be used to the best advantage for the whole.

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[49] Bancroft, op. cit., p. 502.

> Should any person designated to a station wish to know how long he will be required to tarry, it will probably be until his place can be conveniently supplied by suitable persons from the East on his way to Utah, or otherwise.
>
> In regard to clothing and groceries, it is expected that each one concerned will provide himself with such articles, according to his taste, wants and means.
>
> In connection, and for the encouragement of all who are fond of increased rapidity in improvement for the general welfare, it may not be amiss to state that if this business prosecuted with the fidelity, energy and enthusiasm already manifested, and with the facilities and means readily within reach, it will be of incalcuable benifit in all movements pertaining to the transaction of overland business, the gathering of the Saints, the building up oases upon a now dreary route and developing the skill and energy of our mountain population. For this reason none need hesitate about stretching forth a helping hand, nor be fearful about ample compensation in due time.
>
> Messrs. Levi Stewart and William H. Hooper will pay a fair price, in merchandize for horses and mules that will fill the requirements of the Express and Carrying Company.[50]

Despite the rather hard and unrewarding requirements of the company, the Saints rallied to the cause and soon provisions were under way to activate the enterprise. The first consideration, of course, was the carrying of the mail which had been the start of the movement to give the citizens of the Territory some control over the transportation business. Men were chosen both for their dependability and their ability in the freighting and transportation business. One of the men chosen for this service was John R. Murdock. The conductors of the Y X Company who desired to render efficient service, set themselves the task of bringing the mail through in as short a time as possible. Former conductors had required a ridiculously long time conveying the mails. They were often as much as six months behind on their deliveries. John R. Murdock became somewhat of a hero in this effort and established himself as a very desirable man because of his exploits. His biographer says:

> "We left Salt Lake City," says John R. Murdock, "about the first day of July, 1857 carrying with us United States mail. There were three

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[50] Deseret News, April 1, 1857.

vehicles and six men in the party. John Kerr, an agent for Kincaid & Bell, the successors of Livingstone & Bell, merchants also traveled with us. He had with him a large amount of money, about sixty thousand dollars; I also had about thirteen thousand dollars in Church drafts. We felt, naturally, the great responsibility placed upon us. In fifteen days we covered the entire distance of twelve hundred miles from Salt Lake City to Independence, Missouri. Our stock was fed on grass only, but this was good all along the road. Our method of traveling was as follows: We arose at daylight, hitched up and traveled twenty miles then stopped for breakfast and rested an hour or two while our stock fed and watered. We then traveled twenty miles and made another stop. In the afternoon we made a like drive and stopped for supper, after which we made a fourth drive into the night, thus making an average of eighty miles travel each day for fifteen days."[51]

This feat of travel established a record which was probably never surpassed by similar equipment. Despite these elaborate preparations and the unprecedented success of the operation, the enterprise was terminated as a part of the general difficulty associated with the Utah War. Of this difficulty, A. O. Smoot says:

> . . . About one hundred miles west of Independence we began to meet heavy freight teams. The captains and teamsters all seemed to be very reticient in relation to giving their destination, and all I was able to learn from them was that they had Government freight and were bound for some western post, and the trains belonged to William H. Russell.
>
> In less than two days from that time I reached Kansas City, twelve miles west of Independence, where I met Nicholas Groesbeck who had charge of the Y X Company at that end of the route. In company with him we immediately proceeded to the office of William H. Russell, and there learned that the destination of his freight trains was Salt Lake City, with supplies for Government troops who would soon follow. I also learned from William H. Russell of the appointment of Governor Cumming and other Federal officers that came out with the United States troops that year.
>
> The next morning Mr. Groesbeck sent the mail into Independence and I remained in Kansas City to learn more of the movements of the Government, if possible.
>
> The mail we took down was received by the postmaster and he informed the carrier that he had received instructions from the Government to deliver no more mail for Salt Lake City at present.
>
> That denial implied that we had no more use for our stock and mail stations on the route; so, in consultation with Bro. N. Groesbeck and others, we concluded to move our stock and station outfits homeward. Myself and Judson Stoddard were given the responsibility, and two or three other young men (Bro. Ensign being one) were detailed to assist us.[52]

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[51]Tanner, op. cit., p. 122. [52]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 156.

On December 9, 1857, the following notice appeared in the Deseret News:

> All persons who furnished horses, mules, wagons, harness, or other description of property to the Y X Company, are requested to appear, personally or by agent, at the Church cattle yard in S. S. L. City, on Saturday, the 10th inst., when the animals and other private property in the possession of said company will be turned over to the several rightful claimants. A general and prompt attention is expected, that the late Y X Company may be enabled to close accounts.[53]

With the return of the materials and equipment to their owners, the Y X Company came to an end with less than a year of service in a freighting enterprise which might well have been one of the most important contributions to the freighting picture in the West.

Government Supply Freighting

When Johnston's Army came to Utah they found the people in a rather serious economic condition. Tullidge says of this period:

> The famine of 1855-6 had impoverished the Territory in its agricultural resources; the handcart emigration had brought to the country several thousands of poor people, destitute, after their terrible journey, of even the barest clothing, whereas in former years the "Independent Companies," and the "Ten pound ox team companies," had brought moderate, and in some cases rich and plentiful supplies, which had lasted the emigrants several years before they were entirely exhausted. But now for a long while the common sources of supplies had been suspended by the expedition itself. The Gentile merchants had broken up their houses at the approach of the army, and General Johnston on his joining his army issued orders that no trains of merchandise bound for Great Salt Lake City, should be allowed to pass his lines.
>
> Thus the community had become utterly destitute of almost everything necessary to their social comfort. The people were poorly clad, and rarely ever saw anything on their tables but what was prepared from flour, corn, beet-molasses and vegetables and fruits of their gardens. They were alike destitute of impliments of industry, and horses, mules, and wagons for their agricultural operations. Utah was truly very poor at that period; indeed, never so poor since the Californian emigrants poured into Great Salt Lake City in 1849.[54]

Even though the crops had been bad in the year of 1855-6, the crops of 1857 had been rather abundant so that by the time the army came, farm

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[53] Deseret News, Dec. 9, 1857. [54] Tullidge, op. cit., p. 246.

produce was plentiful but other areas of the economy were in short supply.

Before 1857, government freighting did not account for much of the volume of freighting to Utah; the government freighting did assist contractors in building up large outfits which they were then able to use to advantage at the time of the Utah War. When Fort Laramie and Fort Kearney became military posts, contractors undertook to supply these posts with supplies. One of the major freighting companies which had access to this vast freighting business was the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell of Independence, Mo. who used at one time 6,250 freight wagons and 75,000 oxen to carry on their immense business.[55]

It was not an uncommon sight for the Mormon emigrants to see freight teams loaded for the military posts along the way[56] but when they saw, in 1857 as S. W. Richards records, abnormally large numbers of these trains, there was serious cause for concern:

> Tuesday August 18 . . . Met Government Train 2 miles from Platte River, passed another Gov. Train 3 miles above the old pioneers Crossing, and Cowley Christenson and Parkes at crossing.
>
> Fri. 21 . . . One Gov. Train between Horse Creek station & Deer Creek on North side of Platte.
>
> Sat. 22. This Morn at 2½ o clock hitched up the teams and left for the ford at Laramie. Bro. Wimmer piloted us down and over the River, which we crossed at day break. Passed on and camped at night 40 miles below Laramie. This day passed two trains apparently freight trains within 10 miles of the Fort. The cattle were being herded on the North side, . . . trains on South. Just at evening, passed a large herd of Horses & Mules on N. side but saw no train of Wagons.
>
> Mon. 24. This day in the Morning about 100 miles below Laramie Met a Govt. train of 76 or more waggons & 6 yokes of cattle to each. & soon after, Met a Mule train of 10 or 11 Wagons and 2 carriages--1 four horse and 1 two horse. About 2 Oclock met a small emigrant train passing up, & 4 wagon & a carriage. At the mouth of Dry Creek, about 118 miles below Laramie we found on the opposite side of the river the first Camp of Troops, estimated from 200 to 250 tents and three heavy freight trains in sight camped on the banks of the river and a very great num-

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[55] Milton R. Hunter, Utah in Her Western Setting, (2d ed. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1943.) 223.

[56] Deseret News, Sept. 5, 1855.

ber of cattle. They were in camp for night when we came in sight of them. We camped just below before dark, & I wrote a letter to Briant Stringham and sent Bros. McBride & Biers back that evening with it, giving an account of the Trains, Troops &c., that we had seen.[57]

When the citizens of Utah heard of the coming of the army they were entirely at a loss to account for the reasons for the army being sent to Utah. They were kept entirely ignorant of the charges leveled against the Mormons which should be serious enough to cause the sending of an armed force to Utah. No definite figures could be established as to the number of troops sent to the Territory; in fact it seemed that the war department was not sure themselves as to the procedure. In a communication dated Leavenworth, Kansas, April 4, 1858 the following estimate of the situation is given:

> Editor Mo. Republican:--After mine of this same date left, the Polar Star arrived, bringing S. Louis Dates to the 1st. As this was Sunday and every one seemed to be down upon the Levee there was quite a rush to procure papers--the chief anxiety seeming to be to learn if Lecompton had passed. She bro't up a considerable quantity of Government freight, including some fifty of sixty wagons. I have not yet been able to procure a complete list of it.
>
> It has been concluded, I believe, that the troops now in Kansas, at Fort Leavenworth will march for Utah on the 20th instant, and on the 10th of May. It is calculated that there will be 5,500 men of the United States Army in the field by July. Russell, Major & Wadell, in sending forward necessary equipment of the force, will employ some three thousand five hundred men additional. To enter this service, men are now flocking in from all parts, and large numbers being those already engaged, are now camping in the vicinity of the Fort. Between the city and the fort there are many quiet proofs of preparations to be found in the accumulation of wagons, horses, mules, and men and such like.[58]

Within two months the complexion of the picture had changed somewhat. In a communication in the Deseret News the following:

> Washington June 13, Lieutenant Gen. Scott has been in consultation with the Secretary of war as to the army movements, in view of the late occurances in Utah; and orders have been sent by express to a large

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[57]Richards, op. cit., p. 295-297. See also note 52 Chapter V for A. O. Smoot's account of meeting the troops.

[58]Deseret News, June 2, 1858.

portion of the troops now on the march across the plains to turn in the direction of various localities requiring protection. The immense magazines of supplies will, however, be forwarded to Utah.[59]

The plan was to send five thousand five hundred men for the army in Utah--with supplies for the same. Only two thousand five hundred arrived--[60] the remaining number had been sent on other errands enroute. Thus the army was obviously greatly over supplied. An account of the freighting associated with the army for Utah is to be found in the diary of William Wallace Hammond, a teamster with Russell, Majors and Waddell:

> My attention was finally attracted by an advertisement in, I think the Saint Louis Republic, for teamsters for the army to go to Utah having to travel and for employment. I presented myself to the quartermaster department and upon representing my former position I was accepted, and in company with some dozens of others, and a number of Army horses started on the packet for Fort Leavenworth where I safely arrived and was occupied for a while in breaking mule teams. I had the misfortune to loose all my clothing and being unable to receive any wages I was necessitated to leave the employment of the government and having a recommend from the agent of Major, Russell and Waddell, I made application to drive the ox team loaded with freight to Salt Lake City at $40.00 per month, gold discharged at Salt Lake City or $30.00 per month furnished with transportation on return to Fort Leavenworth from my employer, William Childs. What I needed in clothing line for the trip some $60.00 in value.
>
> Childs train with 22 wagons each with six yoke of oxen and about seven thousand pounds of freight, mostly flour and twenty five men left Leavenworth about the seventh of July 1857. The fitting up and starting of the company was quite interesting most part of the teamsters being unaccustomed to such occupations. The cattle mostly unbroken Texas cattle which caused considerable diversion to those unaccustomed to such labor. Nothing of any particular importance on the fore part of the journey except a couple of stampedes of our stock the running of two of our horses with a herd of Buffalo on the Platt river above Fort Harmony, the buffalo upon the plain at that time being quite numerous and it was truly a grand sight to see large herds of those wild animals galloping over the praries, there are a number of points of interest to travelers which I do not deem necessary to mention being known to all who may travel the plains as I have.
>
> There is a place of interest, Ash Hollow, more noted on account of the great battle with Indians by the United States Troops commanded by General Harney in 1855. Courthouse and chimney Rock, upon the sweet water Independence rock, there we stopped several days, and if I remember right saw the first Mormons leaving the station and returning to the valley. We were visited at times by men purported to be mission-

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[59] Deseret News, July 28, 1858. [60] Hunter, op. cit., p. 432.

aries but were spys probably upon the action of the Army which was not behind until we arrived at Green River when we were over taken by the Army under Colonel Alexander, about this time or shortly after a couple of supply trains were burned by the Mormon boys to endeavor as much as possible to cripple opperations of the Army.[61] After consentrating on Hams Fork we commenced the moted march up that creek.[62] In many places the grass had been burned off, our animals were becoming poor and being harrassed by the scouting parties of the Mormons who drove off a large number of cattle, we traveled up the creek a while and finially were ordered to counter march which we did in good order as all armies do. At the junction of Hams Fork and Black Fork, General Sidney Johnston Commander of the Army joined us with the balance of the Army including the cavalry obviating the use of infantry mounted on mules or jackass cavalry. The order was then given for an advance upon Fort Bridger, in order that some idea may be formed of the dimentions of the army and attaches the command measured nearly sixteen miles when in motion. On the morning of starting for Fort Bridger I was taken sick and was obliged to ride on my wagon during the day, another man driving my team.

At night the weather was extremely cold for November, many of our mules lay down and died. My team ran away down a steep hill, I suppose on account of being icy, and during the performance the wagons was overturned and my head and body was brought in contact with the frozen ground, by which my collar bone was broken on the left shoulder, I was extricated from my position by a company of soldiers, wrapped up and placed in another wagon and pretty well jolted until we arrived in camp about ten or eleven oclock P.M. . . . Through the loss of oxen and the death of so many mules, we were not able to move but about one third of our wagons at a time. A portion were moved a few miles the teams returned and another portion moved, which course was pursued until we reached Fort Bridger. . . . Descharging us there against the will of most of the men, contrary to contract, we were not able to buy horses as they were not to be had, nor were we allowed to enter the Salt Lake Valley which some of the men attempted to do, but were brought back to the Fort by scouting parties of cavalry. An order was issued that the teamsters would be allowed fifteen days ration of flour and priveleged to return to the states as best they could, at that time the snow on the south pass and sweet-water was very deep, and the weather very cold, some few availed themselves of this offer, several died on Rocky ridge others managed to reach Fort Laramie badly frozen, where they were obliged to remain until cured and more favorable weather, a second order was issued on condition of volunteering to serve the United States for period of nine months, unless sooner discharged providing for furnishing the men clothing, pay and allowance the same as the United States troops. Over three hundred men accepted the offer which appeared their only salvation. The head quarters of the Army were about half way between our quarters and the Fort, owing to the anticipated scarcity of

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[61]For details of this attack see; William Alexander Linn, The Story of the Mormons from the Date of Their Origin to The Year 1901, (New York; The MacMillan Company, 1923) 489-491. Also Tullidge, op. cit., p. 173-175.

[62]Rather than attempt to pass through the canyons into Utah, they decided to go by way of Fort Hall.

provisions, an order was issued for the reduction of the rations of flour from 18 to 14 ounces, of other provisions there was comparatively plenty and not withstanding the many reports to the contrary, with the exception of salt, exception a plentiful supply from the Great Salt Lake. Salt was sold in limited quantities at from $2.50 to $3.00 per pound, during the winter President Brigham Young, it was said, sent out a load of salt which according to the rules of warfare could not be received but was thrown out and gathered up by the men.[63]

The Mormons selected as one of their leaders Lot Smith who greatly influenced the Army on their way to Utah. He is generally given credit for keeping the army from entering the Salt Lake Valley before winter set in. The destruction of trains by Lot Smith was not as large as it was providential. The estimates vary as to the number of wagons destroyed. Even if the number were to be established at one hundred, which is higher than the average estimate, the number was inconsequential considering the thousands of wagons which were accompanying the army. The supplies destroyed were all vital, being the staff articles of food.

> The official list of rations this destroyed included 2730 pounds of ham, 92,700 of bacon, 167,900 of flour, 8910 of coffee, 1400 of sugar, 1333 of soap, 800 of sperm candles, 765 or tea, 7781 of hard bread, and 68,832 rations of desiccated vegetables.[64]

The rounding up of large numbers of the government animals and driving them to Salt Lake had an effect of slowing down the progress of the troops. The psychological effect of the raids seem to have been the most important contribution in slowing down the progress. Colonel Alexander, who was in charge of the advanced portion of the army until Johnston could catch up with them, feared the danger of entering Salt Lake Valley through the Canyons. He decided to go north to Fort Hall and enter Utah Valleys from the north where there was not such a great chance of ambush in the re-

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[63]William Wallace Hammond,"Diary 1837-1869,"(Ms. "Mormon Diaries," Brigham Young University Library) VI, 10-15.

[64]Linn, op. cit., p. 491.

latively level approaches to Salt Lake City. This move proved to be a very time consuming operation. Linn says of this march:

> The march, in accordance with this decision, began on October 11, and a weary and profitless one it proved to be. Snow was falling as the column moved, and the ground was covered with it during their advance. There was no trail, and a road had to be cut through the greasewood and sage brush. The progress was so slow--often only three miles a day--and the supply train so long, that camp would sometimes be pitched for the night before the rear wagons would be under way. Wells men continued to carry out his orders, and, in the absence of federal cavalry, with little opposition. One day eight hundred oxen were cut out and driven toward Salt Lake City.[65]

Because of the efforts of the Utah militia, the lateness of the season, and the comparatively cold early winter of 1857, the army decided to make winter quarters at Fort Bridger and postpone their entrance into the valley until the spring of 1858. By the time the army was ready to make its march in the spring, all the trains had arrived in the general area of Fort Bridger. When they moved, they must have made quite a sight. John Pulsipher in his diary tells of the march of the army through Salt Lake in the following:

> It was the latter part of June that this once proud, but now humbled army, came into Salt Lake Valley. Instead of their doing as they boasted they would do with the Mormon women, they passed thro the deserted City prepared for burning--without seeing one of them. There was scarcely a man in sight.
>
> A few home guards, were in the city where they could see, without being seen.
>
> It took a whole day, from 8 in the morning 'til sundown, for that army to pass thro the city to camp west of Jordan. The train consisted of about 3,000 men & 6000 wagons with six mules to each wagon. The army moved over to the west mountain & made camp out of our way.[66]

Besides the army itself, large trains of supplies arrived in the valley during 1858. In the Deseret News of Oct. 6, 1858 the following appears:

> Messrs. Majors, Russell, and Waddell have forwarded, from Kansas, Leavenworth and Nebraska 4004 wagons laden with Government freight.

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[65] Ibid., p. 491. [66] Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 131.

> Who has this enormous expenditure of public funds benifited, except it be army contractors, speculators and depraved politicians?[67]

How many of these freight wagons are to be accounted for in the train which came in with the army is not clear. It would seem reasonable to assume that the amount of goods brought to Utah was tremendous. Because of the nature of the expedition and the purposes for its being sent to Utah, the citizens of the Territory were not disposed to be overly considerate of the army. When opportunity presented itself, therefore, to sell to the army they took full advantage of it. Services and materials which were purchased by the army were as high as they could be reasonably placed, while any offered goods and services coming from the army were purchased as low as it was possible. James McBride expresses it:

> The soldiers sent here to annihilate the Latter-Day Saints were then stationed at Camp Floyd--about forty miles South-East of Grantsville--though they were sent here to do us harm, they were of great benifit to us. They had brought with them Horses, Mules, Work oxen and wagons-- also large quantities of Merchandize and provisions. They needed our hay and straw for their animals. We would sell, if we could get our price. We then decided that bishop William G. Young should manage the selling of our hay and straw--and the brethren were agreed to comply with what ever arrangements he would make with the government officers in this matter. Our hay was sold for forty dollars per ton, our straw for one dollar per cubic yard.
>
> We could buy a very good yoke of oxen for thirty dollars--their wagons for a very small price--they were here, the Soldiers had no use for them--we could buy them very cheap.
>
> We could buy such of their merchandise as we wished, and were consequently able to furnish our families with quite comfortable clothing and other necessaries in our houses.
>
> The overruling hand of God had once again been turned in our favor. The enemies of the Latter-Day-Saints, had been made by circumstancial changes, to use their stores of greenbacks and Merchandise, to the advantage of the Saints.[68]

This prodigious supply of goods in the valley which had been in

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[67] Deseret News, Oct. 6, 1858

[68] James McBride, "Autobiography 1818-1876," (Ms. Brigham Young University Library) p. 39.

need of so much a short time before,[69] found a ready acceptance and market. Tullidge says of this period:

> The presence of the army soon changed the condition of the community. It was not to be expected that the leaders of the Church would from the Tabernacle encourage much intercourse between the camp and the citizens, but quite a number of the self-reliant men, who have since represented the business and commerce of the Territory, sought directly the intercourse of trade with the camp, while the more cautious furnished these middle men with the native supplies of the country, by which the trade was sustained. In this way money was gathered in freely by the Gentiles and the bold Mormon traders, and the people generally were thus indirectly clothed and supplied with the delicacies of tea, coffee and sugar, in return for the produce of the field, the dairy and the chicken coop.
>
> It was at Camp Floyd, indeed, where the principal Utah merchants and business men of the second decade of our history may be said to have laid the foundation of their fortunes among whom were the Walker Brothers. Nor should it be made to appear that this commerce with Camp Floyd marked the rising of an apostate wave in Utah society. It signifies simply the desire of each to better his own condition and that of society at large. And thus commercial intercourse and mutual benifits softened the feelings of hostility between the citizens and the soldiers, and the Utah Expedition became transformed into a great blessing to Utah, and expecially to the Mormon community.[70]

As soon as matters began to settle down in the Territory between the army and the citizens, the old freighters and merchants began to return and take up where they left off when the army came. Some of them joined the Sutlers at Camp Floyd and undertook to supply the army;[71] others returned to civilian freighting, but most of them tried to cater to both the civilian and military trade. Private freighters who had attached themselves to the army as Sutlers, found the overstocked army camp a poor market, and some of them transferred their interests to the civilians and began to supply them. As an example:

> Radford, Cabot & Co. Sutlers 5th regt., Infantry U. S. Artilary in receipt of their Spring Stock of Goods, to which they invite the attention of the citizens of this Territory, at the old stand of Mr. Howard.[72]

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[69]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 246. [70]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 247.

[71]Ibid., Oct. 6, 1858. [72]Ibid., May 16, 1860.

Utah merchants found Camp Floyd an ideal supply center for the purchase of goods which they could use to advantage in carrying on their own business pursuits. An advertisement in the Deseret News gives an example:

> The undersigned beg leave to inform their friends and the public generally that they have purchased the large and well selected Stock of Goods, formerly owned by Miller, Russell & Co. at Fairfield, Cedar County, U.T., at which place they will continue the wholesale and retail Dry Goods and Grocery Business. Their stock consists in part of Dry Goods, Staple and Fancy Groceries, Boots, and Shoes, Hats and Caps, Liquors, &c., all of which will be sold low, cheap for cash, or exchanged for flour, grain or good work cattle.
>
> They have also purchased the entire lot of the well known Russel, Majors, & Waddell Wagons in the Territory, and are now offering them for sale for cash, or any of the above mentioned articles.
>
> George Goddard, G. S. L. City, is their authorized agent to make sales of wagons in that city and they also have agents in Provo and Payson.
>
> Thankful for the patronage heretofore extended to them by the people of this territory, they ask for a continuation of the same. A. J. Stewart & Co.[73]

There seemed to be considerable difference of opinion as to the real reason for the Utah War. There was much considered opinion that the war was not to put down an uprising among the Mormons, but to provide the freighting contractors with an occupation for their outfits and a chance to make a handsome profit on their time. A dispatch from the Army in Nebraska to the Evening Post says:

> Fort Laramie, Neb. Ter. 18 July 1858.--We have received General Scott's order of the 29th June, making new dispositions of the troops in and under orders for Utah.--The General seems (very naturally, considering the rumors) to be a little suspicious of the Mormons. The idea of their intended treachery is laughed at on this line, and has been raised and encouraged by the contractors for their own ends. This Utah war is known on the route as the "contractors' war." and this people in western Missouri and Kansas are extremely anxious to prolong it.[74]

It was natural for the citizens in Utah to assume that the Utah War was a contractors war observing as they did that tremendous fortunes were being made on commodities which they freighted to the Territory. Tullidge says of this matter:

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[73] Ibid., May 16, 1860. [74] Ibid., Oct. 6, 1858.

A passage here, from the New York Herald's Utah special correspondent, of the novelties of the Camp Floyd trade must be quoted for its striking illustration:

"Among the rascalities of those times, contractors were awarded to certain political hucksters at Washington for an enormous quantity of flour to be supplied at $28.40 per 100 lbs. which in the course of time was furnished by the Prophet at $6 in the City of the Saints. That contractor also managed to get an order from the Secretary of War for the specie at Camp Floyd prices, failing which he was to be paid in mules, and of these he had his choice, at figures ranging from $100 to $150 each. Great bands of these animals were driven to California, and sold on the Pacific at nearly six times their Camp Floyd prices. With such and many other flagrant facts, it is not surprising that the Prophet and the Apostles designated M. Buchanan's expidition to Utah in 1857, 'The Contractors' War.'"[75]

The above flour deal was not the only advantage given to the freighting contractor. The St. Louis Democrat of August 24, 1858 makes the following observation on the advantage given to these contractors:

> . . . The issue between the Secretary of War and the Quarter-Master, is that the latter has been too exacting in his dealings with the contractors; that in several cases he rejected mules which they alleged came up to the specifications of the Department, and that the price he set on those which he accepted was below the market value.
>
> He is also accused of partiality to a few of the contractors, but the gravamen of the charges against him is that he refused, as the agent of the government, to accept all the mules which were offered to him by some contractors, and also abused the discretionary power with which he was invested by paying them prices, which, though in reality exhorbitant, were below the calculations of their cupidity, and the promises of those politicians in Washington who procured for them the patronage of Secretary Floyd. . . . The Pensylvania clique had also its candidates on the ground.--The Secretary gave orders to them all to supply so many mules--the number put down in order being in proportion to the congressional influence exerted in behalf of the recipient. No price was fixed, but the Secretary sent autographed letters to the Quarter-Master at Fort Leavenworth, telling him indirectly to allow a large percentage on the outlay of the contractors.[76]

The Utah War might well, then, properly be termed the "Contractor's War." The start of the conflict was closely related to the contractors to Utah in that it was the letter of Mr. Magraw, the mail contractor to Utah, setting forth his grievances against the citizens of Utah. This was because of his loss of the mail business to Hyrum Kimball, which gave impetus at

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[75]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 247. [76]Deseret News, Oct. 20, 1858.

least to the conditions which prompted the sending of troops to Utah. In fact, "the Secretary of State reported that the only document on record or on file in his department was the letter of Mr. Magraw to the president."[77] When the army came to Utah, it would seem that if the emergency were acute at all, all the soldiers destined for the Territory would have been sent here instead of being reassigned before they came here.[78] When the troops were sent elsewhere, why would the supplies for the troops be send to Utah instead of with the army they were destined for?[79] With the preferred consideration given the freighting contractors in the entire enterprise, it certainly would indicate the appropriateness of the name, "The Contractor's War." If the contractors were not actually responsible for the starting of the war, at least they were the only ones who derived benefit directly from the whole affair.

During the freighting season of 1859-60, goods poured into Salt Lake City at unheard of rates. Two items from the Deseret News will illustrate. The first appeared on July 27, 1859:

> Merchant trains have been coming in so thick and fast of late that their arrival has almost ceased to attract attention, and if there is not some depreciation in the price of goods offered for sale in this market ere long, there is more money in the territory and a greater demand for merchandize than has been seen of late. Among the trains that arrived lately is that of Mr. Randall, freighter for Livingston, Bell & Co. consisting of some fifty wagons and about one hundred and fifty yoke of oxen. There are many other trains on the road from the Missouri river, some freighted with goods for the regular merchants, and others for transient traders, who are coming out here to pick up some of Uncle Sam's cash, which they suppose will be scattered about profusely. If the latter succeed in gathering many of the golden eagles that are uncaged, they will have to be very expert and sell their trappings at more reasonable prices, than have been demanded by the dealers since the "war."[80]

On August 24, 1859, the following appeared:

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[77]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 502. [78]See note 58 Chapter V.

[79]See note 59 Chapter V. [80]Deseret News, July 27, 1859.

> Train after train of merchandize has arrived in this city within the last two weeks and, from reports, trains loaded with goods for this market, will be continually rolling in till late in the fall. East Temple Street has of late been literally filled up with freight wagons, and one man taking advantage of the occurrence, built a house on the side walk much to the anoyance of his neighbors who were thereby somewhat left in the shade, for the time being; but inasmuch as the City Council has repealed the ordinance inhibiting the building of houses on the line of the streets, others in that vicinity will probably build there. If they can get the wagons out of the way so that they can do so. We think it would be a good plan to have the wagons taken out of the street as soon as they are unloaded and not left there week after week as has too often been the case, to the great inconvenience of the public as well as to private individuals, however, if merchant trains continue to arrive as fast, for weeks to come as they have during the last month, we hardly know what they will do with the wagons, unless they take them out of the city.
>
> The market was never before as well supplied with merchandize, as it is now, and the general tendency of prices is downward.[81]

Some of the freight was belated goods for the army, some of it was imported by returning freighters and merchants, and still more belonged to speculators and temporary contractors. An example of the latter is Solomon Young who came in 1860:

> A train of some forty wagons, propelled by one hundred and thirty yoke of oxen, arrived on Thursday last, about the same time that Capt. Walling's company came in, belonging to Mr. Soloman Young of Jackson, Mo. and freighted with merchandize for Mr. Ranzhoff.
>
> The wagons were coupled together in pairs, one behind the other, each pair having on board about sixty hundred pounds and drawn by six pairs of oxen--the usual number attached to those large cumbrous heavy wagons that have been much used in freighting merchandize and Government stores across the plains.[82]

Some of these speculating freighters found that by the time they arrived in Utah with their trains, the troops had moved off to California. Of course, they took with them the market in which a fortune was to be made. Mr. Solomon Young, according to his grandson, Harry S. Truman, experienced such a disappointment.[83] Brigham Young, however, interceded in his behalf

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[81] Ibid., August 24, 1859. [82] Deseret News, August 15, 1860.

[83] Salt Lake Tribune (Carter). During his campaign visit in Salt Lake, President Truman requested any information on the subject of his grandfather and his freighting experience in Utah.

and found a market for his goods with William Jennings who paid him $40,000 for his freight.[84] This was probably not the fortune that Mr. Young intended to realize from his effort, but which permitted him to return without a total loss at least on his enterprise.

Round Trip Freighting

In 1859, a new type of freighting business made its appearance in Utah. Round trip freighting from Salt Lake to the Missouri and return in the same year was inaugurated. Some misgivings were entertained for the practice as to its practicability. The Deseret News of May 11, editorializes:

> A small company of men started for the Missouri River, on Monday with teams expecting to return with them this season; which if they succeed in doing, they will certainly have to take good care of their animals, especially if they bring back loads as we are informed is their intention.[85]

A number of freighters took interest in the experiment, for it remained so for a time at least. Among them were A. R. Wright and E. R. Young who were as successful as any of the early round trip freighters in the area. By the fall of 1859 the success and feasability had been established for that year at least.

The Deseret News of Sept. 14 records:

> Capt. Feramorz Little's mule train of some 14 wagons, loaded with merchandize, arrived on Friday last, having made the trip from Florence in 40 days. He left for the States on the 9th of May, and made the trip to the Missouri river and back with the same teams, returning with them in good condition.[86]

The experiment was repeated again in 1860 with considerable success. A few more men building on the success of the previous year made the trip:

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[84]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 77 of Biographical Appendix. This purchase of merchandise started Mr. Jennings in the merchandising business in Utah.

[85]Deseret News, May 11, 1859. [86]Deseret News, Sept. 14, 1859.

On Friday last a company consisting of some thirty ox wagons, with three and four pairs of oxen to each wagon, started from the encampment on Big Kanyon creek, near the mouth of the kanyon where they had been collecting several days, for the Missouri river for freight, intending to return this season.

There were also six or seven mule teams started with them, but after getting over the mountains they will probably go on ahead and leave the ox teams to jog along at their leisure as they will be more likely to make the trip successfully by moving slowly, especially at the commencement of the journey. Capt. J. W. Young is in charge of the ox train, whose experience in traveling across the plains will be of material benifit to the company if his advice and instructions are strictly heeded.

There were quite a number of passengers, not apostates, went with the company, going to various parts of the United States and some to England and other parts of the old world, most of whom are not expecting to return this season.[87]

So successful had the project become by the end of 1860, that it had grown beyond the state of an experiment and had become an accomplished fact. The success of the project is attested to by an article which appeared in the Deseret News in the autumn of 1860:

On the evening of the 3d instant, Capt. Joseph W. Young arrived with his freight train, consisting of some thirty wagons, with ox teams, which have made the trip to the Missouri river and back this season. The cattle which we did not see, are said to have returned in good order and condition, looking better than some that have only driven from the states this year. Capt. E. D. Wooley, with a train of nine mule wagons, with which he went to the east from this city last spring for merchandise, was also in company, and several others, increasing the number of wagons that came in with Capt. Young to fifty one.[88]

This system of freighting was so generally accepted that the church experimented with it, in that they sent wagons to the Missouri River with missionaries. As the missionaries were sent on to their field of labor, the wagons were loaded with supplies and returned to the Valley by emigrants who were in need of transportation.[89]

These men who engaged in the round trip freighting were well prepared for their work not only by reason of their knowledge of the problems

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[87] Ibid., May 2, 1860. [88] Ibid., Oct. 10, 1860.

[89] Deseret News, July 4, 1860.

of travel across the plains[90] but because of their knowledge of the nature of the market and the needs of the citizens in the Territory. With this understanding it naturally followed that they should enter into the commission buying for Utah. The Deseret News calls attention to their advertisers as follows:

> By reference to the advertisement of Mr. E. R. Young published in this number, it will be seen that he proposes to transmit freight from New York, St. Louis or Florence to this city the coming summer, at rates that are considered reasonable in these times.
>
> Those wishing to import machinery or merchandise into this Territory, the former being the most needed, will do well to make arrangements with Mr. Young, for its transportation.
>
> He is a practical business man, with energy of character to accomplish whatever he undertakes, and in our opinion will give general satisfaction to those who contract with him for the performance of any service they may wish to have rendered, either in freighting, or in selecting and purchasing machinery or any kind of merchandize they may wish to order from the States.
>
> There are other gentlemen going east in the spring, who are competent to transact any business intrusted to their care, among whom M. A. R. Wright, whose announcement appeared in the news some weeks since.
>
> Mr. Wright brought through a train last season and, so far as we know, gave good satisfaction.[91]

Commission buying became the accepted way of business in the Territory in the years to come. Many people engaged in this type of business, both from the point of view of buying and freighting and buying only. As these agents became established, various manufacturers granted exclusive rights to sell their products in this area. A. R. Wright advertised, "I will take orders for Sloat's improved shuttle Sewing Machines, or any other make; also Beard and Bro's Excelsior fire proof safes."[92]

Church Emigration— Freighting Enterprise

As the success of the round trip freighting became established and the practicability of the venture had been successfully demonstrated, the

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[90]See note 87 Chapter V. [91]Deseret News, February 22, 1860.

[92]Ibid., Feb. 6, 1861.

church began to lay plans in that direction. In a sermon delivered by Brigham Young in the Tabernacle October 6, 1860, he said:

> We now contemplate trying another plan. If we can go with our teams to the Missouri River and back in one season, and bring the poor, their provisions etc., it will save about half of the cash we now expend in bringing the Saints to this point from Europe. It now costs in cash nearly as much for their teams, wagons, hand-carts, cooking utensils, provisions, etc. for their journey across the plains as it does to transport them to the frontiers. We can raise cattle, without an outlay of money, and use them in transporting the Saints from the frontiers, and such freightas we may require. Brethren and sisters, save your fives, tens, fifties, a hundred dollars, or as much as you can, until next spring-considering yourselves, as it were a thousand miles from a store-and send your money, your cattle, and wagons to the States, and buy your goods and freight them. Twenty dollars expended in this way will do you as much good as several times that amount paid to the stores here.[93]

The raising of the necessary teams in the settlements was a matter of considerable sacrifice for the settlers. The experiences of the citizens of Wasatch County is typical of the undertaking:

> Up to the years 1860 emigrants coming to Utah usually had to furnish their own ox team and wagon with which to cross the plains from Missouri river to Utah. But from that time till the railroad came into Utah men and teams were sent back from Utah each year to bring the emigrants across the plains. As many as 500 men and teams have been sent in one year, nearly all ox teams with four yoke on each wagon. These teams were made up of practicaly the whole people. One man furnishing an ox or yoke of oxen until four yoke were got together and some man would furnish the wagon and some man was called to drive the team. It took about 5 months to make the journey there and back. In 1861 three men and teams were sent from Heber, the men were Jesse Bond, Elisha Thomas, and Geo. Carlile. These men were called by the bishop as a mission. . . . The people generally were very willing to help.[94]

If the settlement could not find outfits among their own people, they were required to acquire them at the expense of the community and the personnel were to be furnished without cost to the enterprise. William McIntosh relates:

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[93]Alter, op. cit., I, p. 319.

[94]William Lindsay, "A Brief History of Wasatch County From Its Settlement and Especially of Heber City," (Ms. Wasatch County Library, 1929) p. 9.

> Munday April 15, 1861; there has got to be a Team fitted out by this Settlement to start on Wednesday for the frontiers to Haul for the Church the reason we have so Short a time is with some Missunderstanding with brother Johnston but we went to work with our might and bought a wagon from brother Standish from the City because we have non of our that is Suitable and had to Pay nearly two prices for it but we have accomplished it and the Team is gone. . . . . .
>
> Saturday April 26, 1862. We are ingaged these times in riging out a team to send back to the States we have got it very near Completed and John McIntosh My Son is called upon to go with it John started with the teem on Wednesday May 23; 1862 he was well fitted out with provisions and Clothing but it is the first time he has been from home and it make us feel a little uneasy we have a work to doe all of us and we had better doe it willingly if we expect to receive A good reward John will be twenty years of Age the 13 day of June next and I think he is Old enough to take care of himself.[95]

Despite the difficulty of raising the necessary outfits and the sacrifices, the requests for teams and outfits were often oversubscribed. The trains were heterogenius in their make up both in personnel and in function. Upon the occasion of the departure of one of the trains, the Deseret News took occasion to give a description of the trains:

> During the past week, all the teams have started which are going east this spring, to assist in gathering the poor wishing to emigrate to the peaceful bales of Deseret, and for the importation of merchandize, and machinery, of which large quantities will be brought, if the expectations of the many who have either gone or sent to purchase shall be fully realized. More or less teams in each of the church trains have gone on private account--many to assist old friends who begin to recall to mind the sayings of the prophets and wish to enjoy a season of peace, after wittnessing so many scenes of turmoil and war, as they have within the last two years. The number of horse, mule and ox teams which have left for the frontiers within the last three weeks, we have no means of determining, but we are safe in saying that it exceeds that of any previous year. Capt. Preston's company we believe, took the lead of the Church teams and from latest accounts received from the companies, it is believed that he has passed Fort Bridger before this time, and Capt. White with the rear train is supposed to have camped somewhere in Echo Kanyon last night.[96]

This freighting system proved very useful to the private citizen who could provide himself with a wagon or two and the animals necessary for

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[95]William McIntosh, "Diary 1857-1898," (Ms, Brigham Young University Library, 1947) p.

[96]Deseret News, May, 1863.

the enterprise. If he were unable to finance the purchase of an outfit at the Missouri River as had been the general procedure before this type of freighting came into general use, he was under the necessity of leaving his hauling to the established contractors. But now under this system, he could travel with his neighbors, use his own equipment, travel with a mixed train of both freighters and emigrants and feel quite at home. Williams Adams,[97] and George W. Johnson[98] were private freighters who undertook to freight for themselves and benefited by the general round trip freighting. The volume of freight brought to Utah in these trains was considerable. In a dispatch from the Missouri River the following account of freight sent with the above mentioned group is listed:

> Five trains, sixty wagons to the train, have already left for Salt Lake, loaded with goods and Mormon poor. There are five more trains to leave, making in all about six hundred wagons. It is expected the last train will leave next week. There are already on the plains about two thousand emigrants, and two thousand yet to leave.
>
> The amount of freight leaving here this season for Salt Lake has been immense, far surpassing that of any previous year, several cotton mills have been freighted out. The last one up, taken out by Gen H. S. Eldredge will cost when delivered in Salt Lake, $25,000. The freight on the same to this point amounted to $1,500. The mill is complete in every particular, having three sets of cards, etc. Gen Eldredge's purchases in the east amount to upwards of $100,000. Gen E. upon acquaintance, we find a very intelligent; agreeable and clever gentleman. He is going much to develope the vast resources of Utah Territory.
>
> Mr. Little, who has had the general supervision in the labor of dispatching the trains, purchase stock, etc. has been indefatigable, energetic and full of enterprise, and we have no doubt, had discharged his laborious duties to the entire satisfaction to his people. Our old friend, Lewis D. Hill, Esq., has been very attentive to his duties as chief clerk.[99]

As these teamsters arrived at the frontiers, they were not sure what their loading was to be; the necessity of the moment dictating if they should haul freight, emigrants or both. John Clark Dowdle tells his experience in this matter:

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[97]William Adams, op. cit., p. 27. [98]George W. Johnson, op. cit., p. 9.

[99]Deseret News, Sept. 2, 1863.

After remaining there several days it was thought best for our train to load with freight instead of the emigration, there was at this time a large amount of telegrap wire for the deseret telegraph line in Utah teritory consigned to Eldrige & Clawsen. On the arivel of this freight, I was appointed to receive the same from the steamer, there was shiped to this place one hundred and sixty seven thousand pounds of wire incelater &c. after geting our loading on our wagons, and ready for a start home, (and in conection with this loading we had four famelys of our emigration in our train these being mostly friends of some of the teamsters. . . .[100]

While the church was carrying on the round trip freighting the commercial freighters continued their operations. Even with the large amounts of freight brought into the Territory by the church freight trains, the market seemed to be sufficiently large enough to provide a lucrative business for private enterprise as well. There seemed to have been little distinction between the church and the commercial trains. Dispatches related that they often traveled in company with each other. Even small groups would join together for protection from the Indians or take advantage of military escorts who were provided by the army at the time of the Indian depredations.

Much of the buying for the citizens of the valley was done by the Commission merchants who were increasing their activity. The materials which they purchased were either shipped in their own trains[101] or with the Mormon round trip freighters. Every mercantile house in Salt Lake had at least one commission agent who was active on behalf of the citizens of Utah. Among the commission buyers, of course, were the church agents who not only did the purchasing for the church but also for the laymen of the Territory. As the railroad progressed in its development, new commission agencies made their appearance; such as Mageath & Co.:

J. G. Mageath, W. D. Thomas, S. D. Mageath. Mageath & Co. Commission and forwarding merchants, Cheyenne, D. T. Receive and forward goods to the territories of Colorado, Utah, Montana, &c. charges for advancing, storage and forwarding at reasonable rates. Reference: to

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[100] Dowdle, op. cit., p. 20. [101] Deseret News, Mar. 25, 1868.

the Merchants and Bankers of Omaha, Denver and Salt Lake City, generally. Mark Freight, Colorado and New Mexico--Care of Mageath & Co, Cheyenne, vio Omaha, and for Utah and Montana--care of Mageath & Co, end of track, U.P.R.R.[102]

Through the efforts of these various freighting movements and enterprises, the Saints and other citizens of Utah were supplied more or less completely with the needs of life. It seems that never, even though tremendous supplies were freighted to the Territory, did freighters succeed in providing for all the wants of the citizens. Not until the Railroad came did the people realize the luxury of an unlimited supply of goods.

Export Freighting

Utah did not engage in the export business as we ordinarily think of it until rather late in her history. This was because of her rapidly growing population and because of the natural scarcity of goods in the Territory. She did, however, engage in a type of export freighting almost from the first day the pioneers came to the valley; certainly from the first year such exports were made. As the crops matured in the valley in 1848 and were harvested, the need of those still upon the plains became a problem to Mormons who were established in the valley. Even though they had little for their own use, the people on the plains had still less and they characteristically shared with them. Hosea Stout records in his diary that on August 30, 1848, "In the afternoon 45 waggons and teams arrived from the valley."[103] From this beginning, a yearly pilgramige was made from the valley to assist the emigration. These "relief trains," as they were called, carried large amounts of supplies from the valley to the poor on the plains. From the eighth general epistle;

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[102] Ibid., Mar. 18, 1868.

[103] Hosea Stout, "Diary," (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) VI p.

> The saints were late in their emigration, this year, and for the last two or three weeks have suffered from occasional snow storms in the mountains which retarded their progress, and helped to make them short of provisions, but some 200 or more teams and wagons went from the valley to their assistance, taking to the various camps some 40 or 50,000 pounds of flour and large supplies of vegetables, which enabled them to come in, in safety.[104]

This type of freighting found its greatest impetus and purpose in the period of the handcart immigration to Utah beginning in 1856. These carts were such that they were unable to carry the supplies needed by the emigration. As a result, freight wagons were loaded with the baggage and other supplies of these "cart" companies. There was one particular difficulty in this arrangement. The wagon trains of goods could not keep up with the handcarts which could far out-distance the slower ox wagons. As a result the people were separated from their baggage and supplies at a time when they needed them most. As the season advanced and the elevation of the trail increased, the chill winds caused their greatest damage and the lack of food was most noticeable. Because of the lateness of the season in which they left the Missouri River, some as late as August 26,[105] they were caught by winter a distance from the valley. Of the relief efforts for this group the Journal History records:

> The Relief Train came to our assistance on the 21st of October, with provisions and clothing and bedding and shoes.
>
> On the 22nd W. H. Kimball and others with six wagons returned with us. G. D. Grant and the balance of the Relief Train went on towards Independence Rock in search of the rest of the handcart companies. Crossing the rocky ridge we had a tremendous snow storm. The next morning Oct. 13 we buried 13 souls. Some six wagons came to our assistance at this place on the Sweet water. We traveled on and crossed Green river about 10 wagons from Fort Supply came to our assistance. From this time on wagons continued to come to our assistance with clothing and provisions. From the time we left Fort Bridger we had about 50 wagons assisting us on to the valley.[106]

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[104] Deseret News, Oct. 16, 1852.

[105] L.D.S. Journal History, Nov. 9, 1856. [106] Ibid., Sept. 15, 1856.

In addition to the above mentioned supplies and assistance extended to the poor of the Saints, other and more extensive efforts were being made. In an article entitled,"Prompt and Liberal Assistance," we find:

> In addition to the large number of men and teams and the liberal amount of flour and clothing already forewarded to aid the immigration yet on the plains, in obedience to the call of the First Presidency, on the 26th, many more are waiving their previous arrangements for the winter, and starting at the word with their teams, forage and more clothing for the destitute.[107]

As late as the last of November of that year a plea was made from the tabernacle by Brigham Young to induce the Saints to assist the poor, who were yet on the plains.[108] The plea was supported and as late as December 3, outfits were coming in from Cedar City with supplies for the poor.[109] Two emigrant companies who started even later than the last of the handcart companies,[110] were the concern of the brethren till the very end of the year. The Deseret News records:

> Caps. Hodgetts and Hunts companies.--A few have been brought in from the only companies still back, but the remainder are unable to come in without assistance. For this reason some 60 horse and mule teams, mostly with two spans to a wagon, left this city on the 2nd inst, with a supply of provisions and forage expected to be amply sufficient for all wants, as the outgoing wagons will load back with persons, and will probably be able to bring in all who can endure the journey, or are not needed to help take care of animals that may have to be left at Forts Bridger and Supply until spring.[111]

From 1856 until the round trip freighting effort of the church developed in 1861, handcart companies continued to come in to the valley and each season the necessity arose anew for help for these poor people. An exception to this necessity was the period during the occupation of Johnston's Army when all intercourse across the plains with the States and the

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[107] Deseret News, Oct. 29, 1856.

[108] Alter, op. cit., I p. 230-231.

[109] Deseret News, Dec. 3, 1856.

[110] Journal History, Nov. 9, 1856.

[111] Deseret News, Dec. 3, 1856.

valley ceased. During the period that travel was possible, the plans of the church and the people generally included the care of the handcart emigrants who would need help in coming through.

The assistance, which the church and its members gave, became a religious obligation, and was, therefore, entered into with considerable enthusiasm. Brigham Young in an address on October 3, 1852, says in a discourse on the resurrection:

> I will ask the people this morning, before I progress anyfarther, if there are not some few men in the congregation that are so circumstanced as to manifest their kindness by sending out a few more teams to meet the emigrants, for men and women are suffering in the snow. I want to know if there is righteousness enough here to raise about a dozen teams; if you will do this, I care not what you believe about the resurrection, if I can only get religion enough in the people to accomplish that, it will satisfy me for the present. At the close of the meeting, I wish those who are willing to go and help the suffering, to come foreward and say they will find teams for that purpose.[112]

When the round trip freighting was inaugurated by the church, the freighting of goods did not come to an end. Grains and their products were loaded by the wagons going to the Missouri River for the poor, to forstall the necessity of purchasing them on the high eastern markets. Some of these were cached along the trail and used then by the emigrants on their way west. In 1861, "Two hundred wagons, with four yoke of cattle each carrying about 15,000 lbs of flour started for the Missouri River to bring on the poor of the immigration."[113] By 1863 the operation had grown to, "Three hundred and eighty-four wagons, 488 teamsters, 3,604 oxen taking 225,969 lbs. flour."[114] Not only were the goods which were sent of the staple variety only. The Deseret News reports:

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[112] Deseret News, May 11, 1854.

[113] Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake Cities for 1884, Ed. Robert W. Sloan, (Salt Lake City: Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1884) p. 28.

[114] Ibid., p. 29.

> Bishop Hunter inform us that a large number of packages, consisting of groceries, clothing, bedding, dried fruit, etc. provided by the friends of the incoming immigrants have been forwarded to them. Part went in charge of Elder T. Taylor, and the remainder were sent by the Tooele and Grantsville teams.[115]

While the teams were going anyway some few enterprising citizens undertook to freight commodities from the Territory to the Eastern States. While the Civil War was in progress and the economy of the South was disrupted, cotton was sent from Deseret to the states. The story of this event is given by the Deseret News:

> By the church and other teams going to the States several tons of cotton, grown in Deseret, will be taken east where it commands, at present, 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 the 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 best prices, By the exporting operation a new impetus will be given to the cotton growing enterprise, as most of the cotton in market has been bought up for that purpose, and the probabilities are, that by the time the Pacific railroads shall be completed, large quantities of cotton, tobacco and other products of these valleys will be produced for exportation to the countries where a demand may be created by the operations of war, if peace shall continue to be enjoyed by the Deseretans.[116]

Even though the extravagant planning of the editor of the News did not come to fruition, the fact of the exportation of cotton, speaks well of the enterprising spirit of the people of Utah. One freighted coal across the mountains. In the Reese River Reveille of the 16th of July, 1868, we find reported:

> This morning a teamster brought into the city three tons of coal from a kanyon about forty miles from Salt Lake City which he offered to sell at 6½ cents a pound. The coal is of the bitumenous variety, and is excellent for the manufacture of gas.[117]

Even though the goods sent out by this type of freighting were not generally economically remunerative. The goods were usually donated and

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[115] Deseret News, Oct. 12, 1865. [116] Deseret News, April 29, 1863.

[117] Deseret News, July 29, 1868.

were consumed by the people coming to Utah to make their homes and were not paid for in the general interpretation of that term. Consequently little monetary advantage was gained by the citizens of Utah, yet they accounted for a large amount of goods over the years which were shipped out of Utah.

During the time that these goods were being shipped out to the support of the emigrating Saints, another type of exportation was taking place in Utah itself. Emigrants coming through Utah on their way to the coast and other areas in the West bought and hauled an immense amount of goods out of the Territory in their stock of supplies. These supplies were purchased from the citizens of Utah and thus provided a source of cash for the use of the people. Inasmuch as these commodities were not shipped by the regular avenues of freight, they could not be called freight but inasmuch as they were sold for the cash which the people needed, they could be called exports and certainly played an important part in the economy of the Territory.

Freighting to the Colorado Mines

After the army had left the Territory, many of the freighters found themselves with a great amount of freighting equipment. There was scarcely any demand for the large freight wagons and the thousands of oxen which they had brought to use in the freighting of goods to Utah. People had previously purchased the large number of government mules which had been sold for extremely low prices when the army left. Their outfits represented large frozen assets. The freighting companies and their drivers being in need of employment, or at least needing a convenient and economically remunerative way of returning to the States, decided to freight flour and grain from the Utah Territory to the mines at Pikes Peak. Of this enterprise and the misgivings of the citizens towards it, the Deseret News says:

Miller, Russell & Co. have for some time been fitting up a train for Pikes Peak, to take out a large quantity of flour, loading some of their wagons in this city, and some at Provo and other places in Utah county, and on Thursday 28th ult, the last of the wagons, constituting a train of fifty-three of those large freight vehicles, left Provo city, to join the others that had preceded them in Provo Kanyon, when they all moved forward for the place of destination, each freighted with from two to two and a half tons of flour.

The same firm as reported, are intending to start another large train for the same place shortly, and are wishing to engage some seventy five teamsters, for which they offer liberal wages, and will undoubtedly have but little difficulty in obtaining them.

C. A. Perry & Co. and Moore & Green have sent out teams loaded with provisions, and Hockaday & Burr are fitting up a large number of wagons to take flour to the mining regions of Kansas or elsewhere, and are wanting a host of teamsters by the 15th inst. and if there are any who wish to go to that part of the world, a better oppertunity could not well be presented than is now offered for such to make the trip without expense, and at the same time make a few dimes that may be of material benifit to them on their arrival in that country, even if money should be as plenty there as the stones of the brook.

The firm of J. Callisher & Co. also merchants in this city, are about to engage in a similar enterprise, and are fitting up a train for the Peak, as alleged, but if flour is as cheap there as reported, it will not pay transportation, though it will unquestionably be a reasonably remunerative operation to take it thence to the army in New Mexico and Airzona.

Merchants and traders have a legal right, of course, to buy up wheat and export it from the country, and producers have an undisputed right to with hold from sale every bushel they have raised, and if they do not exercise that right, and evil comes upon them in consequence, they certainly will not have reason to complain that they were not warned and forewarned of what might be expected to transpire.[118]

By the spring of 1861 these trains were on the move including some who had joined the ranks during the winter. Notice of this movement is given in the May 8 issue of the News:

Perry sent a train last week to Pikes Peak, and Dyer sent one to Carson freighted with flour. Mr. Walker is rigging up, and others are busy as bees in gathering up for the same destination. How long? How long?[119]

This export effort, though it was of short duration, removed enough flour from the Territory to give real concern to the citizens. Some even felt strongly enough about it to band together in an organized effort to

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[118] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1860. [119] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1861.

refuse grain for such purposes.[120]

Various private individuals undertook to export goods from the Utah Territory as they saw an opportunity to make some money. Without doubt, many of these enterprises went without notice, but the Deseret News does mention examples of this type of freighting:

> George Stringham takes 20,000 pounds of potatoes and 10,000 pounds of onions to Green River City for Showel & Bro. and starts today.[121]
>
> Four ox teams, of four yoke of oxen each passed through our city this morning from Springville, on their way to the Sweetwater mines, loaded with potatoes and other produce. A person seeing them pass remarked they might see "Bitterwater" before they returned.[122]

Proposed Freighting by Water

The idea of shipping goods by water in this desert area seemed to be an almost impossible task. To Brigham Young, however, who had seen all the difficulties which the citizens of Utah had to endure in order to supply their needs and bring their friends and relatives to this place felt differently. The advantages of transporting goods and persons by water and thus capitalizing on the added volume which would be possible seemed worthy of investigation to say the least. In pursuance of this conviction he presented his views, ambitions and inducements in an article in the Deseret News:

> To Those Who Are Engaged in Freighting on the Western Waters:- Gentlemen: You are doubtless aware of the far inland position of Utah, and that all her imported goods have to be transported in wagons from some point in the Missouri river, a distance of over one thousand miles. The tediousness and expense attending this toilsome and unsatisfactory operation cannot be fully realized by those who are only familiar with the facilities afforded by steamboats and railroads, hence, with a view to benifit the present and future population of Utah, to aid in further developing the resources of our wide-spread country and to supplant the labor of animals with the tireless power of steam urged into new and

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[120] Ibid., Sept. 5, 1860. [121] Ibid., Sept. 16, 1868.

[122] Ibid., April 29, 1868.

profitable channels, I will give a brief detail of my views upon the subject. I use the term brief from the fact that I am not now in possession of a full fund of information concerning a portion of the proposed route, neither have I present access to those individuals who may be acquainted therewith, I shall therefore discuss the plan as it appears to me, and give such facts as are at hand.

After having tried various routes and methods for the speedy, economical and healthful transmission of our numerous immigration, both foreign and domestic, the northern route from Boston, New York and Philadelphia, to Council Bluffs city, is deemed by far the best, yet when at the last named point, they are on the Missouri and more than a thousand miles of tedious travel short of their destination, and all our imported articles of machinery and merchandize have usually been landed on the banks of the same river, though at distances still further removed.

All the goods just named are either bought in or shipped to and from St. Louis, thus involving a constantly and rapidly increasing amount of carrying trade, the value of which is fully appreciated but by few, if at all. It is possible that boats already transport our goods to the nearest navigable point, but I do not consider it probable, for the reason I frankly offer my reflections.

For many years steamboats of heavy burden and deep draft have made annual trips for the fur companies far up the Missouri, but on account of their size and the limited nature of the trade on the Upper Missouri, little has hitherto been accomplished. Now alter those conditions by a large addition of freight and the substitution of boats constructed for navigating shallow and tortuous waters, and if even those waters are to be found as favorable as it is presumed they are, and on the route herein discussed it is obvious that a new field for enterprise is at once opened.

The plan proposed is, for persons engaged in the steamboat business to become acquainted with the kind of boats best adapted for starting from Council Bluffs city and steaming to that point nearest to the South Pass which it is profitably practicable to reach. Whether that point is best to be arrived at by way of the upper Missouri, Yellow Stone, Big Horn and Wind rivers, or by the Yellow Stone and some other of its tributaries, or whether any of the tributaries of the Yellow Stone will admit boats of the lightest available draft, are questions that I am at present unable to answer, neither can I now determine how near to the Pass such boats can come.

Suffice it to say that, from the best information, the whole route passes through a healthful, generally fertile and beautiful country, and along which, when once opened, the hardy pioneers from the western, northern and eastern states would flock by the hundreds and by thousands, causing the opening of cultivated fields and the sudden uprising of villages and towns, as if by the power of magic, in the beautiful Territory of Nebraska. The adventurous spirit of Americans has been often proven, but when steam power leads the van, who can fortell the rapid strides of improvement that will follow in its wake?

But without drawing upon the golden banks of the future, and to show that the present freight trade affords sufficient inducement for moving in the matter at once, I will give the following statistics connected with the transportation of merchandize during the past season.

Name of Firm	Freight	Rate per lb.	Cost
T.S. Williams & Co.	185 tons	17¢	$62,900
Livingstone-Kinkead	160 tons	17¢	54,400
Gilbert & Gerrish	75 tons	17¢	25,500
Snow & Co.	50 tons	17¢	17,000
Blair & Co.	35 tons	17¢	11,900
W.S. Godbe	8 tons	17¢	2,750
Total	513 tons		$174,420

To haul these 513 tons required for:

	Wagons	Oxen	Oxen died
T.S.W. & Co.	87	1000	300
L.K. & Co.	102	1000	210
G. & G.	54	600	75
S. & Co.	35	234	110
B. & Co.	21	336	20
W.S.G.	5	49	7
Total	304	3210	722

A glance at the above figures will show that the carrying business alone is already of sufficient magnitude to be worthy of your attention in addition to the large amount annually required by the Trustee in Trust of the Church which is not shown in the above exhibit, and will explain, in a measure, why I feel anxious to lessen the enormous expenditures for mere transportation.

With an intent to accomplish this object, in case you conclude to respond to the above suggestions, I proffer to send suitable persons by way of the South Pass, to ascertain by actual, careful examination how near light draft boats can come to that point, and should that distance not much exceed 150 miles, I can readily find a sufficient number of resolute men who will build a fort at the head of navigation, and store and protect all property placed in their charge.

So soon as this arrangement is fully made, it will be a comparatively trifeling operation to send teams from Utah for all the goods this market may require, for with a little more care and attention these mountain valleys can be filled with herds of cattle and bands of horses, and numbers of hardy and skilful men are always ready to embark in an enterprise of this nature. And in addition to that increase of freight naturally attendant upon the increase of our population, the reduction of price and the many advantages attending the doing our own hauling, without being compelled to pay out money for the purchase of animals and provisions for teamsters, would directly tend to swell the business to a magnitude well worthy and attention of the most able capitalists.

It may be queried, inasmuch as I am so sanguine of the success and mutual benifit of this new project, why I do not engage in it to the full extent, and build and run the number of boats adequate to the amount of freight. Slight reflection will convince any one that my position is too isolated, and my other operations too numerous and varied, to enable me to successfully compete with you upon your own grounds and in a department with which you are perfectly familiar.

You will please observe that I have not included any inducement held out by our large and rapidly increasing immigration.

Trusting that you will so far deem this article worthy of your attention as to favor me, at your earliest convenience, with answers con-

taining your views and proposals, and that this new channel for trade will be found feasable and benificial, and that the fort will be built and the channels sounded by the time that the boats can be got ready.
I remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant, BRIGHAM YOUNG.[123]

On the same day that this rather lengthy appeal to the established river boat operators appeared, the Deseret News included the following appeal to any interested individuals;

NOTICE: Persons who are acquainted with the Yellow Stone river and its southern tributaries, or who know of any within this territory who are, will confer a favor by furnishing such information at the Governor's Office, as it is particularily desirable to have a correct understanding concerning the amount of timber and quality of soil on those streams, and their adaptation to the purposes of navigation with light draft steamers.[124]

In response to this request the following item appeared in the Deseret News one week later:

Since the publication of the article, in No. 37, headed, "to those who are engaged in freighting on the western waters," we have been informed by Mr. James Baudiere, an experienced mountaineer from Green River Co. that steam boats have been run to the Great Falls on the Missouri which is comparatively, within a stone's throw of this city.
Mr. Baudiere further says that, after the portage of the Falls, keel boats can come far up the tributaries to the right bank of that river, which interlock with the head waters of Lewis' Fork of Snake river and those of Green river, from which point freight could be wagoned a short distance to where flat boats would take it down Green River to the immigrant road, or perhaps better to the bend of Bear river where it could be boated directly to this city.
He also ways that there is a good wagon route from here to the Fall, either by way of Weber Kanyon, Cache valley and the bend of Bear river, by way of Box Elder into Cache valley &c. or through the Malad valley, in which case wagons can if necessary, load at the falls, which will be found of great benifit over the present mode, even though Keel and flat boats are not used.
Timber, good soil, grass and other facilities for the necessary posts, are said to be abundant on the Upper Missouri and its branches, and we know that they are plenty on this side of the mountains.
A party will start, in a few days, to view the route from here to the falls, and their report will enable us to write more definitely concerning the precise course, number and location of the required forts, length and position of portages &c.[125]

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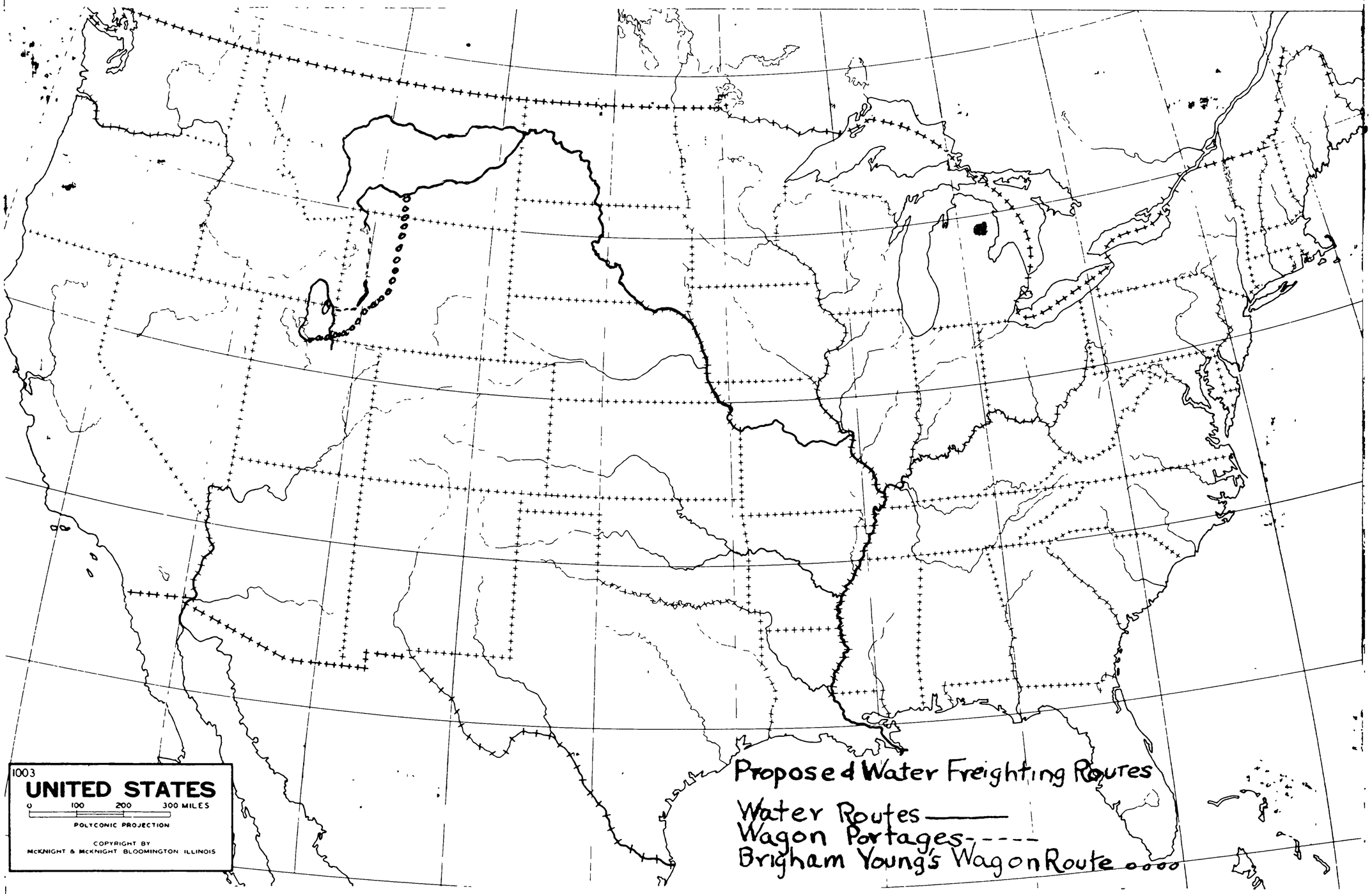
[123] Ibid., Nov. 21, 1855. [124] Ibid., Nov. 21, 1855.

[125] Ibid., Nov. 28, 1855.

PLATE II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McKNIGHT & McKNIGHT BLOOMINGTON ILLINOIS
Proposed Water Freighting Routes
Water Routes
Wagon Portages
Brigham Young's Wagon Route

During the time that this water route was being suggested and investigated, surveys were being made for rail routes, the citizens of this Territory were petitioning for a railroad. By the time the Utah War was over, the possibility of a railroad connection between the states and this territory seemed a better answer to the freighting problem than the further pursuance of the water freighting project. The latter was, therefore, shelved in favor of rail shipments.

So important did freighting become in the development of the Territory of Utah that every possible avenue of transportation was investigated and developed. Besides being an avenue of service to the area, freighting of goods provided a means of income which induced many people with many types of merchandise and methods of transportation to engage in the bringing of goods to Utah to supply the varied needs of this new country. As goods moved from place to place in this western area, the necessities and the wants of people were satisfied and civilization grew apace in this virgin country.

CHAPTER V

EQUIPMENT USED IN THE UTAH FREIGHTING ENTERPRISE

In the discussion on equipment, the writer will consider not only the vehicles used but also the animals which were used to convey these wagons across the plains. When special facilities were employed in the moving of the wagons or cargo along its way, these facilities will be considered as part of the equipment and will be discussed herein.

Freighting as it was carried on to and from Utah was a specialized activity which needed specialized equipment. The distances to be covered were long and the roads not good, which placed special strain on the vehicles and animals used in the enterprise. Durability and general substantiality were the primary requisites for this equipment. There were two ideas or philosophies, if they might be called such, which determined the types of equipment to be used in freighting. The emigrant-freighter and some of the commercial freighters were of the opinion that lighter wagons, adaptable to general farm and country work, but which were generally sturdy enough to withstand the rigors of plains travel, were the most economical for the transportation of goods. When they had served their purpose for freighting, they could be sold at an advantage in the valley. This idea was particularly prevalent during the early years of freighting when the freighter would make his way in the spring to the Missouri River with the proceeds of his past year's business, and there purchase entirely new outfits, animals, and all, load them with the coming years goods and take the entire concern to Salt Lake City, where the same thing was repeated the

following spring. With the coming of Johnston's Army to Utah in 1858 and the development of the round trip freighting on the part of the citizens of Utah shortly thereafter, the thinking changed somewhat to consider the larger, more rugged wagons which would serve for several trips across the plains. Considering their larger pay loads, they would therefore yield a larger profit per unit. These large wagons had been used for several years before in the transporting of goods and materials first across the Allegheney Mountains in the movement into the middle west and later in the freighting to Santa Fe and other western settlements and army installations. The purpose of this discussion will not be to investigate the relative merits of these two general types of vehicles, but rather to simply present the description of these two types of outfits from a historical point of view.

Chicago and St. Louis Type Wagons

When the emigrant came to Utah with his wagons and his household supplies, he, of course, planned to keep one wagon or more for his own use on his newly acquired farm and in his other related activity in establishing himself in the Valley. Tullidge says of this provision, ". . . retaining one wagon and one yoke of oxen for farm or canyon work."[1] Even though such provisions were made by the emigrants, there were thousands who came to Utah who did not have an opportunity to do this for themselves. The thousands who came with the hand carts and later with the church trains which sent from Utah to the Missouri River to bring the poor Saints to Utah did not have enough money to provide outfits for themselves. The outfits which were brought by the emigrants would wear out and had to be replaced.

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[1]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 667.

Consequently, wagons became items of commerce just as did other commodities. Thousands of wagons were brought to Utah laden with freight and then sold to replace or supply the above mentioned needs. The experience of H. S. Eldredge in supplying wagons for the emigration and freighting is cited in The History of Salt Lake City by Tullidge:

> I left on the 9th for Chicago, where I arrived on the 10th and put up at the "Briggs House." I called on Mr. P. Schuttler and settled with him for wagons that had been previously bought of him, and contracted with him to furnish me with nearly two hundred wagons for the next season, advancing him $3,000 on the contract and on the 12th, started on the return to St. Louis, arriving on the 13th. . . . . .
>
> April 2d, I again left St. Louis for Chicago to purchase more wagons, finding that I needed more than I had engaged. After settling with Mr. Schuttler for the wagons already engaged, I contracted for seventeen more for my own individual use, and returned to St. Louis.
>
> On April 23d I left St. Louis for Parkville, Mo., to purchase more cattle. . . I purchased seventy five yoke of oxen and eight mules of Mr. Thomson, sent them on to Florence in charge of James Brown and James Lemmon, and returned to St. Louis on May 3d.
>
> Having completed purchases for my first train I shipped the balance of my freight for this train, and a number of passengers on the steamer Isabella for Florence, leaving St. Louis on the 18th of May.
>
> On the 19th, I closed my business up to that time, and having negotiated a loan from J. J. Anderson & Co. for $4,000 on my own account I proceeded to Florence, where I loaded my own wagons, and moved out into camp. It was the handsomest train that I ever saw on the plains. It consisted of seventy-two wagons, all of uniform style, each drawn by three yoke of oxen, and rolled out under the charge of Capt. Horton D. Haight, provided with the necessary outfit.[2]

The above experience took place in 1854. In 1855 the following advertisement appeared in the Deseret News:

> We have for sale a number of excellent wagons suitable for general use, Also ox Yokes, chains &c. which we offer low for flour, wheat, oats and lumber &c.[3]

In 1859 the following appeared in the Deseret News, quoting from the Council Bluffs press:

> Gen Eldredge had 150 splendid Chicago and St. Louis Wagons there loaded with merchandize and various kinds of Machinery for this city, each wagon having about 2500 lbs of freight; in the aggragate nearly two hundred tons.[4]

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[2] Ibid., p. 67, Biographical Appendix. [3] Deseret News, June 27, 1855.

[4] Ibid., June 29, 1859.

By 1861, wagons of the above kinds were still being brought to Utah to be sold. The Deseret News says:

> The large merchant train of Messrs, Livingston, Bell & Co., of this city, arrived on Monday, consisting of fifty-seven wagons, not "ships of the desert," but good Chicago wagons, such as are in demand in the territory. Each wagon was freighted with thirty or thirty five hundred pounds of merchandize, drawn by three yoke of oxen, most of which are in good condition.[5]

The above mentioned wagons were all light wagons being freighted with from one to two tons of merchandise and being drawn by six head of oxen (three yoke). According to Burton this represented the average for the Mormons. In a footnote he says:

> According to Mormon rule, however, the full team consists of one wagon (12 ft. long, 3 ft. 4 in. wide, and 18 inches deep), two yoke of oxen, and two milch cows. The saints have ever excelled in arrangements for travel by land and sea.[6]

These light wagons continued to be brought to Utah in the freight trains until the railroad rendered such freighting unfeasable.[7] As the railroad moved west, it became increasingly less lucrative to use these light wagons because it was cheaper to ship by rail to the end of the tracks than to freight from the Missouri where these wagons were available.

In 1860, President Harry S. Truman's grandfather, Solomon Young[8] introduced an inovation in the use of light wagons. Of his arrival in Salt Lake City, the Deseret News says:

> A train of some forty wagons, propelled by one hundred and thirty yoke of oxen, arrived on Thursday last, about the same time that Capt. Walling's company came in, belonging to Mr. Solomon Young of Jackson, Mo. and freighted with merchandize for Mr. Ranzhoff.
>
> The wagons were coupled together in pairs, one behind the other, each pair having on board about sixty hundred pounds and drawn by six pairs of oxen--the usual number attached to those large cumbrous heavy

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[5] Ibid., Sept. 25, 1861. [6] Burton, op. cit., p. 23.

[7] Deseret News, Aug. 2, 1865 also Mar. 15, 1865.

[8] Carter, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

wagons that have been much used in freighting merchandize and Government store across the plains.

Mr. Young is of the opinion that the coupling of two wagons together in that manner is the most economical way of freighting to this Territory, as the same amount of freight can be hauled more easily on two light wagons than on one of those heavy concerns, heretofore used for freighting purposes, and by hitching them together the expense of teamsters is lessened by half. Light wagons are unquestionably better for such service, but we are not so sure that there can be anything saved, all things considered, by the coupling operation.

Mr. Youngs cattle look remarkably well and, as we are informed, he did not loose a single ox by accident or otherwise during the trip.[9]

The loads on these wagons were small when compared to those carried on the larger wagons used in the freighting business which shall be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Prairie Schooners

Any claim to a place in American Literature which freighters may have is not due to their activity but to the great wagons which they used in their enterprise. These wagons, called collectively, "Prairie Schooners," have excited the romantic immagination of those who observed them in action and of those who have retold the story of the west. These great wagons with their white covers moving slowly across the deserts and plains of America have given their part to the pioneering legacy which means so much to our people today. Of these trains, the Guide Series for Utah says:

> . . . The freight caravans usually consisted of about twenty-five wagons, each wagon drawn by six yoke of oxen and carrying approximately 5,000 pounds. "Each wagon is marked with a name, as in the case of ships," observed the Jesuit Father De Smet, "and these names serve to furnish amusement to the passer-by, the caprices of the captains in this respect having imposed upon the wagons such names as the Constitution, the President, the Great Republic, the King of Bavaria, Lola Montes, Louis Napoleon, Dan O'Connell, Old Kentuck. On the plains, the wagoner assumes the style of 'captain' being placed in command of his wagon and twelve oxen. The master-wagon is admiral of this little land fleet; he has control of twenty-six captains and 312 oxen. At a distance the

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[9]Deseret News, Aug. 15, 1860.

white awnings of the wagons have the effect of a fleet of vessels with all canvas spread."[10]

Burton, in his description of his journeys west, refers to these wagons and associated outfit in his descriptive style:

> Refreshed by breakfast and the intoxicating air, brisk as a bottle of veuve Cliquot--it is this that gives one the prairie fever--we bade glad adieu to Seneca, and prepared for another long stretch of twenty four hours. That day's chief study was of wagons, those ships of the great American Sahara which, gathering in fleets at certain seasons conduct the traffic between the eastern and western shores of a waste which is every where like a sea, and which presently will become salt. The white topped wain--banished by railways from Pennsylvania, where, drawn by the "conestoga horse" it once formed a marked feature in the landscape--has found a home in the Far West. They are not unpicturesque from afar, these long-winding trains, in early morning like lines of white cranes trooping slowly over the prairie, or in more mysterious evening resembling dimsails crossing a rolling sea. The vehicles are more simple than our cape wagons--huge beds like punts mounted on solid wheels, with logs for brakes, and contrasting strongly with the emerald plain, white tilts of twilled cotton or osnaburg, supported by substantial oaken or hickory bows. The wain is literally a "prairie ship;" its body is often used as a ferry, and when hides are unprocurable the covering is thus converted into a "Bull Boat." Two stakes driven into the ground, to make the length, are connected by longitudinal keel and ribs of willow rods; cross-sticks are tied with thongs to prevent "caving in," and the canvas is strained over the frame-work. In this part of the country the wagon is unnecessarily heavy; made to carry 4000 lbs., it rarely carries 3000; westward I have seen many a load with 3½ tons of 2000 lbs, each, and have heard of even 6 tons. The wheels are of northern white oak well seasoned under pain of perpetual repairs, the best material, "bow-dark" Osage orange wood (bois d'arc or Maclura aurantiaca), which shrinks but little, being rarely procurable about Concord and Troy, the great centres of wagon manufacture. The neap or tongue (pole) is jointed where it enters the hounds, or these will be broken by the heavy jolts; and the perch is often made movable, so that after accidents a temporary conveyance can be made out of the debris. A long covered wooden box hangs behind; on the road it carries fuel; at the halt it becomes a trough, being preferred to nose bags, which prevent the animals breating comfortably; and in the hut, where every part of the wagon is utelized, it acts as a chest for valuables. A bucket swings beneath the vehicle, and it is generally provided with an extra chain for "coraling." The teams vary in number from six to thirteen yoke; they are usually oxen, and "Old Country" prejudice operating against the use of cows. The yoke of pine or other light wood, is, as every where in the states, simple and effective, presenting a curious contrast to the uneasy and uncertain contivances which still prevail in

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[10] Utah, A Guide to The State, Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Utah (American Guide Series; New York: Hastings House, 1941) p. 127.

The antiquated Campagna and other classic parts of Europe. A heavy cross-piece, oak or cottonwood, is beveled out in two places, and sometimes lined with sheet-lead, to fit the animals' necks, which are held firm in bows of bent hickory passing through the yoke and pinned above. The several pairs of cattle are connected by strong chains and rings projecting from the under part of the wood work.[11]

Elizabeth Page gave the following description of the Conestoga Wagon which was generally classified as a "Prairie Schooner." Because of its peculiarities of construction, it probably gave rise to that name and did much to perpetuate it among the other large wagons used in freighting across the plains.

When at last the brand new Conestoga wagon was delivered at the fram, they all trooped out to examine it and to exclaim over the ark of a vehicle. Henry recognized with delight the "Hoosier wagon" that had taken his fancy in Chicago over ten years before. There were the same blue wheels and red body shaped like a boat with a long curve that raised the front and rear above the middle and so would prevent the load from spilling on the steep grades of mountain travel. The bottom of the body was fully fourteen feet long, and it was equipped beneath with overlapping tongues and a pin, so that the wheels might be coupled closer together if the exegencies of the road demanded it. The sides of the wagon-bed were five feet high, and front and back projected well beyond the lower dimension. Even before the three feet of extra height in the bows was added, it seemed to tower, and the stout build gave it a tremendous weight, "Near a thousand pounds empty as it was," said Henry. There were twelve bows to hold the canvas wagon-sheet, the front and rear ones being higher than the middle, to keep the rain draining back from the openings.[12]

Of Russell, Majors and Waddell freighting company, Carter says:

At one time the firm owned 75,000 oxen and over 6,000 wagons of the conestoga type, commonly called "prairie schooners." They were built in Pittsburg, Pa., were equipped with boxes or beds about 16 feet long and from 4 to 6 feet in depth, and were each provided with a heavy canvas cover. Each wagon was capable of carrying from 2 to 6 tons of freight, depending on the nature of the cargo. Nearly all were drawn by oxen. These wagons cost about $1000 each.[13]

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[11]Burton, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

[12]Elizabeth Page, Wagons West, A Story of the Oregon Trail, (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1900), p.

[13]Kate B. Carter, Trails and Pioneer Freighters Who Followed Them Including Toll Gates, Bridges and Ferries of the West. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of The Utah Pioneers, 1948), pp. 104-105. Quoting "The Great Salt Lake Trail" by Inman and Cody.

Other large wagons which came under the general description of "Prairie Schooner" were used in the western freighting effort. Among these were the "Santa Fe" wagons which had been developed for the freighting business to the south west many years ago. These wagons found wide acceptance for their general ruggedness and were used in the freighting of goods in many sections of the West. When the church was shipping the sugar machinery to Utah in 1852, they found that the conventional wagons to be found around Omaha, likely the light general purpose wagons referred to in this chapter, were not sturdy enough to haul the heavy machinery. These light wagons were given to emigrants who were traveling with the sugar train and "Young De La Mare, who here, at Fort Leavenworth, was supervising the shipping of the sugar plant to Utah, fortunately met one Charles H. Perry, a non-Mormon,' who sold him on credit forty great Santa Fe wagons, of heavy weight onto which the machinery was loaded."[14]

These wagons might well have been some of the wagons which Carter refers to as the "J. Murphy Wagons." Of these she says:

> . . . They were especially made for the plains, were very large and very strongly built, being capable of carrying seven thousand pounds of freight each. The wagon boxes were very commodious--being about as large as the rooms of an ordinary house--and were covered with two heavy canvas sheets to protect the merchandise from the rain. These wagons were generally sent out of Leavenworth each loaded with six thousand pounds of freight, and each drawn by several yokes of oxen in charge of one driver.[15]

A few of these large wagons are still to be found in the west, particularly as museum pieces at various pioneer installations. They differed from the Conostoga wagons in that the box was rectangular in shape and the bows were, therefore, less flared in their conformation. They were about the same size and capable of carrying about the same size load. They were

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[14]Roberts, op. cit., V. III, p. 398. [15]Carter, op. cit., p. 65.

generally rugged in their construction and built to withstand all the riggors of the freighting business.

One of these wagons is to be found at the present time inside Cove Fort in south central Utah. On Tuesday, July 14, 1953, the writer made the following measurements and observations concerning this wagon:

A sign on the side read: "20 mule team wagon built 1841." There was nothing which could be found in the examination to indicate the authenticity or otherwise of the above date. Measurements of the various parts of the wagon indicated the following: The rear wheel measured seventy-two inches in diameter while the front wheel measured fifty-six inches total diameter. The wheels were tired with an iron tire which measured one and one-fourth inches in thickness and three and one-half inches wide. The hubs of the wheels measured for both front and rear wheels twenty and five-eights inches over-all length from the outside to the inside. Maximum diameter of the rear hub was sixteen and three-quarter inches and tapered to the edges to thirteen inches. The front hub measured fourteen inches plus in maximum diameter. The hubs were banded with four iron bands, one, three-eights of an inch thick and four and one-half inches wide; one, three-eights of an inch thick and three inches wide, and two one-half inch thick and two inches wide. The spokes, where they enter the hubs, were two inches thick and four and one-half inches wide. The front hub is marked seven by twenty and the rear hub is marked eight by twenty which probably has reference to the dimension represented by the length of the hub and its radius. The felloes were four inches thick and three and one-half inches in width. The nut which secured the wheel on the axel was rather large. The threaded center hole was two and one-fourth inches in diameter, the squared shoulders were three and one half inches square and the entire nut was six inches in

diameter. The forward brake lever, which is mounted on the left side, was five feet and six inches long; the rear brake lever at the rear of the wagon which activated the brake beam was forty-one inches long and the brake beam measured four inches thick, eight inches wide and seven feet long. The rear axels or axel trees, which they were often called, were of hard wood, three and one-half inches front to back and twelve inches top to bottom. This timber was underlaid with an iron member which measured two inches thick at the center and three and one-quarter inches wide. This iron tapered to a maximum of three and one-quarter inches square where it entered the hub. The outer portion of the iron formed the threaded end of the axel. These two members were secured by six "U" clamps each made of three-quarter inch iron. The width between the wheels at the hubs was forty-six inches. The box measured forty-six inches wide, thirty-nine inches high and sixteen feet four inches long. It was made of two inch material for the box proper and two and one-half inch material for the floor of the box. The reach was four inches by five inches and extended the entire length of the wagon. The front hounds extend fifty-six inches back from the front axel. The tongue, which was missing, fit into an opening in the front of the hounds which measured three and one-quarter inches by six and one-quarter inches. The front bolsters measured five inches high by four and one-half inches front to back. The front axel itself was four inches front to back and nine inches top to bottom, faced with an iron member two inches thick by three and one-half inches wide. This member extended through the hub and was threaded to receive the nut. The original paint had apparently been red.

These massive wagons were usually freighted with from three thousand to six thousand pounds but they were capable of hauling much larger loads. In a dispatch from the Stockton Independent which is quoted in the Deseret

PLATE III

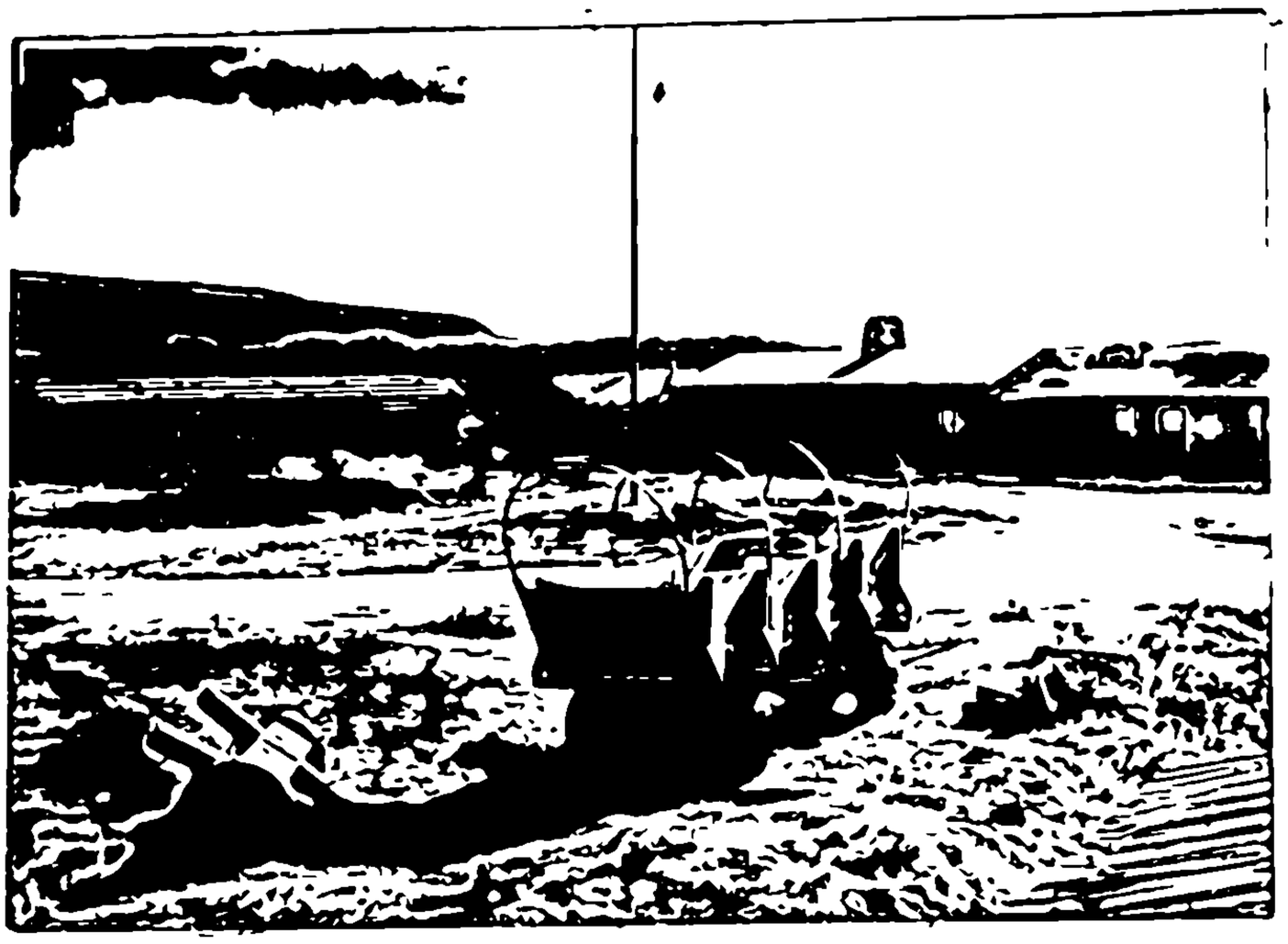

Fig. 1. "Prairie Schooner" at Fort Casper, Wyoming with solid wheels.

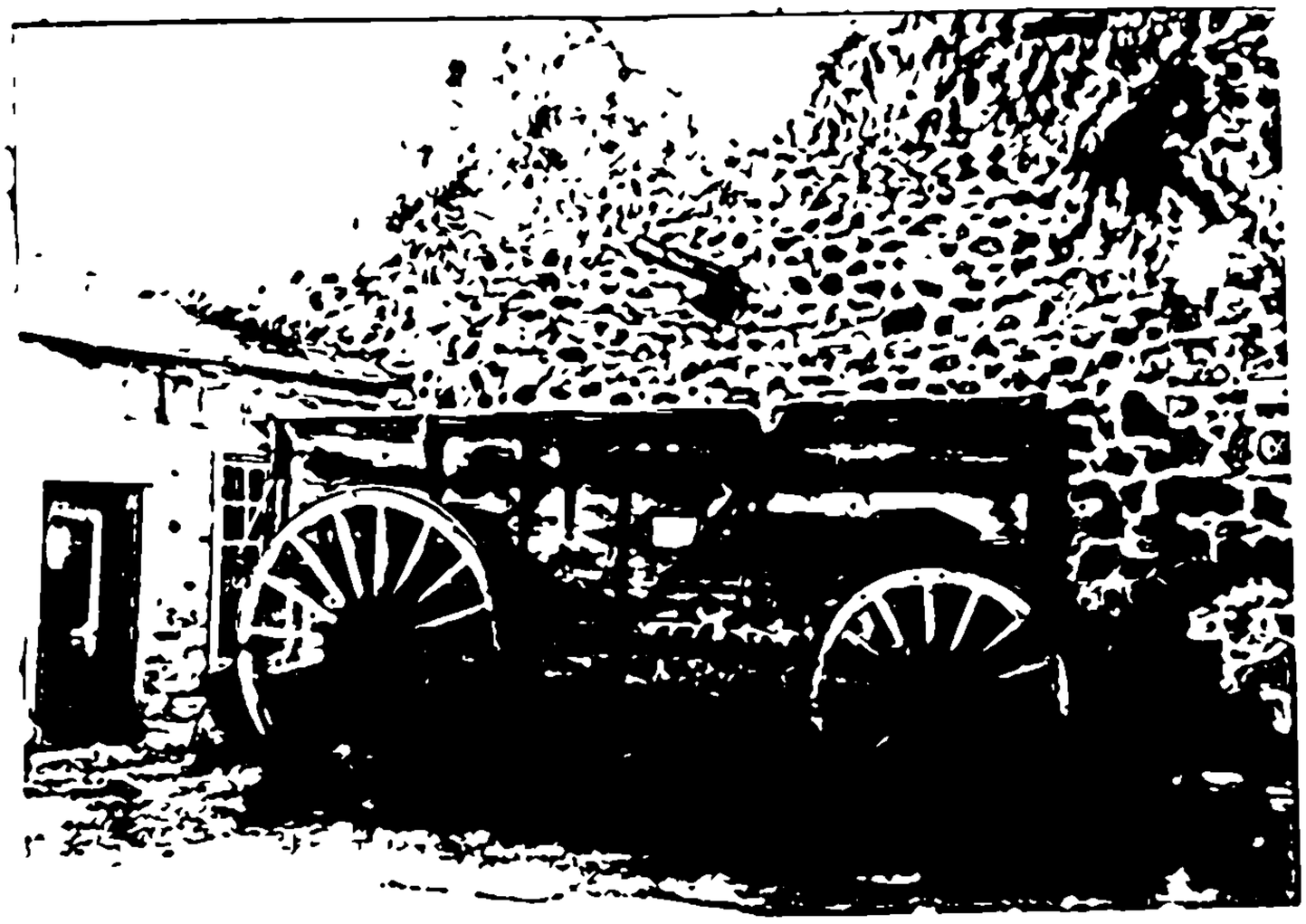

Fig. 2. "Prairie Schooner" at Cove Fort, Utah

News the following is found:

> George Perry brought from Dr. Kelsey's farm, eight miles east of Stockton, a load of wheat weighting 31,800 pounds, recently with nine yoke of cattle. The wagons bearing such loads are familiarly denominated "Prairie Schooners," and it must be a matter of astonishment to teamsters in other parts of the world to learn what immense loads are borne along the indifferent roads of this country on wheels. This is over one ton and three fourths to each yoke of cattle, or approaching to within two hundred and thirty odd pounds of a ton to each animal.[16]

This margin of loading, from six to ten times the possible load over the conventional loading, rendered this wagon very durable and serviceable under the extreme requirements of the freighting business. Of course the above load is far beyond the usual service to which these wagons were subjected.

Animals

The animals used in the freighting business were usually oxen or mules. Horses were seldom used in the pulling of the wagons. Their principal use was in the herding and general communication within and between the trains. When speed in travel was a consideration, mules were used; the army was partial to mules.[17] When speed was of little advantage, oxen were used. Freighters were partial to oxen for freighting, using many times as many of them as they did mules. Russell, Majors and Waddell, in the largest freighting undertaking ever attempted to Utah used 46,720 oxen while they used only fifteen hundred mules. Several reasons seem to partially account for this preference for the use of oxen. Inasmuch as speed was not particularly a consideration in the movement of goods across the continent, the slower animals served admirably as long as they were able to negotiate the distance in sufficient time to meet commitments. Freighting was an economic venture so the comparative cost of the animals undoubtedly had consider-

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[16] Deseret News, Sept. 10, 1862. [17] Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 131.

able effect upon the favorable use of oxen. In the above mentioned freighting enterprise of Russell, Majors and Waddel, they paid an average of thirty-five dollars per head for oxen while they paid one hundred and one dollars per head for mules.[18] This might have been due to the abnormally high demand for mules by the army at this time, but at any season oxen could be purchased cheaper than mules. The freighting companys were successful in buying their mules cheaper than were the army at that. Horace Greeley reports in his discussion of doings at Camp Floyd:

> Again, pursuant to a recent order from Washington, the Assistant Quarter-master General here is now selling by auction some two thousand mules--about two-thirds of all the government owns in this territory. These mules cost one hundred and seventy-five dollars each, and are worth today one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty dollars.[19]

In 1853, Isaac Haight purchased three hundred seventy yoke of oxen at sixty-five dollars per yoke.[20] A year later William Empy purchased "two hundred yoke of good work cattle well broke, in good working order for seventy dollars per yoke."[21] Considering that an ox can pull as much or more weight than a mule, it becomes readily evident why the freighter, who was anxious to make as much as he could on his effort would naturally use the cheaper, slower oxen. Besides the economy in the use of oxen from the view point of original cost, they seemed to be more durable and capable of withstanding the rigors of the journey than the members of the horse family. The returning pioneers had an experience which substantiated the contentions in favor of the oxen:

> . . . Accordingly on August 16, a company of men was organized for the return journey. There were 24 of the pioneers and 46 of the Mormon

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[18]Alter, op. cit., p. 284. [19]Ibid., p. 304.

[20]Isaac Chauncy Haight, op. cit., p. 104.

[21]William Y. Empy, "Diary of William Y. Empy 1852-1854." (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 107.

> Battalion, 34 wagons, 72 yoke of oxen, 18 horses, and 14 mules. It was generally referred to as the "ox train of returning pioneers." This Company started ten days ahead of a second company, which intended to use horses and mules entirely. It was thought that the second company would overtake the first, but the oxen proved best adapted for the journey, being able to subsist nicely on the forage along the way, while the horses weakened unless grain fed.[22]

To consider the general physiological structure of the two animals the advantages of using oxen in the particular conditions associated with plains travel is readily evident. The ox, with his relatively large capacity for food can consume a large amount of forage in a short time. This forage can then be assimilated during the periods of rest or at other opportunities. The horse on the other hand has a comparatively small stomach with no provision for masticating food except at the time it is taken into the stomach. Hence the time required to nourish the rather large system of the horse, requires either more time or a more concentrated food such as grain or other cereal product, neither of which were to be found in superabundance on the plains. Sometimes these cereals were furnished in the form of flour or even bread. This unique advantage coupled with the lower first cost made the ox very popular indeed with the freighter. These animals were not without problems. When animals were turned out to graze, they were often lost for many reasons; Wandering off, stampeding, or even fullowing buffalo herds. John H. Horning as quoted by Carter says of ox freighting:

> . . . With oxen, transportation was very slow and oxen drivers had to have a lot of patience and love for their sturdy animals or they were not much of a success. It was often nerve-racking business, but not without its risks and excitement, especially when some young oxen were broken in. In the beginning these would sometimes run away or jump over the wagon tongues. On the open spaces between settlements it was generally monotonous unless a quick turn sometimes upset a wagon or two, but the real adventures happened while going through towns, where most

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[22] Berrett, op. cit., p. 104.

> of the runaways of frightened and uncontrolled oxen occurred to the risk of the drivers and their outfits, unless they were walking and were quick to head off obstinate animals. It was no fun to be on a wagon when the critters pulling it ran into an open corral or under a lococshed. I, myself, had to jump several times or take the risk of being badly injured.[23]

It took a few years before an ox became a serviceable animal in the freighting business. William Empy in his diary relates that he ". . . was to have 2 hundred yoke of good work cattle well broke, in good working order for 70 dollars per yoke, from 7 years to 8 years without blemish, delivered at near Kansas by the first of May to the 28th of April."[24] Being as Mr. Empy was acting for the church through its agent, it is likely that this age was about the ideal age, because the church had, by this time, accumulated a considerable amount of experience.

The number of animals used on each conveyance varied with many factors. Probably the attitude of the freighter towards his animals and the care which he could or would take of them had a considerable influence on the number used. The average loading per ox exclusive of outfit was about five hundred pounds. In 1861, the following item appeared in the Deseret News as the notice of arrival of a train from the east:

> The large merchant train of Messrs, Livingston, Bell & Co., of this city arrived on Monday, consisting of fifty-seven wagons, not "ships of the deseret," but good Chicago wagons, such as are in demand in the territory. Each wagon was freighted with thirty or thirty five hundred pounds of merchandize, drawn by three yoke of oxen, most of which are in good condition.[25]

In 1856 Brigham Young published figures on the freighting business to Utah in which he gave the volume of business and the size of outfits. In total, 513 tons of goods were transported for which purpose 304 wagons drawn by 3210 oxen of which 722 died leaving a total of useable oxen, 2488.

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[23]Carter, op. cit., p. 68. [24]Empy, op. cit., p. 107.

[25]Deseret News, Sept. 25, 1861.

This would average a little better than eight oxen per wagon and with an average loading of 3395 pounds per wagon the average load was four hundred twenty-four and one third pounds per ox.[26] If this number of oxen takes into account the spare oxen which were not used consistently is not made clear. This figure may, therefore, be a little below the actual operating load per ox. The average load was comparable for the larger "Prairie Schooners." Burton in his description of these wagons says:

> . . . In this part of the country the wagon in unnecessarily heavy; made to carry 4000 lbs., it rarely carries 2000; westward I have seen many a load with 3½ tons of 2000 lbs. each, and have heard of even 6 tons. . . . The teams vary in number from six to thirteen yoke; they are usually oxen, and "Old Country" prejudice operating against the use of cows.[27]

In the account of Solomon Young's train, light is thrown upon the matter of oxen, loads, etc.:

> The wagons were coupled together in pairs, one behind the other, each pair having on board about sixty hundred pounds and drawn by six pairs of oxen--the usual number attached to those large cumbrous heavy wagons that have been much used in freighting merchandize and Government stores across the plains.[28]

With this peculiar equipment, especially designed for the use of the freighting enterprise, and benefiting by the lessons taught them through many years of travel across the plains, the great American project of supplying the wants of the settlers in the Far West was pursued. The freighter became essential to their very existence, and therefore, provided for the establishment of civilization in this western country in a very real way. Of this peculiar work, Hunter cites the experience of Lewis W. Shurtliff as an example:

> When he left for a mission to Great Britain in 1867, he drove twenty mules as far as Julesburg, Nebraska. It took rare skill to control

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[26] Ibid., Nov. 21, 1856. [27] Burton, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

[28] Deseret News, Aug. 15, 1860.

those ten teams as the driver sat on the wheel saddle Mule and guided the animals with the "jerk line.". . . . . .

We shall describe one of Shurtliff's freighting parties as an example of a typical freighting train of pioneer days. Approximately 50 wagons composed the train. Shurtliff was captain and he had an assistant wagon master. Besides the drivers of each wagon, the party had extra employees as night herders and drivers of beef cattle. While traveling across the wide open space of the Great Plains, the freighters averaged from 15 to 18 miles per day. The sun from a clear sky beat its blistering rays on the drivers and the animals, and during the hottest part of the day the temperature was usually above 100 degrees Farenheit, especially when their vehicles were not in motion. When camp was made at night, the wagons were drawn up in a circle to form a corral for the livestock in the center, to be used in times of danger from Indian raids. While the cooks prepared the evening meal, the teamsters unyoked their oxen and drove them to water and pasture. Night herdsmen were placed in charge of the animals to protect them from the Indiams and wolves. All the freighters except those assigned to guard the livestock were in bed at nine o'clock and the campfires were extinguished. At seven a.m. they were again headed westward.

The first evidence of the approach of the freighting train that the residents of North Platte Nebraska, had was the cloud of dust, white as steam, growing larger and larger as the wagons approached. The wagons and drivers, in fact, the whole train, were enveloped in the stifling white alkali dust. Finally the outlines of the huge prairie-Schooners could be discerned. Later the tinkling of bells on some of the mules could be heard mingled with the words of encouragement or command from the drivers. At last the prairie schooners arrived. When the drivers, or "bull whackers," as they were called, put on the brakes, they made the tires of the huge wheels screech and shriek as the brakes bound against them.

From his vantage position on the left wheel mule, each driver was able to manipulate the brakes by a strap which was attached to the brake bar on one end and on the other to a ring in the back of his saddle. By pulling the strap the brake bar was thrown into a ratchet on the side of the wagon. This held the brakes on until the driver wished to release them.

Since it was noon when Shurtliff's train arrived at North Platte, the freighters were soon busy in preparing dinner and feeding their mules. When these mundane activities were completed, each of the drivers swung himself into his saddle, took hold of the brake strap, signaled with the jerk line to the leaders, and gave the command for the teams to get ready to go. Immediately the animals tightened their tugs and the long chain that reached from the lead team to the wagon. The driver shouted another command to the teams and at the same time gave the brake strap a vigerour pull which released the brake bar from the ratchet. The brake was off, the animals all pulled in unison, and the great caravan was under way. Again the cloud of dust arose and through it for a short time the people of the fort could see the canvas covering of the massive prairie schooners. Before long all that could be discerned was the heavy cloud of dust.[29]

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[29] Milton R. Hunter, Beneath Ben Lomonds Peak, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944) p. 391.

CHAPTER VI

FACILITIES FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF FREIGHTING

With all the problems which faced freighters in their western activity, it was only natural for them to seek to alleviate as many of them as they could. One of the problems which they could do something about was the control of the natural barriers which lay between them and their goal. These barriers were not peculiar to the freighting business in all instances. The provisions were often as applicable to the emigrants, who were crossing the continent in great numbers at the same time, as the freighting business which was flourishing in this western country. Some of the facilities were provided by and for the freighters and used by emigrants, and sometimes the opposite was the case.

Ferries

The first company of Mormon pioneers who came West made provisions for crossing streams which would serve not only themselves but those who should follow. The first portion of their travels lay across a comparatively level prairie where traveling was easy. Therefore, their first problem in meeting natural barriers was to cross the rivers which crossed their route. Anticipating this need, the first company of pioneers provided themselves with a leather boat which they called the "Revenue Cutter." This boat was readily collapsed for easy transportation, but it was sturdy enough to be serviceable in transporting goods and equipment across streams which

were too large to safely ford with loaded wagons.[1]

After the first days travel, the first company began to make provisions for a ferry on the Elkhorn River.[2] The pioneers followed the north bank of the Platte River to the vicinity of Fort Laramie. Here they found themselves forced to cross the river. They rented a ferry boat at Fort Laramie with which to make the crossing. Their experience in this venture is related by Appleton M. Harmon in his diary:

> . . . we obtained a flat boat of Mr. Bordeaux to fery our teams a cros the North fork for which we had to pay $15 we all got on board run her down the Laramie fork to the North fork distance about 3 miles then toed her up to the camp which was not more than 80 rods we then prepaired the boat a little & fixed the landing places, we could see snow with the naked eye on Laramie peak from fort John upwards of 50 ms distance S.W. . . . Friday the 4th the brethering finished ferrying a bout 8 P.M. I went with a yoke of oxen & helped to two the ferry boat up to the fort. & Col Rockwood paid them for the use of it $15, 7 of it in cash 1 peck potatoes for $1.00, 7 dollars was paid by br Crow for which the Breathering paid him in flour at 10 cts per lb. meal 60 cts per pound, we returned to this camp got up our teams & started about 12M.[3]

After traveling through the Black Hills to the Platte River again, they found their greatest challenge in crossing a river which they had yet encountered. It is significant that these men were, in most cases, not experienced ferrymen so they had to experiment until they found the best facilities for their work. Harmon records in his diary:

> . . . we got up our teams at about 2 A.M. and after confabulating for a half hour a bout whether to cross the river here or to go a bout 4 ms a head whare our brethering that had gone to get possession of the ferry who as we understood by Br Chesley who came back & met us was busily engaged in ferrieing 2 of the small bands of the oregon emegrants 25 waggons in all for which they recieved about 33 dollars in remuneration they took the loading a crost in the leather skift & drawed the waggons through the river by means of a rope fastened to the end of the tonge & thus drawing them through they rec in payiment flour at $250 per hhd

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[1] Berrett, op. cit., p. 372.

[2] Ibid., p. 361.

[3] Appleton M. Harmon, "Diary, Part III," (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 274.

Bacon at 6 cts per lb & c we traveled 4 ms & camped in a ½ circle on the bank of the river ½ mile distant east of the place whare they ware aferrying. our Hunters had killed 3 buffalo which was verry fat a black bair 2 or 3 cubs & several antilope we are here 124 ms from Fort John & 5--from Winer Quarters. after the meeting was dismissed the ofi-cers of the camp were called together & concluded on what method to persue to cross the river & finally concluded to cross the goods in the leather boat, & try the experryment of lashing 4 wagons together with polls & then halling them through the water by means of a rope, Several teams was sent of the mountains to git pine poles for that purpose while others built a raft to assist in gitting the loading over all so to assist in crossing the wagons if necessary I stood guard until ½ past 12 M. Some snow brought from the mountains & exhibited in the camp.

Monday the 14 commenced ferrying goods several waggons were draws through the river but ware savierly ingered the bows broken &c. the cur-ant being so strong that the waggons would capsize in the midle of the Stream in spite of us, some 2 or 3 rafts were made & several waggons ferryed on them we got my waggon a crost jest at night the skift brought the loading in the evening I worked in the water nearly all day.

Tuesday the 15th continued to fery only slowly the great disadvan-tage we had to labour under impeded our progress mutch a larger raft was built the other smaller one s put together & larger one made of them, an oregon company of 18 wagons commanded by Capt Smith came up Judge Kinsey with him & imployed us to ferry them.

Wednesday the 16th continued our ferrying with some more dispatch a party of men ware sent of to make some canoes for a ferry boat about 4 ms down the river, a company of ten wagons came up & we engaged to fer-ry them for $1.50 per waggon the men returned in the evening with the canoes nearly done.

Thursday the 17th we got our waggons all a crost a bout noon but 2 we crossed several of the emegrants waggons a team was sent to the moun-tains for pine timber to make run ways &c. a company of 9 men ware be-selected to stay & run the ferry until the reat of our breathering shall come up that is in the company that is on the way. the ferrying was kept up all night by our brethering.[4]

After the experimenting had been carried out and a successful ferry had been established on which the pioneer company had been crossed safely, it was thought advisable to leave a company with the ferry. This was to arrange for the crossing of the following companies of emigrants who were making their way to Utah. Of course, the possibility of adding to the fi-nancial well being of the Saints and the company which should stay was not left out of the plans. With the large emigration moving to Oregon and Cali-fornia over this same route, the opportunity for ferrying across the Platte

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[4] Ibid., p. 283.

PLATE IV

Fig. 1. Artists Conception of the Crossing of the Platte River with ferries. The picture was painted by Don Wegeland and bears the date 1869. Photographic reproduction is by permission of The Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

River was evident. The account of this operation is related by Harmon in his diary:

> Friday the 18th some more emegrants came up & imployed us to ferry them I worked on the ferry boat & got her launched about 1 A.M. & crossed a loaded waggon on it, it works well it is built of 2 dugouts 23 feet long & ties a crost they being placed 5 feet apart and run plack lengthwise. It was decided that I should be one that should stay here to run the ferry until the next company should come up to this date I have had the amount of 75 lbs of bread stuff of Heber C. Kimball consisting of flour meal & beans 7½ lbs of which was beans 10½ pork, a pair of half soles 5 lbs of Salt and a piece of soap. the ferry run all afternoon with good success those that were appointed to stay with the ferry were called to gether by Prest Young and recieving some verbal instructions as all so an I instrument of writing which contained the following which was read to us & we sanctioned or agreed to it.
>
> North fork of the Platte river upper ferry June 18, 1847 125 miles west of Fort Laramie or John.
>
> Instructions to Thomas grover John S. Higbee Wm Empy appleton M. Harmon Edmund Elsworth Luke Johnson Francis M. Pumeroy James Davenport and Benjamin P. Stewart Breathering as you are about to stop at this place for a little season for the purpose of passing Emegrants over the river and assisting the Saints, we have thought fit to appoint Thomas Grover in Superintendant of the ferry and of our company which if you approve of, we want you to agree that you will follow his council implisitly and with out gain saying, and we desire that you should be a greed in all your operations acting in concrt keeping to gether continually and not scatter to hunt & at your leasure moments put you up a comfortable room that will afford yourselves & horses protection a gainst the Indians should a war party pass this way, but forst of all see that your boats is properly secured by fastining raw hides over the tops of the canoes or some better process complete the landings, and be care fol of the lives & property of all you labor for remembering that you are responsible for all accidents throught your carelessness or negligence and that you retain not that which belongeth to the Travelor.
>
> For one waggon family &c. you will charge $150 cts payment in flour & provisions in State Prices or $3.00 in cash but you had better take young stock at a fair valuation instead of cash & a team if you shall want the same to remove.
>
> Should general Emegration cease before our breathering arive Cash your effects & return to Laramie and wait their arival, and come on with them to the place of location, and we promise you that the superintendant of the ferry shall never lack wisdom or knowledge to devise & council you in righteousness and for your best good, if you will all ways be a greed and in all humilety watch & pray without ceasing.
>
> When our Emigration Companies arive if the river is not fordable ferry them and let them pay a reasonable sum the council of their camp will decide who are able to pay
>
> Let a strict a count be kept of everry mans labor also of all waggons & teams ferried and of all reciepts & expenditures allowing each man according to his labour and justice, and if eney one feels a greeved let him non murmer but be patient until you come up and let the council decide, and the way not be a greeved is for everry man to love his brother as himself

By order and in behalf of the council we remain your brothering in Christ Brigham Young President.[5]

Not being entirely satisfied with their location for ferrying, the company began to look around for other arrangements. The details of their move and their arrangements are set forth by Harmon:

Monday the 21st I arose early in company with John Higbee by the request of Capt Grover went down to the lower ferry hunting horses to see how long those men ware to stay thare they sed that they expected to stay until a company of 27 waggons should bee crossed that they expected they would get there to night, we got our things together finished blacksmithing got a cow in payment put our things most of them on to the boat Capt Grover my self J. Higbee, F. M. Pumeroy & J. Davenport, shoved of with the ferry boat & leather skift leaving. Luke Johnson & Elsworth with the 2 waggons & things that remain thair while we floated down the river in quest of a ferrying ground below those above mentioned we stuck on 2 sand bars but got of with but verry little dificulty we halted a short time at their ferry Capt Grover asked them if they ware willing for us to ferry at the Same place with them, and working in concert with them but they seemed to choose to run the risk a lone of gitting what they could So we moved on down the river a bout 2 ms & landed on the South side of the river in a grove of scatering cottonwoods close by the road whare the feed is good & a good Cite for a ferry after a few moments consultation we unanamously agreed that this should be the spot We accordingly unloaded our things Br. Davenport put up his blacksmith tools &c. Herick glines Started with the catle to drive them down to whare we were going, but when we landed we found that he was a head of us, we set up some puncheon & boards that we had on the boat to break the wind off from us & made our beds on the ground we were called together by Capt Grover & returned thanks to God of Jacob as usial & retired to our lodging

Tuesday the 22nd we fixed our landing place made an ox from & Br. Empy & Stuart returned about noon with a load of Stone Coal, they put up an advertisement at Deer crik as follows: Notice. To the ferry 28 ms the ferry good and safe maned by experienced men black Smithing horse and ox shoeing done also a wheel right Thomas, Grover Br Empy & Stuart went up after the 2 waggons that ware left above & returned jest at evening with them Br Glines returned having stayd a bout 7 miles below with br Empy & Stuart, & concluded to go a head & overtake the brethering he seemed to talk that he had done wrong in Staying here contry to council & if he should go and over take the camp & make confession to prest Young that he might regain his confidence & standing again.

Wednesday the 23rd by Glines started with his mule for the camp we set him a crost the river, Br Debenport done some black smithing for Mr Hill that has remained 2 miles above us with the ferry above mentioned,[6]

This ferrying plan was kept in operation for the month from June 12,

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[5]Ibid., p. 284. [6]Ibid., p. 287.

1847, to July 11, 1847. During this time with the aid of the leather boat which they had brought with them and the ferries which they had built on the spot, they succeeded in crossing six hundred twenty two paying customers. Even though the council to the brethren in the operation of this service was to charge $1.50 in produce and $3.00 in cash for crossing one wagon, the price established itself at about $1.00 per wagon. This was brought about partly by competition from other operations and partly from the attempt, for a time at least, to underbid their competitors in an effort to induce them to abandon the operation. Besides the income from the ferrying of emigrants across the river the company offered assorted services to the emigrants in the form of horse and ox shoeing, blacksmithing, doctoring animals, etc. For these services they received $68.18 which was added to the common fund of the company. As the season progressed and the river receded, the ferrying business began to drop off. Wagons could be conveniently driven across the river so the need for the ferry gradually decreased. Some of the brethren were anxious to go back and meet their families. "It was thought advisable by Capt Grover to divide the substance of What we had gained equally among us it was acordingly so done, which amounted to $60.50 apiece besides our provisions."[7]

During their operation, their principal task was the ferrying of emigrants across the Platte River, but they also had occasion to move all sorts of freight including "a Nurcery of 700 fruit trees they ware apple peach plump pair Curnad grapes Raspberry & cherrys all growing nicely in a Clover patch and ware owned by Me H Lieuelling a Quacker from Salem Iowa,"[8]

As the pioneers progressed on their journey, they were deprived of the use of the "Revenue Cutter," their leather boat which they had prepared

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[7]Ibid., p. 281-292. [8]Ibid., p. 292

and brought with them as far as the Platte Crossing. They had left it for the use of the ferry company to use.[9] They had, however, secured the use of a skin boat for the crossing of the Sweetwater from a Mr. Grieve whom they met on his way to the states.[10] When they came to the Green River they found their next major obstacle in ferrying. Norton Jacob in his Diary tells of their experience at that point:

> Thursday 1st day of July. On trial, found my raft to heavy to stem the violence of the current. We were the first of our camp that crossed to west side of Green river. Where by the request of Bro. Heber C. Kimball, I went to work with some men and built another raft out of dry cottonwood, which was ten feet by twenty six and which we found to be much better than twelve feet wide.
>
> Friday July 2nd. A still hot day. Went over with my company and finished our raft before breakfast and brought it over. It runs well. The first division crossed eight to ten waggons yesterday with our old raft. Today both rafts are working at the rate of four per hour. Forty five waggons ferried over today.[11]

During the high water season in the mountains, many of the streams became raging torrents which could only be crossed by the use of ferries. Even though the season of high water was comparatively short, the service performed by the ferries was very important. Much early travel was done in order to arrive early in the year at their destination in order to have the season ahead of them for whatever they wanted to use it for. To provide such services men and equipment were sent from Salt Lake to establish ferries on the larger streams. In 1849:

> A small company under Captain Lamoreaux left the valley for Green River and there established a ferry and trading post; among them were wagon makers and blacksmiths, whose service would be invaluable.[12]

Besides the simple service inducement, there was the opportunity to make a little money from the venture. Various groups left the valley for

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[9] Ibid., p. 285. [10] Berrett, op. cit., p. 372.

[11] Norton Jacob, "Diary," (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 108.

[12] Bancroft, op. cit., p. 298.

the purpose of operating ferries through the short ferrying season and thus capitalize on their opportunities to better themselves economically. Benjamin Franklin Cummings related his experience in such a venture in his journal:

> In April 1850 I went with a company of 15 other men back on the emigration road to the upper crossing of the Platt river to run a ferry We were delayed on our way by deep snow in the canons and consequently late in getting there.
>
> When we arrived there we found two other companies had commenced running ferries at the same place.
>
> The discovery of Gold in California in 1848 had caused a large emigration during the summer of 1849 and it was expected that a heavy emigration would pass through again this season which calculation was correct.
>
> We built and started a boat. Stretched a heavy rope across the river and fixed our boat to run with pulleys on the rope so that the current would propell it either way which the other boats did not do.
>
> We run opposition to them at first but finially through their solicitation came to an agreement to run for the same fare and let all travelers choose their boat.
>
> We remained untill sometime in June when the water got down so that we thought that it would not be long before the river could be forded and cholera had made its appearance in the emigrants camp so we concluded to sell out our ferry and start for home. We made reasonable wages for our time and arrived home about 8th or 10th of July.[13]

Sometimes it was to the advantage of the traveler to fall to and assist the boatmen in establishing their facilities in order to facilitate their own travel. A. M. Harmon relates in his journal of 1850:

> We then descended to the east foot of the mountain and half hours drive up Brown's Creek brought us to a good camping place, where we joined Captain Andrew Leytle's company who were going to establish a ferry on the Platte River nearly 400 miles on our way; also Mr. Livingston a merchant from G. S. L. City going to St. Louis for goods; also Thomas Grover Capt. Davis, and Mr. Elder with their families going to the states, which formed quite a company.
>
> May 25 we camped on the Platte bottom, the river being very high and our oxen being somewhat fatigued, we thought to stop a few days and recruit. Capt. Lytle's company were here a few days before us and had commenced a flat boat. We took hold and helped them and succeeded in launching one.

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[13]Benjamin Franklin Cummings, "Biography and Journals of Benjamine Franklin Cummings pioneer of Utah 1847," Transcribed 1933 at the Instance of his Grandson Benjamine Franklin Cummings, (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 17.

28th Tuesday--And that commenced operations in ferrying. This boat was manned with a crew, while the remainder of us went to work and built a larger one. They went to the mountains for the gunwales and brought them down to the river and sawed plank out of the cottonwood and put it together with wooden pins, calked and pitched it.

June 3.--This day we launched this big boat and commenced ferrying with it. It worked nice and the emigrants were anxiously waiting to give us $4.00 a wagon to take them over. The platte was about ten feet deep and one hundred and fifty yards wide.[14]

When Utah was granted Territorial status, the Legislative Assembly immediately became interested in the facilities which would support and encourage travel to and from the state, both emigration and freight. On January 16, 1851, an act was approved to establish a ferry across the Green River:

> An act-- Authorizing Thomas Moor to erect a Ferry or ferries on the Green River.
>
> Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, that Thomas Moor have the right of erecting one or more ferries on Green River, for one year at any point within the Utah Territory, for the accommodation of travelers, Provided he pay ten percent of all monies collected on said ferry, to be paid into the Territorial treasury, for the benifit of the Territory of Utah, on or before the first day of October next ensuing; and that for all light carriages, buggies, or wagons, whose burthen is not over 2000 lbs. he shall charge not exceeding the sum of $3.00.
>
> For all wagons over 2000 lbs and not exceeding 3000 lbs. he shall charge, not exceeding $4.00.
>
> For all over 3000 lbs, and not exceeding 4000 lbs. he shall charge not exceeding $5.00
>
> For all wagons over 4000 lbs, he shall charge not exceeding $6.00.
>
> And for each horse, mule, ox, cow, or other animal ferried over said river, $.25.
>
> Sec. 2.--The said Moor, before erecting a ferry as contemplated in the first section, shall give bond with approved security to the Treasurer of Utah, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, to be approved of by the Governor, for the faithful paying over the percentage as contemplated in the first section of this act. And the said Moor shall pay over the percentage on oath or affirmation.
>
> Sec. 3.--If any person shall erect any public ferry across said river within Utah Territory, without permission of the Legislature of the Territory of Utah, said person or persons shall pay the sum of one thousand dollars, to be collected for the use of the Territory of Utah.
>
> Sec. 4.--Nothing herein contained shall be so construed, as to pro-

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[14]Appleton Milo Harmon, "Appleton Milo Harmon's Early History and Journal for His travels through the United States England and Scotland. In 1850, 1851 and 1852," (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 13-17.

hibit any one from ferrying themselves and effects across said river, or from fording the same when practicable.

Sec. 5.--In case the said Thomas Moor should neglect or fail to establish the above named ferry or ferries, the Governor is hereby authorized to appoint a man to fill his place.[15]

As the business of ferrying within the Territory of Utah progressed, lessons were learned, mistakes were made, facilities were improved, and insight gained into the place which these utilities occupied in the history of the Territory. In commenting upon the first years operation, the Deseret News editorializes:

> Various priveleges of bridges, roads, and ferries, were granted to individuals by the last Legislature. During the height of the emigration, some few complaints were made, of the abuses of the priveleges so granted; but the courts, when appealed to, usually settled all such complaints in a summary manner, and so far as I could learn, giving general satisfaction. Those priveleges are generally a source of much profit to the grantees, and I will here suggest the propriety of turning them to some account, by the way of permanent improvements, either by devoting the percentum arising therefrom, to assist the emigrating funds, erecting public buildings; or impose upon the grantees, the duty of erecting good and substantial bridges across the various streams. All such grants should be guarded in their provisions, so that a traveler may not be imposed upon, nor yet be permitted to impose upon a small company, who oft times at a distance from any settlement, afford that accomodation which the complaining emigrant would not be without, for double the compensation required.[16]

Several of the above mentioned suggestions were adopted in the general management of the ferries in later years, and were generally included in the acts establishing these installations. Inasmuch as the general pattern of these acts follow the one above quoted relating to a ferry on the Green River, only the peculiar and additional materials will be cited. In an act of the second session of the Territorial Legislature in 1853, ferrying privileges were granted to Danial H. Wells at Green River. Added stipulations in this enactment included; A differentiation between horses, mules, oxen and cows and sheep, goats and swine. The former were to be charged at

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[15]Deseret News, June 26, 1852. [16]Ibid., Dec. 25, 1852.

the rate of $.50 per head while the latter were to be carried at the rate of $.25 per head. Ten percent of the income of the ferry was to be paid to the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company instead of the Territorial Treasury. A responsibility clause was included for the mutual protection of both the operator and the public as follows:

> Sec. 3.--In case of high water, winds, rains, or storms of any kind, which renders crossing unsafe, then said ferry shall not be required to run; but any agreement of parties shall be allowed as to risk and prices for crossing. But at all suitable times when the river is not fordable, and said ferries shall be provided with good and sufficient boats for crossing, and the owner of the Ferry shall furnish speedy and safe conveyance across the stream, being liable for all damage that shall be sustained through their own neglect or carelessness.[17]

During the same second session of the Legislature, provisions were made for the establishment of other ferries within the boundaries of the Utah Territory. A ferry was established across the Bear River with certain provisions unique to this act being granted. The charges were made on a slightly different basis being determined upon the number of animals drawing the vehicle rather than upon the weights:

> Sec. 4.--Said Young and others shall be allowed to charge toll at the following rates viz: For carriages or waggon drawn by two animals, $3.00; by four animals $4.00; by six animals $5.00; by eight animals $6.00; by ten animals $7.00 by twelve animals $8.00. For carts one half of the fore-going rates each; all animals with their packs each $1.00; all packs each $0.50. All horses, mules, jacks, oxen, cows and bulls except pack animals, each $0.25; all colts, calves, sheep, hogs, & goats, each $0.10; all necessary drivers and assistants in ferrying wagons and animals free. All other men, each $0.25.

For the protection of the ferry company the following was added to this act:

> Sec. 6.--Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent person ferrying themselves with their effects, but they shall not be allowed to sell or give their boats or rafts to any man or men except to the ferry company.[18]

In the same year an act was passed establishing a ferry at Hams

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[17] Deseret News, Jan. 22, 1853. [18] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1853.

Fork of the Green River. This operation was obviously not as large or risky as the crossing of the larger rivers; consequently, the charges were not as high. Rates established in this case are as follows;

> Sec. 2.--The said Joseph Busby, shall not be allowed to charge over the following rates of toll viz; For buggies, carriages, or waggons, whose burthen is not over 2000 lbs. $2 each. For all whose burthen is over 2000 lbs. and not exceeding 3000 lbs. $2.50 each. For all whose burthen is over 3000 lbs. and not exceeding 4000 lbs. $3 each. For all whose burthen is over 4000 lbs. $3.50 each. Sheep, goats and hogs, each 10 cents, every other animal, each 20 cts.[19]

The percentage to be paid to the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company was reduced in this case from ten per cent, as at Green River and Bear River, to five percent.

In 1856 the charter for a ferry was granted to Isaac Bullock and Lewis Robinson. Rates were raised and the responsibility clause was worded differently as follows:

> Sec. 2.--The rates of toll across said ferries shall be as follows: For any vehicles together with its loading weight not over 1000 lbs. $2.00. For any vehicle together with its loading weighing over 1000 lbs. and not over 2000 lb. $3.00; and the rate to increase $1 for each additional 1000 lb. weight; for each horse, mule, ox or cow $0.50; for each sheep, goat or swine $0.25.
>
> Sec. 3.--In case of high water, winds, rains or storm of any kind, which render the crossing unsafe, then said ferries shall not be required to run; but any agreement of parties shall be allowed as to risk and price of crossing; Providing, that nothing herin shall justify the parties in taking more than one third over and within specified rates of toll. But at all suitable times when the river is not fordable, the said ferries shall be provided with good and sufficient boats for crossing, and the said Isaac Bullock and Lewis Robinson shall furnish speedy and safe conveyance across said river, being liable for all damage that shall be sustained through their own neglect or carelessness.[20]

Lewis Robinson maintained control of this ferry until the coming of the railroad. Because of his long tenure at this ferry it became known as the Robinson Ferry. It became a landmark to freighter and emigrant alike just as the lower Platte Ferry was a land mark and a place of rendezvous.

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[19] Ibid., February 19, 1853. [20] Ibid., April 16, 1856.

Even though many of the major ferries were established by an act of the Territorial Legislature and controlled by the enactments of that body, there were a number of more or less uncontrolled enterprises launched by whoever had the capital and forsight to enter upon the enterprise. These furnished some income for their operators and served a purpose, but again sometimes they proved to be a liability to some of their customers. Hosea Stout, one of the early lawyers in the territory records an incident in his diary to illustrate:

> Mon. June 10th 1850.--This morning I was applied to by one Kenicoot, an emigrant, as council to conduct a suit VS Francis Drake & others, Emegrants who had established a raft ferry across the Weber & had sunk said Plff wagon and lost it together with all his entire outfit even to his wearing clothes but they had insured them safe over & would not pay him so he had appealed to the law, as above. I went with plff to Esqr Farr and took out an attachment for all their goods & effects.[21]

In 1854 Mr. Stout left Salt Lake City for the purpose of traveling as far as the Green River Ferry and attend to whatever legal business might present itself. He relates his experiences in his diary, some of which will serve to illustrate the general procedure in the establishment of these smaller ferrying operations. On May 4 he records:

> Forded the Weber without any accident or trouble befalling us although the water was tolerably high. Here Mr. Busby & Dewey stopped to erect a ferry. The company assisting them to put the rope across the river when we went and encamped some four miles up Echo Kanyon.[22]

On May 18, 1854 Hosea Stout records in his diary:

> I am doing positively worse than nothing Mr. Hawley put his rope across the river and Joseph Busby came from Weber ferry to commence suit against Bridger & Lewis in a matter pertaining to Ham's fork ferry last year wherein all three were partners. . . . . .
> May 27 1854.--Cloudy and Muddy. Hickman & Hawley started their teams to Hams Fork with a boat to start a ferry at that point.[23]

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[21]Hosea Stout, op. cit., II, pp. 343-344.

[22]Ibid., p. 104. [23]Ibid., p. 108.

In an effort to control to some degree at least the small ferries which were springing up at so many places, and in some instances causing considerable difficulty because of their lack of responsibility, the third session of the Territorial Legislature passed the following act:

> An act of the third session of the legislature of the Territory of Utah.
>
> Concerning Ferries and Bridges on Weber and Bear rivers, east of the main range of the Wasatch Mountains.
>
> Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, That Brigham Young is hereby empowered to establish, regulate and control Ferries and Bridges on Weber and Bear rivers, east of the main range of the Wasatch mountains, and to specify the rates of toll for the use thereof.
>
> Sec. 2.--If any person in any manner operates in Ferries and Bridges on said rivers in the above named region, except under the above named control, unless under charter derived from the Governor and Legislative Assembly, he is liable for all costs, damages and fine that may be adjudged by any court having jurisdiction.
>
> Sec. 3.--An act granting to Phineas H. Young and Brigham H. Young, the right to erect toll bridges across East Weber and Bear rivers, approved Jan. 21st 1853, and an Act to amend said act, approved June 3d, 1853, are hereby repealed.
>
> Approved Jan. 20th 1854.[24]

Emigrants who passed on their way to their western home seldom, if ever, came back over the trail to use the facilities which had been established for the use of the traveler. The freighters, however, traveled over the routes many times and were, therefore, the ones who were interested in the establishment of permanent installations instead of the temporary ones, which might well have served the emigrants to make their single crossing. Wherever freighting and freight routes were established, ferries made their appearance; first along the main traveled routes from the states to the western settlements, and then from those settlements to yet other communities which sprung into being often around the mining enterprises in the west.

Despite the years of experience which had been accumulated by the

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[24] Deseret News, February 2, 1854.

various operators, and despite the improvements which were constantly being made on the boats, the ferrying operations were at best a dangerous and constantly challenging business. This was particularly true on the larger streams. As an example, the ferry at Green River had its share of difficulty. In 1854 they broke a rope and where it was replaced by a new one, the old fastenings would not hold the weight and strain of the new rope and repairs were necessitated on the fastening before traffic could continue.[25] Sometimes the difficulties ended in tragedy. Such an experience is related by E. T. Mumford in a letter to Brigham Young:

> Robinsons Ferry, June 25, 1868.
>
> President Young.--Dear Bro.--We arrived here this evening without any mishap. Missionaries, Elders Church, Clemons, Peterson, Eldredge, Grant and Teasdale are all well.
>
> I regret to have to record a sad accident that happened to-day at the ferry, which resulted in the death of six men, named Niels Christoffersen and Peter Smith, from Manti; Peter Nielson, from Fairview; Christen Jansen and Christen Nebellah, from Mount Pleasant; and Thomas Yeats, from Millerville, Cache county, Bishop Seely and Simpson Molens companies met together at the Muddy, and arrived at the ferry in safety. They commenced to ferry the wagons last night, and today all the wagons were ferried safely over. They tried then to swim the cattle over the river, but did not succeed, for the wind was very high and the current very strong. The cattle would swim a little way and then return. They tried until they lost one ox by drowning. It was very cold and the wind blowing very high; and they concluded it was better to ferry them over. They succeeded in ferrying one load, and commenced to ferry a second load. There were nineteen men on the boat. As they were about two thirds of the way across the river, the cattle rushed to the upper side of the boat, which caused it to sink and all the men and cattle were washed off. It filled with water, and the pressure was so great that it broke the main rope. Bro. Robinson was the first to regain the boat and to assist others; but notwithstanding all their exertions and six brethren named were lost. The boat was carried down the stream about a mile, landing on the east side of the stream. The men on the boat had been trying to swim their cattle and had been in the water until they were very wet and cold; their change of clothing was in their wagons across the river, and they were recrossing to obtain dry clothing. There were three of the cattle drowned in all they lost four head. The tope that broke was a new three inch rope, or, as a sailor would say, "a nine inch," it being nine inches in circumference. Bishop Seely is very anxious to have the names of those who were drowned telegraphed to prevent any false reports. None of the bodies have been recovered.

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[25]Stout, op. cit., p. 223.

> By all accounts no blame could be attached to any one, it being one of those mishaps that are purely accident.
>
> Bro. Robinson says the ferry boat will be ready about noon tomorrow, when we hope to continue our journey. Our cattle are in good condition, looking better if anything than when we left town, All the teamsters &c. of the three trains are well. Yours respectfully, E. T. Mumford.[26]

Undoubtedly the very fact that the ferries were under the general direction and control of the Territorial Legislature, with rates of toll and other conditions imposed served to limit incomes. Ferries in other places on the overland routes, where the only restrictions as to the charge, were those imposed by competition and the good will of the operator toward the traveling public. Earnings were more likely to be exorbitant. Usually the charges were as high as could be collected. These restrictions may have influenced the publication of the following in the Deseret News of December 10, 1862:

> This is also a poor country for the obtainment of private franchises. Toll roads, toll bridges, ferries and other exclusive priveleges, are not very popular nor paying institutions, neither can they often be obtained by asking the law making department for them.[27]

In 1852, however, the auditors report recorded that the amount received on account of ferry and merchants' licenses, ($1,859.65) lacked only $16.18 of being as great as the cash receipts from taxes ($1,875.83).[28] How much of this amount is directly traceable to the ferry is not reported, but it must have contributed considerable to the operators, considering that the amount paid in taxes was only ten per cent of the amount collected.

Bridges

As society became established in these Western areas, and travel became more stabalized in nature, it was only natural that the ferries should be replaced by more permanent installations. Ferries were replaced by

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[26] Deseret News, July 1, 1868. [27] Ibid., Dec. 10, 1862.

[28] Ibid., Jan. 8, 1852.

bridges wherever feasable, and bridges were constructed in places where it had been impossible to establish ferries due to the nature of the streams encountered. The Platte and other rivers of the plains were a constant concern and challenge to the bridge builder. Some of the streams could be ferried for a limited time, but the Platte in its lower reaches could not be successfully crossed except by fording. This was a dangerous and an arduous task because of the wide expanses of quicksand which covered the bottom of the stream bed, and which necessitated that any vehicle or animal crossing had to be kept moving the entire distance or they would immediately begin to sink into the sand. The bridging of these streams was a considerable undertaking and required large amounts of capital. As early as 1851 the Deseret News related that: "North fork of the Platte is bridged."[29] Substantial bridges which would adequately serve the traveling public were a long time in coming. The News recorded the concern which the people had in contemplating such construction:

> The efforts which have been made at Omaha and Council Bluffs, looking to the bridging of the Platte and Loupe Fork, have not been so successful as was to be expected from the great noise made about it last fall. It is stated that enough money has been raised to bridge the Loupe Fork, and that everything is in readiness to push the work to a speedy conclusion; but somehow it starts very slow. The Nebraskian learns that parties are now in the East to secure the balance of the funds necessary to bridge the Platte; also that, at Fork Kearney a portion of the timbers are ready for putting together. The advantages to be derived by spanning these rivers with substantial bridges are not wholly hidden to the sagacious moneymakers of Omaha, and we doubt not that well be put up at the earliest practicable date.[30]

A more optimistic note was struck in an article quoted in the Deseret News of May 17, 1866, from the Kearney Herald:

> Nearly three thousand feet has been run and flagged, crossing twenty small islands, most or all of which seem available for bridge heads, the deepest quicksand found was less than seven feet, and many of the channels can be crossed without piles, or by the use of one section in the

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[29] Ibid., May 31, 1851. [30] Ibid., June 24, 1863.

> center, so far the prospects are fairer than has been the general impression, and if the north channels are suceptible of anything like a similar sub-division the bridge can be built. Scouts are now on the Little Blue, Spring Creek, and elsewhere, reporting as to timber, with orders to examine for stone peat, coal, etc.[31]

As desirable as the establishment of adequate bridges were across the lower reaches of the Platte River, the need became more acute as the river became confined by the mountains to a narrower and deeper channel. The fluctuation of the stream influenced it greatly in violence and treachery. These areas which had been served by ferries had been generally influenced by the elements to such an extent that the advisability of establishing permanent structures which would be less liable to the change in the elements for their operation was questioned. Of the establishment of these bridges, Burton in his "City of the Saints" has this to say:

> . . . after about two hours of hot sun, we debouched upon the bank of the Platte at a spot where once was the Lower Ferry. The river bed is here so full of holes and quicksands, and the stream is so cold and swift, that many have been drowned when bathing more when attempting to save time by fording it. A wooden bridge was built at this point some years ago at an expense of $26,000, by one Regshaw, who, if report does not belie him, has gained and lost more fortunes than a Wall Street professional "lame duck." We halted for a few minutes at the indespensable store. . . . . .
>
> Our station lay near the upper crossing or second bridge, a short distance from the town. It was also built of timber at an expense of $40,000, about a year ago, by Louis Guenot, a Quebecquois, who has passed the last twelve years upon the plains. He appeared very downcast about his temporal prospects, and handed us over, with the insoudiance of his race, to the tender mercies of his venerable squaw. The usual toll is 50 cents, but from trains especially of Mormons, the owner will claim $5; in fact, as much as he can get without driving them to the opposition lower bridge, or to the ferry boat.[32]

This upper bridge was built near the cite of the Mormon ferry. Of this bridge Driggs says:

> This was the work of one Louis Guinard, who had previously built and run a toll bridge over the Sweet water about a mile east of Independence Rock. The bridge across the Platte was a much larger structure being a thousand feet in length and of ample width and strength

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[31] Ibid., May 17, 1866. [32] Burton, op. cit., p. 140.

PLATE V

Fig. 1. Cite of the bridge across the North Platte River.

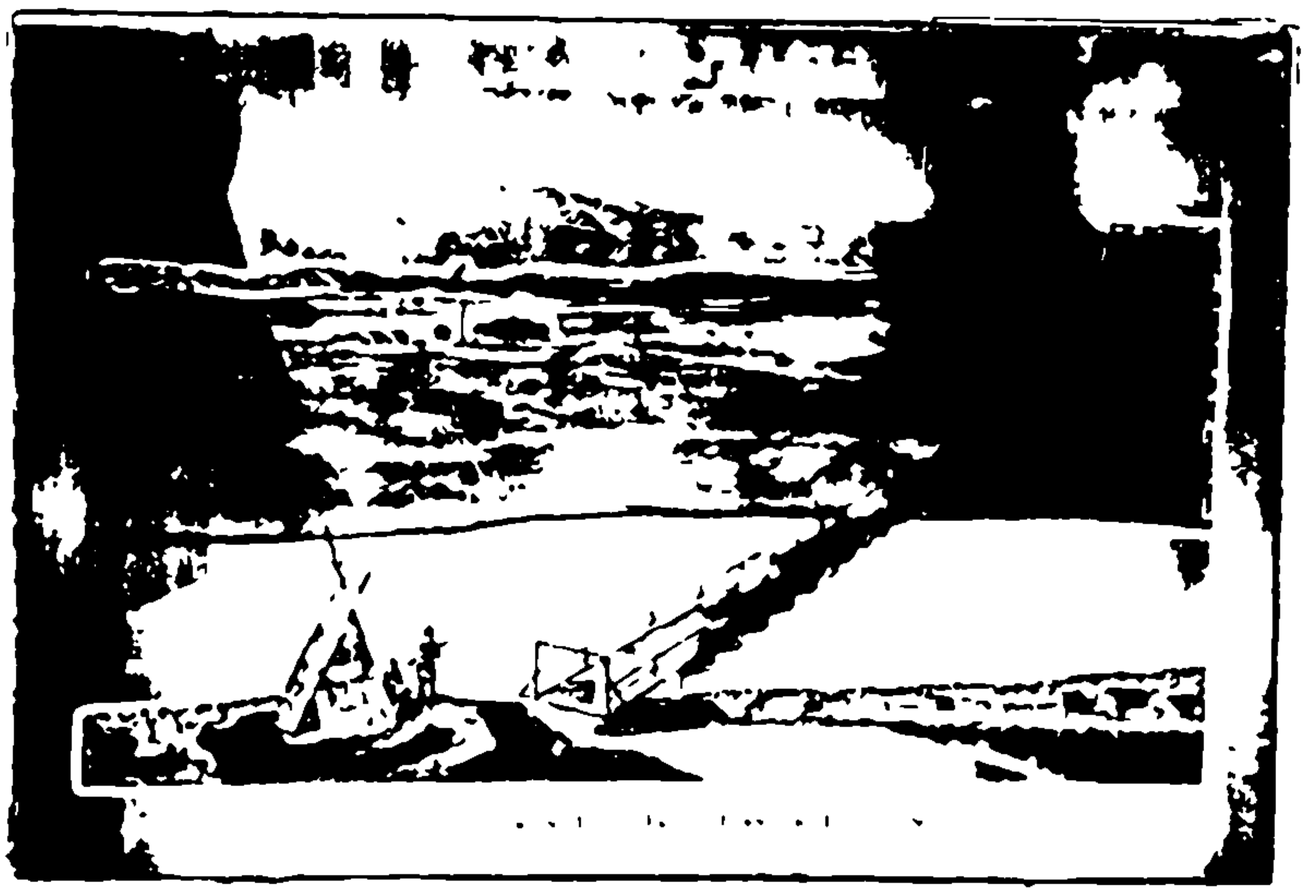

Fig. 2. Artists reproduction of the bridge across the North Platte River.

to accommodate even huge freight wagons. It proved from the day of its opening a lucrative enterprise. Thousands of settlers, gold-seekers, soldiers and other folk paid tolls to its owner through the years that followed.[33]

In the mountains, the establishment of bridges served the purposes of the freighter and general traveler more than did ferries. This was especially true on the smaller streams. During high water these streams became raging torrents and were, during such periods, impassible. This condition was often alleviated in a few days or weeks by the melting of the snows or by the end of a rainy season when the streams again became fordable. Because of the erratic nature of these streams and the infrequent periods at which these facilities were needed, ferries could not be established with any hope of financial gain. As a result, bridges were built across the streams which would often last for several years and were, therefore, less costly to maintain on a yearly basis. Many of the bridges on the higher reaches of the smaller streams were not necessarily toll bridges but were built by the citizenry for the general use of the public and sometimes by regular users for their own convenience and also for the service of the traveler.

Within the Territory of Utah, the public utilities, such as ferries, bridges, etc., were under the control of the legislature and toll was collected only upon the possession of a charter from that body. Often, however, individuals and groups would attempt to collect tolls without a charter, even to the appropriating of property belonging to others:

Among the tales that have been told concerning toll gathering between this and the South Pass, in the counties of Summit and Green River, is one representing that certain parties have been in the habit, during the late high waters, of requiring travelers to pay for crossing a bridge built by the Overland Mail Company, of which the parties or some of them were employes. With the money thus obtained, they bought

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[33] Driggs, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

whisky, the drinking of which to excess has worked for them a discharge from service.[34]

Another incident related of the prostitution of the toll collecting rights is quoted by Kate B. Carter of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers;

> When the snow began to melt from the mountain peaks in the spring the little creeks swelled up and for a few weeks were transformed into raging torrents, too deep or too dangerous to ford. At such seasons the few ranchmen who were in the country built temporary bridges across them, hardly ever exceeding fifty feet in length. While the streams were high, these bridges were veritable gold mine from the revenue paid by the freighters as toll. In order, however, to make their toll lawful, every bridge owner was required to possess a charter approved by the governor. This official document authorized the proprietor to charge such toll as he saw fit--usually five dollars for each team of six yoke of cattle and wagon.
>
> It very often happened, through ignorance of the law or from ignoring it, that these ranchmen took out no charter, because its possession was so rarely questioned. At the trail crossing of Rock creek was one of these frontier toll-bridges. In the spring of 1866 two trains were traveling in company, one in charge of a man known as Stuttering Brown, because of an impediment in his speech. He was a man of undoubted courage, and determination. When angry, he indulged in some of the quaintest and wittiest original expressions imaginable. He was a man who appreciated a joke, and enjoyed it even if it was upon himself.
>
> Brown's train comprised twenty teams, and the other twenty six. His train happened to be in the lead that day, and as they neared the bridge, Brown rode back to the other wagon master and said; "B-B-Billy, wh-what are you fig-g-go-ing to do about p-p-paying t-t-toll on this b-b-bridge?" He answered that if the fellow had a charter he would be compelled to pay; otherwise he would not. Brown returned to the bridge where the ranchman stood preparing to collect his toll, which was five dollars a team in advance. This would require one hundred dollars from Brown and a hundred and thirty from the other train. Brown refused point blank to pay the bill, and the ranchman asked him upon what grounds. Brown's reply was, "Y-y-you h-h-haint g-g-got no ch-ch-charter." The ranchman answered him that he had, and if he would go back to the ranch with him he would show it. The ranch was only a few hundred yards away. Brown accompanied him, and in a short time returned to the train. His friend asked him if the charter was all right, to which Brown replied in the affirmative, saying that he had settled for his outfit, and that his friend had better do the same, which he accordingly did.
>
> After crossing the bridge the other wagon-master noticed that Brown was very much amused about something, occasionally indulging in loud bursts of laughter. His friend inquired the cause of his mirth, but he refused to tell. When they arrived at the camping ground that evening, and after corralling the trains and placing out the proper guards, Brown invited his friend to take supper with him. While eating he was asked what had so amused him during the afternoon. He said that when he went

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[34] Deseret News, July 23, 1862.

up to the ranch to see the bridge charter, he rode to the door, sat on his mule, and asked the ranchman to trot out his charter, and be d--d quick about it. The man went into a back room and pretty soon returned, shouting: "You stuttering thief, here it is! What do you think about it?" Brown looked up and found that he was peering into the muzzle of a double-barreled gun, probably loaded with buck shot. The ranchman was pointing it directly at his head with both triggers cocked. Brown saw he was in earnest, and asked if that was the charter. The ranchman replied that it was. His friend then asked, "What did you do, Brown?" "N-N-Not much. J-J-Just t-t-told him, 'Th-th-that's good'--and settled."[35]

As the years went by these small and more or less wildcat bridge operations became so numerous as to be a hardship on the freighting contractors who were invited to patronize them on their way across the plains. In 1868 just before the completion of the railroad, a group of freighters with about three hundred teams left Salt Lake City on their way to the rail head at Laramie where they expected to load with freight to be returned to Salt Lake City. Of their experiences on this trip Carter quotes:

> About the first of May they started on their perilous journey. All went well until they reached Coalville, where one of the boys came near losing his life. Chalk creek was overflowing its banks, and had cut a deep channel around the bridge. As he was fording this dangerous place, his saddle animal lost its footing, and away they went down the stream. Had it not been for timely aid, he and his outfit soon would have been floating over the briny waters of the inland sea!
>
> In the afternoon of the third day they arrived at Echo canyon creek, where was an old fashioned pole toll bridge, costing, I venture less than one hundred dollars. For crossing this shaky old structure, which was almost submerged, the keeper demanded three dollars per wagon, cash down. The bosses refused to pay it, so decided to ford the treacherous stream, if possible. The crossing was just above the bridge, only a few rods from where the creek empties into the Weber river. For the trial trip they selected the best team in the outfit, a magnificent four thousand-dollar ten-mule team, owned by Hooper and Knowlton. Before the venture was made, a number of the boys gathered around with axes and lariats, to be used in case of trouble. When all was ready Bill Luce, Hooper and Knowltons wagon boss, mounted the near wheeler and started his outfit through this mountain torrent. As the trusty leaders neared the center of the stream, everybody watched with bated breath. The moment the animals reached the main channel, the current picked them up, quick as lightening, and carried them downstream. In less than five seconds three pairs of mules disappeared under the bridge. In less time

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[35]Carter, op. cit., pp. 104-105. Quoting "The Great Salt Lake Trail" by Inman and Cody.

than that, the draw chain that held them to the wagon, was cut by one of the men on shore. Quick as thought, the animals shot downstream, with incredible rapidity, but before they reached the raging, roaring waters of the Weber a number of expert throwers of the lariat lassoed the heads of the mules, and within a very short time the six drowning animals were safely hauled ashore. A shout went up from a hundred throats in honor of the boys who performed this heroic act. The toll-bridge keeper stood nearby, a pleasant smile playing over his countenance, thinking, perhaps, that it is better to be born lucky than rich. He collected the toll without further trouble.

When the boys arrived at Yellow creek, they faced a similar proposition, except that it was mud to cross instead of water, Here they were compelled to pay another three dollars per wagon, there being no way to avoid it.

Next day they reached Bear river. The first object to meet their gaze was a big signboard with the inscription: "Toll bridge, five dollars for wagons; fifty sents a head for loose animals. No credit here." This meant about fifteen hundred dollars toll for the outfit, and the captains' pocket books had already, from previous drains, commenced to crumple at the corners. It had rained every day since they left home, and the river was, therefore, very high. The bosses first scanned their gaunt pocketbooks, then studied the sign over the bridge. They sat down on the river bank to watch the driftwood as it shot by at the rate of a half mile a minute. After partaking of a hearty meal, they gathered fresh courage, and set about to ford the river. As good luck would have it, in doing this they lost neither man nor beast, a feat nothing short of a miracle.

Next morning they came to another mud stream, with a cheap bridge over it. The proprietor wanted three dollars per wagon for the privelege of driving over this rickety old thing. The boys, however, saw a way around it. They drove about a half mile above, and selected a place where it was believed they could cross. At that place the slough was about one hundred feet wide, and the banks on both sides were almost perpendicular. The mud was so deep that even loose animals could not wade through it. Besides this a blinding blizzard was raging. With these disadvantages staring them in the face, the boys were equal to the occasion. Unhitching a number of their animals, they drove them, singlefile, over a rough mountain trail, some distance above, at which place they crossed. Returning to the mud-hole opposite their wagons, they arranged their teams once more for action. In the meantime, the men who remained on the other side drove their wagons very near to the slough, and let them down into it by hand; then, taking long chains, fastened the ends to the wagon tongues and, wading, carried the other ends over to the boys on the opposite side. The teams were now hitched to the ends of these chains, and so the wagons were hauled over. The majority of the boys worked at this job in mud and water up to their waists, all day long.[36]

These bridges obviously served a purpose in the freighting and general travel of the period. If they were needed, they served their purpose.

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[36] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

Freighters could leave earlier in the spring than ordinarily. In the earlier days of the Territory, they had to wait until the high waters had receded before venturing out on the trail. These men, as shown by the above quotation were equal to the situation, but the less experienced might well fall prey to the merciless charges of these unchartered bridges. Their charges were considerably above the authorized charges at the larger bridges in the territory which were operating under charter from the Legislature or by Gubernatorial grant as provided by the Legislature.[37]

While the higher streams were dangerous to cross only during high water, the lower reaches of the streams, fed by the many tributaries, were usually difficult and often dangerous to cross at any period of the year without some provision for assisting the vehicle or other conveyance. Consequently provisions were made by legislative enactment for the establishment of bridges over many of these larger streams. As early as 1851, the legislature provided for the establishment of a bridge across the Malad River to be operated in conjunction with the Bear River Ferry and by the same company of men. The provisions for this bridge were set forth in the act of the legislature establishing the Bear River Ferry as follows:

> Sec. 8.--The said Young and others are hereby required to establish a good and substantial bridge across the Malad, about two miles north of the ferry on Bear river, for three years, during the ferrying seasons thereof and have the privelege of collecting toll on the same; the rates of which shall be one fourth for carriages and wagons of the rates charged on Bear river ferry and twenty five cents for pack animals, and ten cents for each additional animal.[38]

By 1853 a new policy was being adopted for the general management of bridges throughout the territory. Some effort had been made during the year to test the new program, but the reasons and the official statement of the new policy came in the Governor's Message which was delivered at the

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[37] Deseret News, February 2, 1854. [38] Ibid., February 7, 1852.

end of the year:

> During the high waters of the past season, much damage was done by sweeping away the principal bridges across the largest streams. It is presumed that the counties in which they are located will rebuild them at their own expense as soon as they are able, but as these bridges are a decided benifit to the traveling public at large, and the settlements are new, and so weak as to make it rather burthensome for them to build alone, it is but right that they should recieve aid from the public funds.[39]

When James Brown purchased the property and buildings of Miles Goodyear at the present cite of Ogden, he proceeded to build bridges over the Weber and Ogden Rivers and a road connecting the two. On these he collected toll, but with the new policy of giving public assistance to the construction and maintenance of such installations, the legislature enacted a law to reimburse James Brown for his equity in these utilities as follows:

> An act allowing compensation to James Brown, for making a road and constructing bridges across the Weber and Ogden Rivers.
> Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, that the Territorial Commissioner proceed immediately to value, and appraise the road constructed by James Brown between the Weber and Ogden rivers, and draw upon the Territorial Treasury for the appraised value thereof, in favor of said James Brown or his representatives and the Territorial Treasurer, is hereby instructed to pay the same out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.
> Sec. 2.--Be it also enacted, that the further sum of one thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated out of the Territorial Treasury, as compensation to the said James Brown, for his labor, and endeavors in constructing bridges across the aforesaid rivers, and that said amount be drawn for, and paid as above provided for said road June 4th, 1853.[40]

As soon as the Legislature had reimbursed James Brown for his equity, they immediately passed another act which granted to him the right to establish toll bridges and the road in the following enactment which also sets forth the limitations and requirements of the Legislature:

> An act Granting unto James Brown Sen, of Ogden City, the Right to Erect Toll Bridges Across the Weber and Ogden Rivers in Weber County.
> Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, that James Brown Sen. of Ogden city is hereby authorized and required to erect at the earliest possible date, good

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[39] Ibid., December 15, 1853. [40] Ibid., June 18, 1853.

durable, and substantial bridges on the Territorial road across the Weber and Ogden rivers, in Weber county, to the acceptance of the Territorial Road Commissioner, and keep them constantly in good repair and when accepted, to charge toll for crossing the bridge of each river, or the bridge now erected across the Ogden river, if accepted by the Commissioner, at the following rates, Viz:

For vehicles drawn by two animals.	$2.00
For every additional two animals to said vehicle . . .	.50
For every man and horse.	.50
For every pack animal.	.50
For every loose horse, mule, jack, cow, or bull. . . .	.20
For every sheep, hog, calf, colt, or goat.	.05
For every footman.	.10

Sec. 2.--Residents of the Territory who pay by the year, shall not be charged more than one half of the above mentioned rates.

Sec. 3.--Said bridges must be made fourteen feet wide in the clear, with a good and substantial handrailing four feet high, and boarded down to the plank on the bridge; the timbers must be of good mountain pine, and the planking on the stringers must be of good sound cottonwood four inches thick, and not over eight inches wide; and at the end of five years from the date hereof, shall be turned over to the Territorial Road Commissioner in good condition, to be thereafter the property of this Territory.

Sec. 4.--If any person or persons shall erect, or cause to be erected, any bridge or ferry across either of said rivers in Weber county, and charge travelers for crossing the same, except those to whom such right has been, or shall hereafter be granted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly, he or they shall be fined in any sum not exceeding five thousand dollars to be recovered before any court having jurisdiction, and paid into the Territorial Treasury.

Sec. 5.-- That James Brown Sen, shall have the right to establish ferries across said rivers until the said bridges shall have been completed, and charge ferriage at the same rates provided for toll. June 4th 1853.[41]

The same year (1853) a charter was granted to Phineas H. Young and Brigham H. Young for the establishment of toll bridges across East Weber and Bear Rivers. After ten years the bridges were to be turned to the Territory.[42] The toll collected during this period was considered sufficient to reimburse the builders for their time and expense in establishing these bridges.

The program of subsidizing the building of bridges was continued by the territorial government. The recommendations of the Governor were set

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[41] Ibid., June 18, 1853. [42] Ibid., March 5, 1853.

forth in his message in the following terms:

> Presuming upon this favorable state of things I have directed the erection of a bridge across the Sevier river, which, I understand, is not completed, and the expense of which, I feel assured will be promptly met by the necessary appropriation, upon the report of the State Commissioner.
>
> I would recommend, that a similar improvement he made across Green and Bear rivers, and that the necessary measures for their erection be completed at an early day; as the winter, and spring months, while the water is at its low stage, furnishes the only suitable opportunity.[43]

As other bridges became necessary to adequately serve the public, they were provided for in Legislative enactments. In June 1853, the right was granted to Abia Wardsworth, Ira N. Spaulding, and Willard G. McMullen to establish a toll bridge near their mill on the Weber River. The provisions of their charter were essentially the same as that of James Brown, except that they were also required to, "make and keep the road in good condition at the extremety of said bridge, until it reaches ground that is sound and dry at the highest stages of water."[44]

In the construction of these bridges, the best workmen and materials were used with an eye to substantiality. In a letter to the editor of the Deseret News and published in that paper on the 9th of May, 1855, the following report of one of these bridges appears:

> Mr. Editor: This strong and durable structure, spaning with an arch of 66 feet the turbulent and angry flood pouring out of Weber Kanyon, was completed on the 14th instant. It combines the power of eight entire arches, the whole length of the span being connected by eighteen king posts, with their cross braces, eight inches square with only 7 feet and 6 inches run, and will stand as long as the mountain pine, of which it is made, will last.
>
> It would be good policy for the inhabitants of Weber and Davis Counties to more thoroughly open and work the roads leading to this bridge. Norton Jacob. Architect.[45]

To the above letter, the editor of the News remarks:

We are pleased in being able to inform the public of the completion

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[43] Ibid., Dec. 25, 1852. [44] Ibid., June 18, 1853.

[45] Ibid., May 9, 1855.

> of the bridge across Weber river near the mouth of its lower kanyon and hope that brother Jacob's sanguine statement as to its durability will not be controverted by any unforseen disaster, for Utah's experience in poor bridges has been very expensive.--Ed.[46]

Gradually the building and maintenance of bridges in the territory passed from the toll collector to the territory and finally to the county and city governmental units where the bridges were to serve the public. Despite the staunch claims for the bridge across the Weber River, which was built in 1855, a new one was necessary to be built by 1861. Concerning this bridge and the arrangements for its building, the Deseret News has the following to say:

> The bridge across the Weber river, near Ogden City, for the building of which the Legislature made an appropriation, one year ago last winter, on condition that the county of Weber should pay one fourth part of the expense of its erection, has recently been completed as reported by the Territorial Road Commissioner under whose supervision the work has been done.
>
> The timbers were framed and prepared in this city by Mr. Henry Graw, reputed as being the most scientific bridge builder in the Territory, and then hauled to the spot, and placed in position in short order after the abutments were completed. Although not as long and as wide as the bridge across the Jordan on the Territorial road leading from this city to Tooele, the Weber bridge is of the same pattern, and those who have seen it report that it is an elegant and substantial structure. The entire cost of the bridge amounts to nearly six thousand dollars.[47]

Despite the skill and ingenuity of Mr. Graw as a bridge builder, the bridge at Weber was lost again in a few years. In 1863 the News records show that the bridge again was gone.[48] This story of the bridge at Weber, is quite typical of the bridges throughout the territory which were periodically carried away by high water and destroyed by other means.[49] While the

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[46] Ibid., May 9, 1855. [47] Ibid., March 27, 1861

[48] Ibid., June 3, 1868.

[49] Ibid., June 5, 1861. A bridge across the upper reaches of the Weber was broken down by a freight wagon, too heavy for the structure crashed through it destroying the timbers. By the next issue, however, it was reported to be again in service.

bridges did stand they rendered great service in moving goods across the streams on the route to Utah. They were more substantial and permanent than were the ferries. They were less hazardous to cross during the greater part of the year. Although they were often carried away or destroyed, they were quickly replaced to serve the traveling public, and thus served their purpose as one of the facilities which assisted the freighting business.

Routes of Travel

As people moved over the routes West, they were on the constant lookout for new and better routes of travel which would serve to alleviate as many of the natural difficulties as possible. This was particularly true of the Mormons, because of the large numbers of people who were to follow them to the West. The explorations and the reports on these routes were of particular interest to the freighter who often traveled these routes many times. They were dependent upon them for the success or failure of their enterprise and consequently the matter of making or loosing money on their operations.

The problem of routes of travel was of no great concern for those crossing the plains upon the first end of the journey. Their travels carried them over the level plains with few natural barriers except the rivers. It depended much upon which side of the river people started their journey as to which side they traveled. The south side of the Platte river became known generally as the Oregon Trail while the north side was known as the Mormon Trail. Each of these routes had its difficulties. The north side had the obstacle of the Elkhorn River to cross as well as other smaller streams. As this route neared the mountains it was usually considered advisable to cross to the south side of the Platte River. Those who followed the south side had the South Platte to cross which was considerably larger

than the streams which had to be encountered on the north side. The obstacles were, therefore, about equal to each. Freighters had little concern as to which route they followed. It depended merely upon which side they outfitted and loaded. They were not entirely opposed to crossing the river if the need seemed to indicate the wisdom of such an action. What the reasons were, usually personal, had little influence upon the general problem. The difficulties of crossing the river, however, were sufficient to keep the two trails individual in character and quite separate from each other.

Even though the general practice was to cross the North Platte river and travel through the black hills region, some investigation was instigated to find the feasability of following the north bank of the Platte River all the way and eliminate the difficulty of crossing the river twice, which was necessitated by the general procedure. These investigations were undertaken both by the church and the army. The results were surprisingly similar and the recommendations made practically the same. From the fourth general Epistle of the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the following was published in the Deseret News:

> Our messengers who went east, this fall, to visit the camps of the Saints, emigrating hither, and report to us their situation, have discovered a new route from Green River south of the old road, to the Pacific Springs, on which the feed and water are improved; also a new route on the north side of the Sweet Water which together with the road on the entire north side of the Platte River from its mouth westward, as located all the distance, and traveled the most of the way by our Pioneers in 1847, is decidedly the best route for the Saints from the States to Deseret.
>
> Crossing the Missouri river above the mouth of the Platte and passing the Loupe Fork, which is the only river of much consequence to cross on the north of the Platte, and which may be easily bridged or ferried at still water, and keeping on the entire north of the Platte, also of the Sweet Water, except near its source in the mountains, and there are no natural obstructions on the route till you arrive at Green River; where a ferry may be expected at high water, and good fording is always

found late in the season.[50]

From an army dispatch to Major Sandford the following:

> Major Sandford, Sir: Agreeable to your request I write you from the first station. I will give you what information, in regard to the route up Platte, on the north side of the river, I can; and what I can learn from my company; and others that crossed over Platte and the Black Hills. The northern route has the preference by at least two days drive. . . . I make the whole distance from Laramie to Lance's old road, one hundred and twenty four miles, two miles less than on the Black Hill route. You will please give to emigrants making enquiry, the information contained in this.[51]

As the routes penetrated deeper into the mountains, the problem became of greater concern. This was because the natural barriers became more numerous and varied in nature. Along the Platte, the streams remained comparatively the same. The feed was evenly distributed upon the plains; if it were poor in one place it was likely to be poor in another. Water sources remained about the same on the plains, although many of them dried up, there was little advantage to be found in seeking another route, but rather in trying to reach the next supply further on. In the mountains, however, these problems became more variable and might well be influenced by a change in route. Some particularly difficult section of road might well be avoided by following some other natural passage. Feed might be found on a less conventionally traveled route where the demands of the trains had not depleted the supply so heavily or where more favorable conditions of slope or water supply provided a better growth of vegetation. Water sources were often found in more or less unexpected places, often near at hand but hidden from the traveler by some natural barrier which might be avoided by a small change in the route traveled. Unexpected difficulties were also likely to be encountered by the inexperienced who might digress from the regular avenues of travel either by accident or by purpose and lead to considerable

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[50] Ibid., Sept. 28, 1850. [51] Ibid., Sept. 7, 1850.

difficulties. As a result, all travelers were constantly on the watch for routes which would present less serious problems. As these routes were found and publicized through other travelers, they often were put to use by later travelers. George A. Smith, who traveled east in Capt. A. O. Smoots company, wrote a detailed letter of the happenings on their journey. Among other things he reported on their use of one of these routes established as an alternate to the regular road: "When we arrived at the upper crossing of the Sweetwater we took a right hand road, denominated 'Hanks' Cut-Off' traveled five miles and camped in the evening of May 3d near an alkali pond."[52]

From the fourth epistle quoted above, the following concerning routes and their exploration is cited:

> Our messengers who went east, this fall, to visit the camps of the Saints, emigrating hither, and report to us their situation, have discovered a new route from Green River south of the old road, to the Pacific Springs, on which the feed and water are improved. . .[53]

Taking advantage of one of these natural routes and with a little improvement of the natural contour, Parley P. Pratt opened what he called the Golden Pass through the mountains. Of this route, John Pulsipher related:

> . . . helped make a road up Big Kanyon. I worked considerable this summer with Parley P. Pratt who had charge of making this road, which not only opened to good timber but continues on through passes between mountains over a nice highland country 50 miles crossed Weber River & intersected our Emigration road. So by going a little further find plenty of feed and shun both the mountains that are so bad on the old road.[54]

Shortening the route and thus saving time and effort was one of the main purposes in searching out these naturally adapted avenues of travel. As Salt Lake began to assume a place of leadership in the Western freight-

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[52] Ibid., June 11, 1856. [53] Ibid., Sept. 28, 1850.

[54] Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 52.

PLATE VI

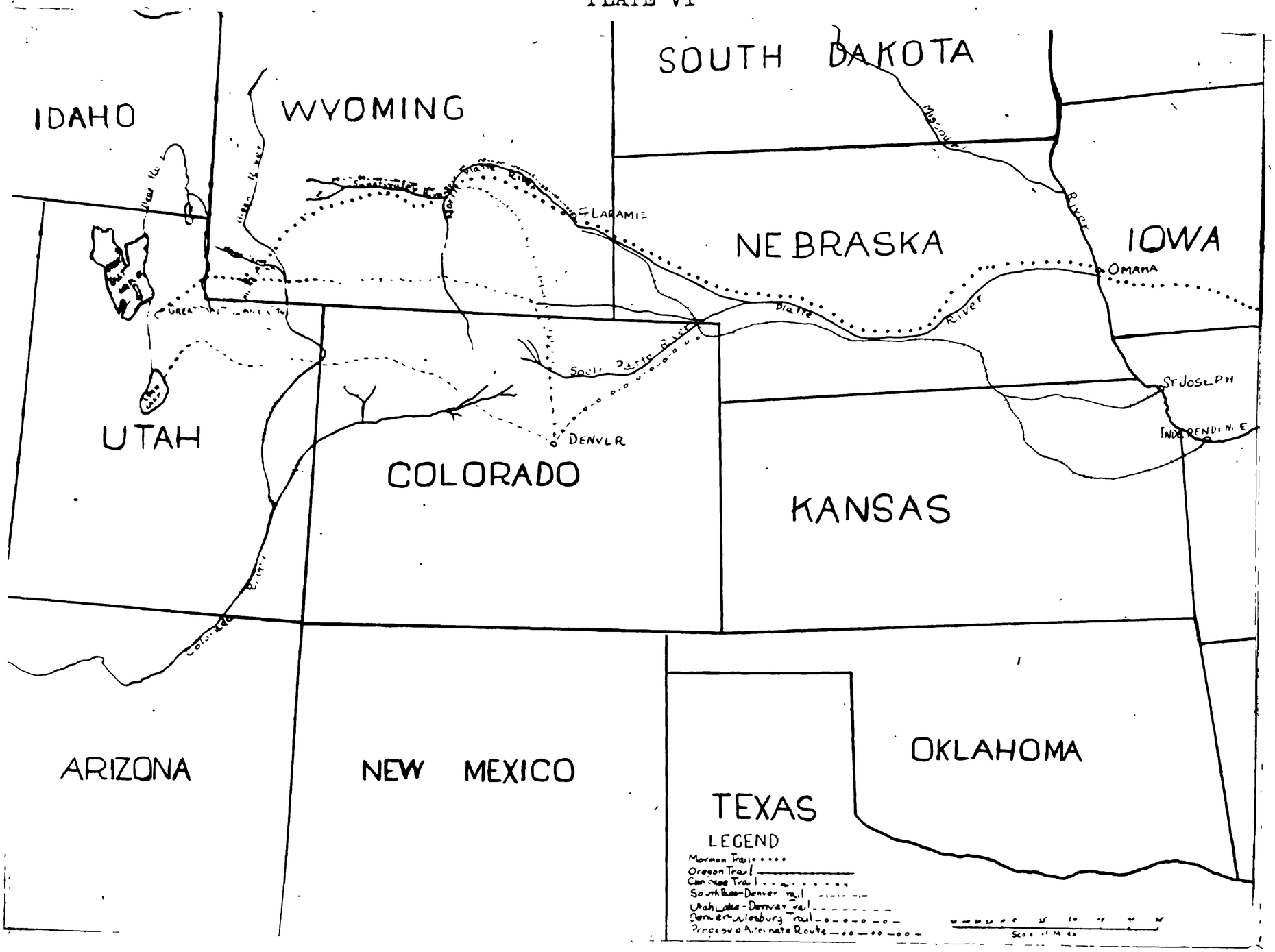

Fig. 1. Freight Routes between the Missouri River and Salt Lake City.

ing and communication, routes from and to Salt Lake began to be sought out. In 1862 the following article appeared in the Deseret News of one of these roads:

> We are informed that a new and shorter route through Cache Valley to the Beaver Head and Grasshopper Creek gold mines has just been opened, passing through Franklin and crossing Bear river eight miles north of that settlement, thence through Marsh Valley to the old road.
>
> Our informant states that about three weeks since, Mr. J. Gammell, with two wagons and seventy hundred pounds of flour, successfully performed a trip on this route, and reports that the road is an excellent one, with abundance of feed and water.
>
> A ferry over Bear river at the crossing of the new road is in contemplation; and, as Franklin and Richmond are much nearer the mines than any of the settlements in Cache, it may be expected that this will become the main route to the new gold fields.[55]

By 1862 freighting to Denver from this area had also become an important function and routes were being sought to further improve the service and reduce the problems. The Deseret News quotes the following news item:

> The Commonwealth and Republican of Denver, says that a new Express Company is in the process of organization for the purpose of running a line of Concord coaches from Denver via Salt Lake to California over the Berthond route. Influential and wealthy men of Boston, New York and Albany are said to be connected with the company. The Berthound route is said to be ninety miles shorter than the cherokee trail and two hundred and forty-two miles shorter than the South Pass route.[56]

As these routes were located, they were traveled by those who had occasion to move West. They were by no means exclusive, but the discovery of such facilities was a service to the public. They proved invaluable in many cases to the freighter in bringing his precious cargo safely and speedily to the public who were waiting for it and depending upon these materials for their support. As the railroads were built West, and the freighters went out to meet the rails end and pick up their shipments which had been forwarded by the railroad, they had to constantly be on the alert for new routes to lead them to the ever advancing end of the railroad. Seldom, in-

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[55]Deseret News, Dec. 10, 1862. [56]Ibid., Oct. 8, 1862.

deed, did a freighter follow the same route in those days, as he had followed on the previous journey because the railroad had been advanced since his last trip. By the end of the period herein discussed, the West had been thoroughly explored and the feasable routes traveled and established.

In an effort to assist the emigrant to find his way through the mountainous section of the journey to Salt Lake and thence on to the Gold Mines in California the Mormon Way Bill was issued. The release on this aid to the travelers was published in the Deseret News:

> Mormon Way Bill pointing out the distances and describing the variour routes from the Pacific Springs to California, and thence to the various gold mines, is about to be issued from the Deseret press, by Cain, Brower, & Co. These way bills will be forewarded east the first opportunity, and sold to imigrants traveling west; so that merchants, mechanics, millers, bakers, those keeping boarding houses, and all who choose can have the opportunity of advertising their goods, wares, merchandize, cattle, shops, or whatever they may have for the benifit and use of the emigrants in said Way Bill on reasonable terms, if presented to the proprietors within ten days from date.
>
> N. B. Merchants and others who are going to the states this spring, wishing to take some of the above Way Bills along with them to sell to emigrants, will do well to hand in their orders immediately for the number of copies they want Jan. 22, 1851.[57]

It is significant to notice that this way the bill concerned itself only with that portion of the route between the Pacific Springs and California. The Pacific Springs were to be found just West of the continental divide at South Pass, probably so called because they were the first source of water on the Pacific slope. The routes East of that point across the plains were taken for granted so that the sponsors of this Way Bill did not think them of sufficient concern to include in their pamphlet.

Despite the neglect in mentioning the two trails which followed the Platte River to the West, these routes were of inestimable value in the freighting of goods and the movement of emigrants West. Many individuals

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[57] Ibid., Jan. 25, 1851.

and groups had an important part in the discovery and development of these routes into the major highways to the West. Probably the greatest single discovery to encourage the use of this route was the locating of South Pass. Of this event Creer says:

> The most important gateway into the Great Basin was the famous South Pass, discovered probably in 1824, by a detachment of Ashley men, who in the interests of the Rockey Mountain Fur Company, organized by William Ashley in 1822, had been sent to trap in the Green River Basin. "This Pass," says Turner, "commended the routes to the great interior basin and to the Pacific Ocean. What Cumberland Gap was in the advance of settlement across the Alleghenies, South Pass was in the movement across the Rockey Mountains; through it passed the later Oregon and California trails to the Pacific coast."[58]

Hundreds of trappers and emigrants followed this route through the South Pass to the West each making their particular contribution to its establishment and to the publicizing of this route for following travelers. By 1847, 23 years after the discovery of South Pass, the route had become a great national highway over which the great migrations traveled to California and Oregon. In this year the Mormon emigrants fleeing from the intolerance and persecution of the citizens of the United States set out on their Journey West. Although they followed the general route of the Platte River, the Saints blazed a new trail along the north side of the river. They felt that this new route would better serve the needs of the large numbers of their members who were yet to move West than to try to follow the more highly developed and more popular route on the south side of the river. Of this decision Roberts quotes:

> "We were convinced that it would be better for us as a company to cross the river and take the old traveled road to Laramie, as there was good grass all the way on that side, while the Indians were burning it all off on the north of the river where we were traveling. But when we took into consideration the situation of the next company, and the

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[58]Leland Hargrave Creer, Utah and the Nation, University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Vol 7. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929), pp. 25-26.

thousand that would follow, and as we were the Pioneers and had not our wives and children with us--we thought it best to keep on the north side of the river and brave the difficulties of burning prairies to make a road that should stand as a permanent route for the saints independent of the then emigrant road, and let the river separate the emigrating companies that they need not quarrel for wood, grass or water; and when our next company came along the grass would be much better for them than it would be on the south side, as it would grow up by the time they would get along; and the vote was called and it was unanimous to go on the north side of the river; so the camp again moved on.[59]

Realizing that they were the trailblazers for thousands who would follow, the pioneer company took great pains to make a careful record of all the pertinent facts about the route over which they traveled. They took time also to scout the country thoroughly as they passed in order to have as comprehensive a knowledge of it as possible. By the time they arrived in Salt Lake Valley, they had a great fund of information which would serve anyone who would travel the route at a future date. This material was carefully checked when a company of pioneers and Mormon Battallion members returned to Missouri River in the autumn of 1847. Variations in the data were carefully checked and the new observations were added to the original documents to not only give a more complete description to any one who might need or want information. The title page of this booklet sets forth the nature and scope of the publication:

> The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide Being a Table of Distances Showing All The Springs, Creeks, Rivers, Hills, Mountains, Camping Places, and all Other Notable Places, from Council Bluffs to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake also, the Latitudes, Longitudes and Altitudes of The Prominent Points on the Route Together with Remarks on the Nature of the Land, Timber, Grass, &c. The whole route having been carefully measured by a Roadometer, and the distance from point to point, in English miles, accurately shown," by W. Clayton.[60]

This booklet must have been invaluable in assisting the emigrants

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[59]Roberts, op. cit., III, p. 168. Quoting the Journal of Wilford Woodruff.

[60]Ibid., III, p. 547.

and freighters who followed this route not only to find the advantageous places and conditions, but also to find the dangerous and undesirable places and conditions which they could avoid. Similar guides were prepared and made available for the route along the south bank of the Platte and over the Oregon Trail. One of these is to be found in Burton's book, "City of the Saints." Even though this itinerary is relatively later than the Latter-Day Saints Emigrants' Guide, it nevertheless gives an idea of many of the natural problems along the route. The title of this article sets forth its contributions:

> Emigrants Itenerary. Showing the distances between camping-places, the several mail stations where mules are changed, the hours of travel, the character of the roads, and the facilities for obtaining water, wood, and grass on the route along the southern bank of the Platte river, from St. Joseph, Mo. to Salt Lake City, Utah. From a Diary kept between the 7th of August and the 19th of October, 1860.[61]

These routes were located through areas easily accessible to travel with little or no development necessary. Obviously little effort could be invested in the development of these routes considering the great distances involved. The time and money needed for such development was not available to the traveler who might discover or later travel over these routes. In as far as they were useable in their original state they were used. The discovery and definition of these routes became a distinct service to the freighting contractor who crossed and recrossed these areas in pursuit of his business.

Roads Built to Improve Natural Routes

On the open plains these natural routes were entirely feasable and serviceable to the traveling public, but when the mountains were reached the problems became more complex. Often natural routes were rendered un-

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[61] Burton, op. cit., p. 505.

serviceable because of some relatively minor yet unsurmountable obstacle along the route. It would make the route impracticable to travel until improvements could be made to remove the obstacle. Such a condition existed in what is now Parley's Canyon, which was the natural approach to the Salt Lake Valley as far as grade, etc., was concerned. For a short distance the route was blocked by narrow and steep canyon walls, which forced the emigrants and freighters alike to follow a less desirable route over Big and Little Mountains which were difficult to cross but were passable. As soon as the obstacles were removed in Parley's Canyon through road building, it became the logical route of travel into Salt Lake Valley and entirely replaced, in time, the route followed by the early travelers. In the hopes of rendering a service and of realizing some monetary return for his effort Parley P. Pratt undertook to establish the first road built in the boundaries of the territory of Utah. This road was built through the above mentioned Parley's Canyon where the obstacles which had turned the pioneers to another route were removed and the entire road became traversable. This road was announced in the third issue of the Deseret News as follows:

> THE GOLDEN PASS OR NEW ROAD THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS. Travelers between the states and California are respectfully informed that a new road will be opened on and after the 4th July, between the Weber river and Great Salt Lake Valley--distance about 40 miles; avoiding the two great mountains and most of the Kanyons so troublesome on the old route.
>
> The road is some what rough and unfinished; but is being made better every day. Several thousand dollars are already expended by the proprietor, who only solicits the patronage of the public at a moderate charge of:
>
> 50 cents per conveyance drawn by one animal.
> 75 cents per conveyance drawn by two animals.
> 10 cents per each additional draught, pack or saddle animal.
> 5 cents per head for loose stock.
> 1 cent per head of sheep.
>
> The foregoing prices will average about one dollar per wagon.
>
> This route lies up the valley of the Weber River some 15 or 18 miles, open, smooth and grassy; thence through a dry hollow and over an abrupt range of hills, some 3 miles; thence, through well watered, grassy, and beautiful plains and meadows, 3 miles thence, down the open and grassy valley of a stream 3 miles; thence 2 miles up a smooth ascent, through

meadows, and table lands of pine, fir and aspen forests, to the summit of a mountain; thence 6 miles down a gradual descent of table land to the head of the Great Kanyon; thence through a rough road with grass and fuel abundant, 6 miles to the valley; entering where thousands of acres of fresh feed cover the table lands at the foot of the hills and mountains; where teams can recruit, while all the principal flouring mills are in the vicinity.

If a road worked by the most preserving industry, an open country, good feed and fuel, beautiful romantic and sublime scenery, are any inducements, take the new road and thus encourage public improvement. G. S. L. City June 22, 1850. P. P. Pratt. Proprietor.[62]

The advantages of roads in this Western country were very evident. This was especially true in the light of the experience of Parley Pratt, whose road proved to be successful from the point of view of service and also economically in that the "Amount of toll taken for first season was about $1500."[63] The problem of building roads was more complex than the construction of bridges or ferries, consequently every possible resource was investigated. In 1853 the following memorial was addressed to Congress to solicit their aid in this problem:

Memorial to Congress for the construction of a Military Road from the north of the Platte or Nebraska river to Sacramento, California. (Approved Jan. 21, 1853.)

To the Honerable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled.

Your memorialists, the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, respectfully pray your honorable body for the construction of a military road from some eligible point at or near the mouth of the Platte or Nebraska river, by way of Great Salt Lake City, to Secramento, California. Your memorialists respectfully represent that not less than six thousand American citizens have perished on the routes between the Missouri river and the gold mines, within the last four years, in consequence of exposure, and toil from crossing rivers, marshes, mountains, and deserts. Your memorialists know that this state of things must continue, until the streams are bridged, and the roads made passable by improvement. We therefore beg leave to suggest that some of the corps of the United States topographical engineers be employed to locate means by providing for the immediate bridging of all rivers whose waters not unfrequently stop the emigrant companies for months, in the early part of the season, thereby rendering a safe crossing over the Sierra Nevada extremely doubtful in the fall, before the passes of the mountains are blocked with snow. We would further suggest that as a military work it is indispensible for the transportation of troops and munitions of war for the protection of the emigrants in the

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[62]Deseret News, June 29, 1850. [63]Carter, op. cit., p. 106.

Indian country, as well as our western frontier, in case of war with any maratime power, to say nothing of the impossibility of transmitting mails, and expresses, in the seasons of high water. Therefore your memorialists respectfully pray for the appropriation of six hundred thousand dollars for the location, working, and bridging said road and your memorialists will ever pray.[64]

Local support for the establishment of roads in the intermountain territory seemed the most feasable. With the small population in the Territory, toll roads were the easiest to establish and maintain. Because of the scope and size of the projects the Territory was interested in some type of public control. In 1852 an act was passed establishing the office of State Road Commissioner. He was to hold office for two years and was to be bonded. The duties of the Commissioner are set forth in the act as follows:

Sec. 2--Whenever the General Assembly shall grant a State road, from one given point to another, it shall be the duty of the State Road Commissioner to institute a speedy survey for said road, on the most feasible and practicable route, having special reference to public convenience, utility, and durability; showing distances, altitude of hill, soils, rivers, ravines, and all such like information relating to convenience, and expense &c., with all reasonable dispatch, to the Governor, who with the Commissioner, shall decide on the location of said road, and all such, and other maps and reports; and maps and reports of all surveys made by the State Road Commissioner, shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of State, within a reasonable time.

Sec. 3.--If it shall appear evident that there is but one feasable route for any road granted by the General Assembly, or if the Governor shall instruct the Commissioner to locate any given road on any particular route previous to a survey; then it shall be the duty of the Commissioner to locate said road without delay, and file a report of each and every location of a State road, in the Secretary office, as in the second section.

Sec. 4.--It shall be the duty of State Road Commissioners to make all contracts for building bridges, acqueducts, culverts, turnpikes, and all other fixtures necessary for the completion of any public road, located by himself or predecessors in office, yet remaining uncompleted, and draw upon the public treasury for such money as shall from time to time be granted by the General Assembly, for the payment of said contracts; keep an accurate account of all sums of money by him recieved, and how expended, and make a true report of the same on or before the

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[64]Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. (Great Salt Lake City: Joseph Cain, Public Printer 1855.) p. 408.

first of December of each year to the Auditor of Public Accounts.[65]

The office of State Road Commissioner had charge of nearly all development of travel facilities within the Territory. Among the first efforts at road development in the Territory was the improvement of existing roads. In 1852 Hosea Stout reported action on a "Bill for the improvement of Emmegration Cannon to the second Mountain and erecting toll gate, read three times and passed."[66] The difficulties encountered in crossing the two mountains on the emigration road were great enough that the effort was to find a new and better route through the mountains. This was to make it more convenient to bring the life-giving supplies of the freight trains into the valley. Because the freighter used the roads repeatedly, he was more concerned for their establishment and maintenance than the emigrant and occasional traveler who once past would have little use for the facilities again. The church had concern for the continual on-coming emigrants who were coming to Utah in an unending stream and would, therefore, also have continual concern for the establishment of adequate and convenient roads.

The first roads authorized and built in the territory were toll roads which were built by private individuals or by companies which were organized for the purpose. They were permitted to collect toll from the travelers to pay for the building and upkeep of the roads. Although many connecting roads between the various communities in the Territory were built, the main effort was in the construction of roads which would serve the travel to the East. From the eastern markets came the main source of supply for the citizens of Utah in the form of great freight caravans which were constantly pouring their life giving loads of supplies into the com-

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[65]Ibid., p. 57. [66]Stout, op. cit., p. 444.

munities of the Territory. Under the impetus given road building by the establishment of the office of State Road Commissioner, a number of projects were inaugurated. In 1855 a directive was given to that official to start action on a road through Big Kanyon (Parley's Canyon) in the following enactment:

> Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: That the Territorial road commissioner be, and is hereby authorized and required to locate a road from some convenient point on the east line of Great Salt Lake City, thence easterly up the Big Kanyon Creek, thence over the second mountain, twenty miles east of Great Salt Lake City, and extending to the farther end of East Kanyon.
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> Sec. 2.--That said commissioner be and is hereby authorized and required to grant contracts to individuals or companies, who shall be the lowest responsible bidders in said contracts, for the improvement of said road.
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> Sec. 3.--That the said commissioner be, and is hereby authorized, and required to grant to the improvers of said road the privelege of erecting one toll gate for the purpose of collecting funds from all persons passing and repassing, to remunerate the improvers of said road, until they shall have collected one hundred per cent, on all their expenditures which have been appropriated to said roads.
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> Sec. 4.--That the rates of toll over said road shall be as follows, viz: For every load of wood, timber, coal, rock, or lime drawn by two animals $0.25. For every such load drawn by four or more animals, $0.37½. For the traveling community. For every wagon or carriage drawn by two animals, each $1.00. For each additional pair of animals to such wagon or carriage $.50. Loose animals, (excepting sheep and hogs), each $.10.
>
> Sec. 5.--Said road shall be made and kept in repair to the acceptance of the Territorial road commissioner.[67]

At about the same time as the Big Canyon road was proposed, two other roads were proposed. One was through Provo Canyon and one through the Weber Canyon. The Provo Canyon Road which followed the most natural route was completed and placed in operation before the Weber Canyon Road. The provisions for the establishment of these two roads are similar and for that reason only the act of the legislature establishing the Provo Canyon Road Company will be cited.

An act to incorporate the Provo Kanyon Road Company.

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[67]Utah Legislative Assembly Enactments 1855, p. 228.

Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah that Aaron Johnson, Thomas S. Williams, Evan M. Greene, and William Wall, with their associates and successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, for the term of twenty years, from and after the first day of April, 1855, subject to the revisions of the Legislature at any time, with the exclusive right of making a good wagon road (to the acceptance of the county court of Utah County) from the mouth of Provo Kanyon, in Utah county to Kamas Prarie, thence to continue north easterly on the most feasible route, till it intersects the main traveled road from the United States to Great Salt Lake City, near Black's Fork, in Green River county, Utah Territory, and keep the same in good repair, with the privelege of taking toll thereon, at such specified rates as shall be established by the aforesaid county court.

Sec. 2.--Said company shall be known by the name and style of the Provo Kanyon Road Company, and shall have power to elect such officers, make such laws and regulations as shall by the company be deemed necessary to accelerate and complete said road herein contemplated, according to the provisions of this act, for and during the aforesaid term of twenty years from the first day of April, 1855, which laws shall be valid in all courts having jurisdiction thereof in this Territory.

Sec. 3.--Said company shall give bonds to the people of the Territory of Utah, in the penal sum of five thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful compliance with the conditions of said charter, and to secure all persons for any damage that may accrue from their neglect, which bonds shall be accepted by and filed with the probate judge of Utah County.[68]

This road was completed and placed in operation soon enough to accommodate much of the freight which was sent to Camp Floyd and Johnston's Army in Cedar Valley.[69] For five years this road continued operation under private ownership, but in 1860 the Legislature, acting upon its prerogative, established in the above cited act, passed a bill repealing the charters of certain Road Companies:

An act repealing the charters of certain Road Companies, and for other purposes.

Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, that "An act incorporating Weber Kanyon Road Company," approved Jan. 19, 1855; also "An act to amend 'An act of incorporate Weber Kanyon Road Company;'" approved Jan. 6th, 1857; also, "An act to incorporate the Provo Kanyon Road Company," approved January 19, 1855, are hereby repealed.

Sec. 2.--That exclusive control of the road now made in Provo Kanyon, is hereby vested in the county Court of Utah County, as Agent of the Territory; and it shall be the duty of said court to establish

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[68] Ibid., p. 281. [69] Crook, op. cit., p. 16.

rates of toll on said road, and keep the same in repair from the proceeds thereof, and make a report to the Legislative Assembly during the first week of its session in the year: stating the reciepts from toll, and the expenditures for repairs; and all other business transactions which pertain to said road.

Sec. 3.--The sum of eighteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven dollars and sixty one cents, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, to reimburse Brigham Young and Feramorz Little for the means expended by them in constructing said road, to be paid in six equal annual payments.

Sec. 4.--Said road shall hereafter be the property of the Territory: and all moneys recieved for toll as aforesaid, over and above the necessary expenditure of repairs, shall be paid quarter-yearly into the Territorial Treasury.[70]

By 1866 the roads were again returned from Territorial control to the custody of road companies which were organized in the various areas. Provisions were made that stock should be issued in the amount of one thousand shares to be sold at fifty dollars each. The organizational pattern was established and provisions were made for the establishment of by-laws which were to govern the organization. The roads were to be twenty feet wide and were to be kept in good repair by the company, or the right of collecting toll was to be suspended until such time as the roads were again in good condition. At the end of the term of the charter, twenty years for the Provo Canyon Road, and thirty years for the Weber Canyon, the road was to revert to the commonwealth in good condition.[71] Anyone refusing to pay toll at the specified rates were to be denied passage over the roads. In 1867 another charter was granted with the added provision that fines could and would be imposed on anyone who destroyed the roads or their installations, or forcibly or fraudulently passed the toll gates without paying the required toll. Toll gatherers also had the right to refuse passage to any-

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[70]Acts, Resolutions and Memorials passed at the several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. (Great Salt Lake City: 1866) p. 30.

[71]Ibid., Chapter CXXXII.

one who was not willing or able to pay the charge.[72]

Although the Provo Canyon Road was completed and placed in operation rather early in the history of road building in the Territory, and Weber Canyon Road was contemplated, the problem of bringing freight to the Salt Lake Valley was not solved. The added distance which had to be traveled in order to arrive in the valley through these routes was sufficient to emphasize the necessity of developing another route into Salt Lake City from the east. Parley's Canyon had been under constant development from the days of the Golden Pass in 1850. The principal impetus had been given by individual effort and the labor of the church membership who had an interest in the round trip freighting and emigration effort which was placed in operation in 1860. Although encouragement had been given to the development of this route by an enactment of the legislature in 1855, and other efforts had been expended on the road it still remained a rather precarious and undependable operation. Repairs were frequently needed to make it passable. In 1861 Charles L. Walker records in his diary:

> . . . Cold with a few Specks of snow this a.m. went with Faucett E B Fullmer and others to fix the Road in Parleys Kanyon so that the Teams could pass that are going to the Frontiers to fetch the Poor there is about 200 wagons with 4 yoke of oxen each under the direction of Jos. W. Young going down to Florence where they will take up the Saints and return this coming fall.[73]

By 1866 troubles were still being encountered on this route:

> PARLEYS KANYON.--The road up Parley's Kanyon has been under repair for some time back, and considerable progress has been made in getting it ready for regular travel. We understand that Br. Joseph A. Young, who has charge of the road between this city and the Weber, has thirty five men at work on it, and will have more employed there in a

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[72]Acts and Resolutions and Memorials passed and adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, Sixteenth Annual Session, (Salt Lake City: 1867) p. 16.

[73]Charles L. Walker, "Diary of Charles L. Walker 1833- 1904." (Brigham Young University Library) p. 224. (Typewritten)

short time. When a popular line of travel becomes measurably or entirely stopped, people are apt to get empatient; but this impatience should not lead them to expect or look for unreasonable things. Several circumstances have retarded the making of a road up that kanyon, not simply practicable but a thouroughly good road. A heavy land slide blocked up the creek, and raised the water back up onto the road for a considerable distance. The water rose in two days and took the road with such force that it required a couple of weeks of hard work to re-open it. People who are at all conversant with the kanyons know it is a very difficult matter to hold the roads against the waters when they have to be contended with. Other causes have also helped to retard progress. And while it is desirable that the repairing of the road through Parley's Kanyon should be completed as early as possible, it is better to exercise a little patience and have it done in a manner that will prevent a recurrence of the past difficulty to travel that way in the course of a few months From Mr. Young's known energy there is no question but what the balance of the road under repair will be completed at as early a day as practicable, much having been already accomplished.[74]

In his 1866 message, Governor Charles Durkee made the following recommendations concerning the Parley's Canyon route:

The road from this city, through Parley's Kanyon to the Weber river appears to me to be a proper locality for the construction of a toll road. A Good road is especially desirable, on account of our supplies of coal being brought over that route. The construction of such a road would be attended with no inconsiderable expense. The settlements upon the Weber are small, and from the fact that a very large proportion of the travel upon the road is by freighters, immigrants, miners, and other not residents of the Territory, it would not be the most appropriate locality for expenditure by the Territorial Government.

I would, therefore, suggest to you the propriety of adopting a joint resolution, authorizing the governor, or some other Territorial officer to recieve bids from responsible parties for the construction of a good turnpike road upon this route, upon condition of recieving a charter from the Legislature for the term of ten years; such bids to be accompanied by specifying the lowest rates of toll which would be accepted.

Should such resolution be speedily adopted bids might be recieved and the charter awarded during the present session of the Legislature and the public thus enjoy the benifits of the improved highway during a portion, at least, of the coming year.[75]

Acting upon the recommendations of the Governor, the 1866 session of the Legislative Assembly passed the following act relating to the establishment of a territorial toll road through Parley's Canyon:

An act establishing a territorial Road from Great Salt Lake City to Wanship, Summit County.

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[74]Deseret News, May 17, 1866. [75]Ibid., Dec. 14, 1865.

Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah; that the sum of six thousand dollars be and is hereby appropriated, to be drawn and expended by the Territorial Road Commissioner on the Territorial road leading from Great Salt Lake City, via big Kanyon creek, over the summit of the Wasatch range of mountains to Parleys Park, and across East Kanyon creek, near Ferguson's settlement; thence through Parley's Park to Kimball's ranch; thence over the summit and down Silver Creek Kanyon to Wanship Summit County.

Sec. 2.--The said road, when completed, shall be twenty feet wide, where practicable, and is hereby divided into four sections; That part of the road lying between Charles Deckers residence and Hardy's Station to be the first section: from Hardey's Station to the crossing of East Kanyon creek near Fergusons settlement, the second section; from the crossing of East Kanyon Creek to the summit of the divide between East Kanyon and Silver creek, the third section: and from the divide to Wanship, Summit County the fourth section.

Sec. 3.--The Territorial Road Commissioner is hereby authorized and required to proceed, as soon as practicable, to examine the route herein contemplated, and direct the expenditure of the said six thousand dollars. And upon the completion of said road, or any section thereof he is further authorized and empowered to erect not exceeding one toll gate to the section, and for each section to demand and recieve not exceeding the rollowing rates of toll. For any vehicle, drawn by one or two animals, twenty five cents: for each additional pair of animals, fifteen cents: for every horse or mule and rider, or led horse or mule, ten cents: for every score of meat cattle loose horses or mules, fifty cents: for every score of sheep twenty-five cents. Provided: that persons hauling fuel or produce from within sixty miles of Great Salt Lake City, shall pay but one way being entitled to a return ticket free, and that no traveler shall be compelled to pay toll for a greater distance than one section of the road at any one toll gate.[76]

The charter further provided that the road then in use was to be repaired and toll was to be charged at the same rates as provided in the enactment until such a time as the new road was completed. All toll gates were to be tended from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. A fine of one hundred dollars plus costs was established for anyone who would destroy the road and a fine of five dollars plus costs for obstructing the road.[77]

So vital did this road become to the freighting and general transportation business into the Salt Lake Valley that every effort was directed to the maintenance of this route. In his message of 1867 the Governor again alludes to this road and the problems attendant upon its maintenance asfollows:

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[76] Ibid., March 9, 1866. [77] Ibid., March 9, 1866.

. . . The road from this city, through Parley's Park to the Weber river, is the avenue through which passes the greater portion of the imports for the Territory. The road is an extremely difficult one, and although much labor has been expended upon it, it is still, for much of the year, almost impassible. The action had, under the law passed at your last session, has failed to meet the requirements of the public, and some further legislation would seem desirable, either in the way of additional appropriations, or a revision of the law.[78]

While the major emphasis was placed upon bringing freight over the pioneer trails into the valley of the great Salt Lake, there were other movements on foot which required the attention of the Legislative Assembly regarding the chartering and building of roads. With the development of a market in Colorado, around the Pikes Peak area, there became a concern for freighting goods through that area to Utah. Most important to the economy of the mines and the citizens of Utah, was the shipment of merchandise from the Salt Lake Valley to the Colorado Mines. Freighting had been engaged in over the circuitous route of the South Pass, then south to the mines, or by the Cherokee Trail which was a little shorter than the former. Now with the discovery of a more direct route through the passes of Colorado to the boundary of Utah south of the Uintah Mountains, new developments were necessary to facilitate the most economical use of these shorter routes. As a result in 1865 a charter was granted for the construction of a road through Utah to connect with the routes in Colorado territory:

An act to incorporate the Uinta Road Company.
Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: That William H. Hooper, Ben Holladay and W. L. Halsey and their associates assigns are hereby constituted and declared a body politic and corporate, with succession for the term of fifteen years, to be known by the name and style of the "Uinta Road Company," by which name they may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, contract and be contracted with; and may have and use a common seal; and shall have power to hold and acquire real estate whereon to erect toll gates, houses stations and bridges and to dispose of and convey the same when no longer required for said purposes; and to make such rules and regulations for the management of its affairs and the number and appoint-

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[78] Deseret News, Jan. 2, 1867.

ment of its officers and workmen, as may be deemed necessary; and the said Company are hereby invested with all the powers and priveleges which may be necessary to carry in to effect the purpose and object of this act.

Sec. 2.--The said Company are authorized and empowered to construct a wagon road from Utah Lake eastward through Uinta Valley to the eastern boundary of this Territory, there to connect with the road running westward from Denver through Colorado Territory; and also the exclusive right to erect bridges over the streams traversed by said road and one mile above and below the crossing of said road to erect toll gates on said road, not to exceed one to every twenty miles of road; and to erect toll gates on each of said bridges wherever the streams over which said bridges are erected exceed one hundred feet in width; and to demand and collect at each of said gates upon said road, for each wagon or vehicle passing over said road drawn by one pair of horses, mules or cattle, twenty-five cents; and for each additional pair, ten (10) cents; for each riding horse or mule, five (5) cents; for horse, mules, cattle or other animals driven loose, five (5) cents per head; and to demand and to collect the following rates of toll at each of said bridges, to wit: For a wagon drawn by two animals, one dollar, for each additional animal, twenty-five cents, For vehicles drawn by one animal, fifty cents, For each horse or mule and rider, ten cents; Provided, if the said Company shall establish and maintain a ferry over Green River at the crossing of said road, they may charge for ferriage the same rates of toll as are allowed for passing over one of the Company's bridges; and further provided, that five per cent, of all tolls collected on the said road and bridges, within this Territory, shall be paid annually to the Territorial Treasury for the use and benifit of common schools.

Sec. 3.--Any person passing over said road, who shall refuse to pay the toll herein required shall forfeit and pay to said Company, for each and every such offence, the sum of twenty-five dollars, to be recovered by action of debt by said Corporation.

Sec. 4.--Upon complaint being made to any Justice of Peace in any country through which said road is located, that any portion of said road or any of said bridges are not in reasonably good condition for wagons or vehicles to pass, the said justice may summon the gate keeper nearest to the defective bridge or portion of the road to appear before him on a certain day, not more than five (5) from the day of complaint; and if it shall appear to the Justice that the complaint is true, judgement shall be rendered against the Corporation as defendant for the costs of the proceedings; and thereafter no tolls shall be collected by said Gatekeeper, until the said road or bridge is repaired: Provided, that if by reason of snow or high water it shall not be possible for any person with reasonable expense to repair said road or bridge, a reasonable time shall be allowed for repairing the same, before judgements of costs shall be rendered.

Sec. 5.--No toll shall be levied upon the citizens of Utah Territory for travel on said road for local purposes, for the distance intervening between the point where the road begins in Utah County and the summit of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Great Basin and the Colorado.

Sec. 6.--It shall be the duty of the Uinta Road Company to make an annual report to the Legislative Assembly, during the first week of its session; said report to be to the thirty first of the next preceding

PLATE VII

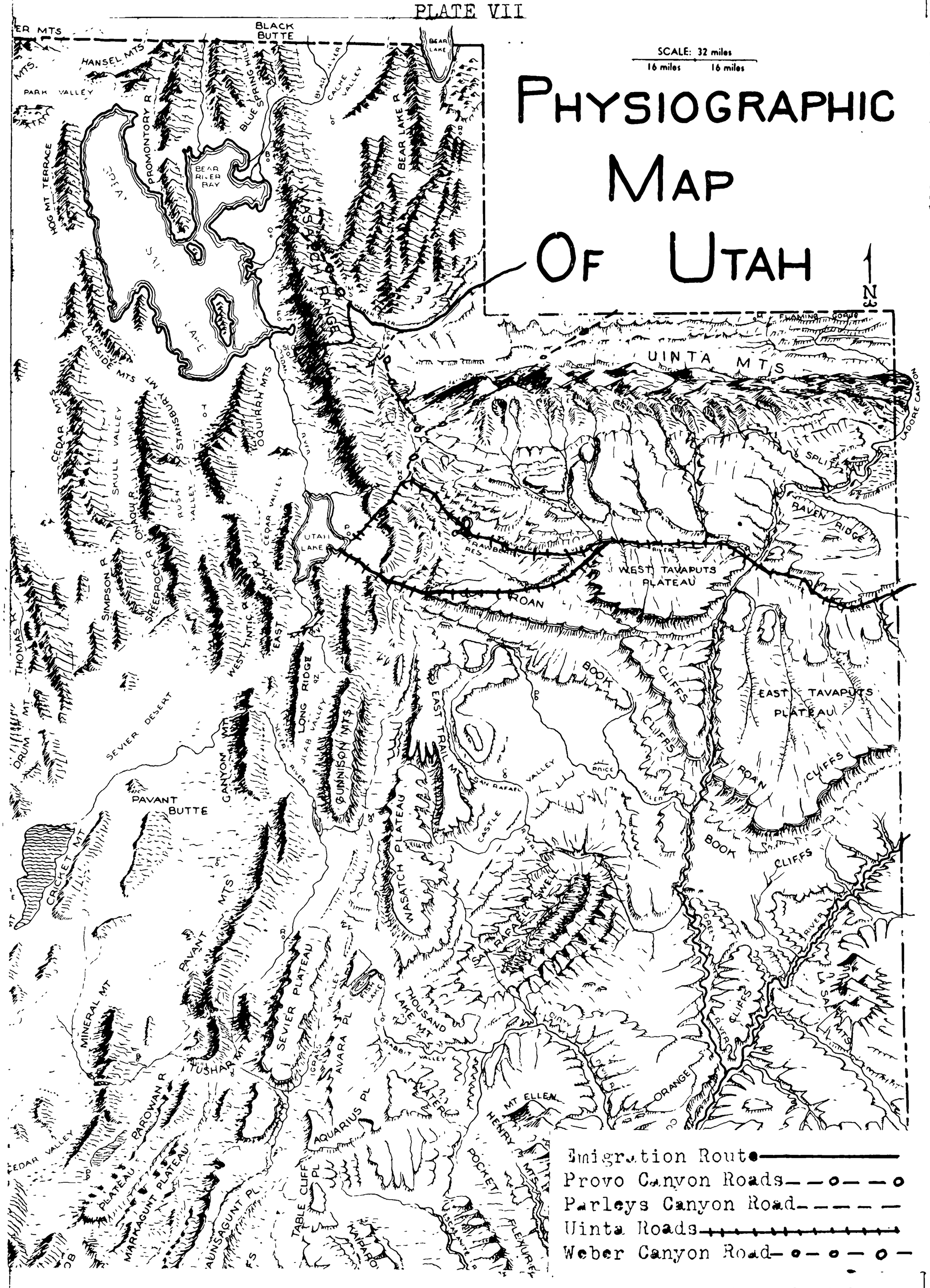

Fig. 1. Chartered Roads established in Utah which were used by freighters.

October, to show all reciepts and expenditures on said road and from what source and for what purpose.

Sec. 7.--Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the Legislature from amending, altering and repealing the same when they think the public good requires it. Approved Jan. 20, 1865.[79]

Publicly sponsored and supported roads in the Utah Territory, were first toll roads. These served very well for the arterial travel to or from the Territory. However, as the communities grew and became more numerous throughout the Territory and the functions of the communities became more complex with dependency upon centralized industry and supply, travel between the communities increased considerably. With the increase in travel, the toll which would be charged became prohibitive and discouraged as free an intercourse between the various communities as was desirable. Being as the use of the roads was directly proportional to the population, it soon became evident that the roads within the territory should be supported by taxes either on the property or on a poll tax arrangement.

The first of these taxes to be levied for road building purposes was a property tax. As early as 1849 Brigham Young in His Manuscript History records an action as follows: "Resolved that a tax of one per cent per annum be assessed on property to repair public highways."[80] Bancroft, who quotes the above in his discussion also states, "Several bridges were also built, which were paid for by the one per centum property tax."[81] In 1855 Samuel W. Richards records in his diary: "Bro. Williams worked on the Road in payment of my tax."[82] And so taxes were collected for the building of public roads and other traveling facilities.

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[79]Acts Resolutions and Memorials passed at the several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. Chapter CXXXVI.

[80]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 293 (quotes Brigham Young in a footnote).

[81]Ibid., p. 293. [82]Richards, op. cit., p. 207.

There were in the communities of Utah, however, quite a number of people who were exempt from the property tax because they held no property in the Territory. Among these were unquestionably a number of individuals associated with the freighting enterprise. Certainly drivers, herders, and other incidental personnel who came into the Territory had little reason to hold property here. Some of the freighters themselves who came and sold everything, even their outfits upon their arrival might well have avoided their share of the tax. In 1861 an act was passed by the Legislative Assembly establishing a poll tax to establish and particularly to maintain the roads already in existence in the Territory. This act would provide for a taxing of all able bodied men, and thus provide for a more ample fund for road purposes as well as an effort to more equitably distribute the burden to the citizens. The act provides as follows;

> An act providing for a poll tax for Road Purposes.
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> Sec. 1.--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah that each county court shall, as its next March term, district its respective County into as many portions as may, in its judgement, render it convenient to carry out the Provisions of this act most effectively for the general good, and appoint a supervisor for each district. It shall require annually a poll tax, not to exceed two days labor, or one and a half dollar per day in lieu thereof, of every ablebodied male inhabitant over sixteen and under fifty years of age; said labor to be performed upon any Territorial or County road within the limits of the County, under the direction of their respective Supervisors; and all means, other than labor, accruing from said tax, shall be paid over to the Supervisors; and all means, other than labor, accruing from said tax, shall be paid over to the Supervisor of the district, to be by him expended to the best advantage upon the roads aforesaid, after reserving therefrom an amount sufficient to remunerate himself for his services as hereinafter provided.
>
> Sec. 2.--Each Supervisor shall give bonds, with security, to be approved by the Probate Judge or Clerk of the County Court, payable to the people of their respective counties, for a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, for the faithful performance of his duties according to the requirements of this act, which bond shall be filed in the office of the Clerk of the County Court, and shall recieve the sum of two dollars for each days faithful service in the duties of his office, to be paid out of the poll tax of his district.
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> Sec. 3.--It shall be the duty of the County Court to furnish each Supervisor with a suitable book for his official accounts, containing a list of poll tax payers within his district, so near as may be, together

with a statement of the amount of poll tax required of each person liable under the first section of this act, to which the supervisor is authorized and required to add the names of all persons within his district thus liable, whose names may have been omitted.

Sec. 4.--Each Supervisor shall, at his discretion, notify so many persons whose names are on his list, as he may deem practicable to appear at such time and place as their services may be required, with appropriate tools for the kind of work to be performed, giving the parties at least three days notice of such requirement. When teams may be required, the Supervisor shall negotiate for the same at an equitable rate.

Sec. 5.--Any person notified, as provided by section four, desirous of making other pay than labor, may give the Supervisor notice accordingly, and if he pay the amount of his tax for the current year before the day he has been required to perform the labor, he shall be justified in non-appearance; but, otherwise the Supervisor may, as such, sue and collect the same as an action of debt, and no property shall be exempt from execution on judgements so recovered.

Sec. 6.--Each Supervisor shall, at the December term of the County Court, annually, make a full report to said Court of the amount of labor performed; the amount collected in other means, and in what manner expended, with the amount and kind of means on hand.[83]

As the citizens of the Territory became more and more able to provide for their own roads, the disposition was evidenced to permit them to do so. Charters were providing more and more for the facilities to be turned over to the Territory, to be operated as public utilities rather than a privately operated.[84] Funds were being appropriated from the general funds to assist in the establishment of these facilities.[85] This trend is summarized in the Governors Message to the Legislature in 1865 as follows:

> Turnpike, toll bridge or ferry companies, for the improvement of highways, in the charters of which, exclusive priveleges are granted to companies or individuals, should be incorporated as rarely as possible. Wherever the settlement of the country will justify the expense, such roads, bridges or ferries, should be constructed by local taxation, assisted in proper cases, by appropriation from the Territorial Treasury,

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[83] Acts, Resolutions and Memorials passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, during the Eleventh Annual Session for the years 1861-62, (Great Salt Lake City: Elias Smith, Public Printer, 1862) p. 8.

[84] Almost all of the later charters provided that the installations should be turned over in good condition to the Territorial Government after the period of the charter had expired.

[85] See note 70 this chapter.

and the highways made free to the traveling public. And in cases where by reason of sparseness of population or the great difficulties to be surmounted in the opening of the highways, a different rule is adopted, the rights of the public should be carefully guarded. Provision should be made for the lowest rates of toll and the briefest enjoyment of the franchise, consistent withthe proper remuneration of the parties engaging in the enterprise.[86]

Gradually, under the impetus of public and official sentiment, the various toll roads, bridges, ferries, and other facilities began to depend more and more upon public support than on the payment of tolls for their support. Finally toll collecting installations entirely disappeared from the Utah Territory. Naturally the abandonment of these installations could be effected only slowly, but as each toll collecting utility was replaced by one supported by the general funds of the Territory, the freighter found a relief from one of the items of expense which faced him and which made his freight rates high.

Facilities Established to Meet the Needs of Freighters.

Among the major needs of the freighters and other travelers as well, was a place along the route where they could either replace or repair their equipment in case of breakdown or to replace their cattle or supplies in case of some disaster or miscalculations. During the first years of freighting to Utah, there were only two places between Kanesville and Salt Lake City, a distance of nearly twelve hundred miles where repairs or supplies were available; these were Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger which at that early time were not forts at all but merely headquarters for some of the activity of the various fur companies in the West. They were neither meant nor equipped to provide the necessary accommodations which the freighter might need. If a freighter could take more working draft animals rather than be under

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[86] Deseret News, Dec. 14, 1865.

the necessity of driving such a large herd of replacement animals, then his investment could pay off to a better advantage. This was possible only if replacements could be purchased when necessary along the road. If he could depend upon a reliable source of supply along the way, then he could haul a larger pay load instead of being under the necessity of providing for every eventuality of supply before leaving the Missouri River. If he could be assured of services such as blacksmithing, horse and ox shoeing, tire setting etc., then he would not be under the need of either makeshifting or of carrying the equipment to perform such chores. This need was recognized early and efforts were made to provide for its solution. Many of the other services which were established such as ferries and bridges provided such service enterprise as above mentioned. When the pioneers had passed on toward Salt Lake and had left the company in charge of the ferry on the Platte, these brethren did blacksmithing, horse and ox shoeing, as well as some doctoring of sick animals both as a service to the traveler and as a means of filling their purses.[87] Besides these services rendered in connection with other installations, some recognized the advantage of establishing places which would provide these services more directly. The Deseret News carried the following advertisement which indicated the disposition toward this problem:

> To traders, emigrants, and freighters. Messrs. Ward & Guerrier at Sandy Point, 7 miles west of Fort Laramie, on the main emigration road, would inform travelers to and from the States, and the public generally, that they will constantly keep on hand at their station, a good supply of fresh animals, groceries, provisions, and general assorted merchandise, which they will furnish on reasonable terms. They will also trade for cattle, mules, and horses.[88]

Such an enterprise could prove rather fruitful of a large percent-

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[87]Harmon, op. cit., p. 27.

[88]Deseret News, March 14, 1855.

age on an investment in that such people could buy or trade for tired and jaded animals at bargain prices and after a rest and the investment of a little feed, they could be sold to a later group at premium prices either in sale or trade again for the worn out animals.

As the citizens of Utah were primarily interested in the success of the establishment of such facilities, they early took an active interest in the problem. Not only for the supply of goods by the freighters to the settlements but also in a continuing immigration and the transmission of the mails to the valley, did they engage in the establishment of such way stations and outfitting points. One of the first of such stations was located at Devils Gate. Of the establishment of this station, Tullidge, in his biographical sketch of Feramorz Little says:

> The four hundred miles between Fort Bridger and Laramie was at first run without any station or change of animals. There was afterwards a trading post established at Devils Gate which afforded the mail carriers further facilities, Messrs Little and Hanks, as per contract, left Salt Lake City on the first of August with the eastern mail and extra animals with which to stock the road.[89]

Even though the station referred to above was of particular benefit to the mail service, yet the freighters undoubtedly realized considerable advantage from the existence of such a place and the assistance which it offered. Because of the evident advantages from such way stations, a program of establishing a number of them was included in the plans for the establishment of the Y X Company. In reporting the activities of this organization, Brigham Young says:

> Three companies have already left this city, and the particular object in view is to establish places where our brethren can stop and rest, recruit and refresh themselves until they can continue their journey and arrive in this valley. Our main objective is to make settlements and raise grain at suitable points and convenient distances, where we can prepare resting places for the Saints. The last season's

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[89]Tullidge, op. cit., Biographical Appendix, p. 45.

immigration I think has prompted us materially to this action. If we had had settlements at Deer Creek, LaBonte, below Laramie, and on the Sweet Water, where people can raise grain our last years belated immigration might have had habitation, food, and other conveniences for comfortably tarrying through the winter, and thus saved this community a vast expense. This Express Company will be laid before this Conference, so that you will have an understanding of it, that you may act knowingly, and give your faith, influence, and means to accomplish the object of its organization.[90]

Some of the details of the establishment of these stations and the hopes which were entertained for them are set forth in a news release of March 4, 1857:

> The Eastern mail was dispatched by Mr. Thomas on the 3d instant, under charge of Mr. O. P. Rockwell to Laramie and of Mr. Groesbeck from there to Independence at which place Mr. Groesbeck will tarry for a time to operate for an express line, of which company he and Mr. Rockwell are members. Mr. H. S. Eldredge, who is also a member of the Express Co. and on his way to St. Louis, two passengers, eleven employees and 32 animals go out with this mail. From the steps already taken in an unfavorable season of the year, it can be readily inferred that the route from there to Independence will soon be supplied with convenient stations and equipped with men, animals and vehicles amply sufficient for the speedy and safe transmission of mails, conveyance of passengers and transportation of such necessary articles as we are yet obliged to procure in markets outside our borders. To render the operation still more reliable, responsible, and intelligent men will be stationed at all suitable points from this city to St. Louis, Missouri; and when this important and extensive plan is fairly in operation, we trust that we shall be done with the hitherto just complaints about abominable mail failures, and that passengers and goods can safely and speedily pass over a lengthy and heretofore expensive route at reasonable rates.[91]

Considering the activity evidenced in favor of the new arrangement, and considering support which it received from the general citizenry of Utah, these stations would have been established and might well have served the needs of the traveling public had the Utah War not broken out to bring this worthwhile effort to an end. With the advance of the army towards Utah with avowed hostile intentions towards Utah and its inhabitants, the folly of attempting to hold the locations which had already been established became immediately apparent. As a result men and equipment were hurried to

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[90]Journal of Discourses 1857, p. 302. [91]Deseret News, Mar. 4, 1857.

Salt Lake in advance of the army. Of this movement the Deseret News says:

> The companies from Deer Creek and the Devils Gate arrived on the 19th inst. saving our enemies the trouble of clearing the road of American citizens lawfully occupying American soil.[92]

With the abandonment of this project and the occupation of the Army in Utah followed directly by the great Civil War, the effort was never again made to build such a line of settlements across the country. The puny express stations which grew up with the advent of that enterprise, did render some assistance even though their purpose was quite different from the Installations proposed by the citizens of Utah.

Stations did, however, come into existence along the route as the opportunity presented itself for the making of a profit on such institutions. When the Army came to Utah accompanied by huge supplies of goods, goods far beyond the needs of the Army, some of the contractors looked about for other avenues of business through which they could dispose of their surplus merchandise. One Mr. Miller who was associated with the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell, and did business in Utah under the firm name of Miller and Russell, established an outfitting post along the route to the states and inserted the following advertisement in the Deseret News:

> Attention Emigrants. The undersigned would respectfully inform the traveling public that they can rely upon finding a complete assortment of outfitting goods, groceries, flour, grain, etc., at their store at Millerville, thirteen miles east of Fort Bridger, also at their new Ranche at the crossing of the North Platte on the Cherokee trail, two hundred and twenty five miles from Denver City.[93]

With the stations established as above and those which grew up around bridges, ferries, army posts, etc., the trail was fairly well supplied with stations by the time the railroad was finished, rendering the later years better in these respects at least for those who engaged in the great freighting enterprise.

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[92] Ibid., Sept. 23, 1857. [93] Ibid., July 4, 1860.

Outfitting Facilities

Outfitting posts and points of departure came to play a rather important role in the establishment of stations for the service of the freighting public. Many of these places of departure for the great freight caravans along the Missouri River have grown into the cities of today. The established communities along the Missouri River were not always the most ideally situated nor equipped by nature for outfitting large freight caravans. At times the very fact that they were established cities was a draw back. The freighters then made their own headquarters and outfitting areas. Of this activity, Driggs says:

> At the "Big Bend of the Missouri" hundreds upon hundreds of wagon trains would be organized and outfitted for the overland journey. During the later Eighteen Forties and through the Fifties and Sixties the covered wagon rush continued. Independence, taxed to its capacity taking care of this frontier business, had to yield in time to rival river towns. Westport, ten miles to the west, at the junction of the Kaw and the "Old Muddy" was soon to out-strip its rival down stream, and later become thriving Kansas City, Missouri. A great impetus was given Westport when Alexander Majors, freighting manager of the great Russell, Majors, and Waddell firm, won a contract from the government for transporting goods for Johnston's Army and established a steamboat landing at that frontier town. Afterwards Atchison, Kansas, Saint Joseph, Missouri, and Nebraska City, Nebraska, also grew into thriving towns farther up the river.[94]

As other markets were established and new routes were followed, new outfitting stations were established. Again from Driggs:

> Alexander Majors, field director for the great pioneer freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell, was quick to see the advantage of opening a short-line freight trail from Nebraska City directly west to Fort Kearney. By having the laden steamboats go on past Independence and Westport on the "Old Muddy" to this point in Nebraska, he could save, as Lieutenant Woodbury had pointed out, aproximately one hundred twenty miles of travel. Moreover, the trail from Nebraska City to Fort Kearny would largely miss the swollen streams that flowed southeastward into the Kaw and the Missouri; so the short line was taken, not only by the freighters but by hundreds of oncoming emigrants.[95]

The Mormons too had their outfitting place along the Missouri River.

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[94]Driggs, op. cit., p. 33. [95]Ibid., p. 55.

Of this establishment and settlement, the Deseret News says:

> The place selected for rendezvous and outfitting for the plains we christened "Mormon Grove." It is well supplied with springs and rivulets for family use; situated in the middle of a high undulating prairie, 5 miles west of the Great Bend of the Missouri river, half way between Weston and St. Joseph, 30 miles north west of Fort Leavenworth, and 1½ miles east of the Salt Lake mail road. The place selected for landing nearest the "Grove" is excellent and a good prairie road from the levee direct to the "Grove."
>
> A new and thriving town called Atchison is springing up at that point, the rise and growth of which is mainly attributed to our emigration. Later in the season our Utah merchants have been attracted to, and made that an outfitting point for all their late trains.[96]

These outfitting points were in no way exclusive in their use, but were available to anyone who wished to use them. As a result the records show that the freighters to Utah used all of these various starting points plus their own Kanesville or Omaha where the Mormon trail began.

With the necessity of a continual flow of goods to the isolated band of settlers in the valleys of the mountains, it was only natural that every effort would be made to insure the best service from those who undertook to supply those goods to the settlers. It followed that the various facilities discussed in this chapter should be established and maintained as faithfully as possible. It was not just a convenience to have such utilities for the freighters, but it was a matter of life and death for the citizens at some periods of their history and a matter of grave concern at all times. If for the lack of some provision and precious goods were not delivered, immediate repercussions in shortage and want were the result. To those then who built and maintained the ferries, bridges, roads, and way stations must go much of the credit for the success of the freighting life line being kept open to the Utah Territory.

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[96] Deseret News, Sept. 5, 1855.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC FACTORS RELATED TO FREIGHTING

With few exceptions the only reason for a contractor to enter the freighting business was to make money. In the few cases of the Mormons who felt enough concern for their brethren to haul merchandise to Utah for the general benefit of the community, the economic factors were still operative in their consideration. Aside from these few, however, who would freight for the devotion and sense of responsibility to the community, the freight contractor had as his sole concern the making of money. How successful he was was dependent upon many considerations which will be discussed in this chapter.

Cost of Outfits

The first concern of these men was the cost of their outfits which were necessary to their project of carrying goods to the market where they could be sold at the greatest advantage. The listing of these outfits will vary some according to the conditions and the individuals concerned, but on the whole they represent a fair estimate of the needs of any person engaged in hauling goods to this western country. Alter cites an affidavit of Charles A. Kinkead which sets for the personal gear necessary to travel across the plains:

> AFFIDAVIT OF CHAS. A. KINKEAD.
> District of Columbia
> County of Washington
>
> Before me, J. H. Goddard, and acting Justice of the Peace, in and for the county and District aforesaid, personally appeared Charles A. Kinkead, and makes oath that, for the last five years has resided in

Great Salt Lake City, doing business as one of the firm of Livingston, Kinkead & Co.; that he has frequently crossed the plains with the mail trains and with his own outfit, both to the Eastern States and to California. Being requested to the state what constituted an outfit for such a trip he replies that for each man is required at least two mules, (witness himself has never travelled with less than three) saddle, bridle, and Spanish spurs, pack saddle and blankets, lariettes, and not less than one pair of good mackinaw blankets, one pair of Alforgasses, a good fouling piece, and a pair of Colt's navy or dragoon revolvers, knife, belt pistol holsters, hatchet, cooking utinsels, one pound of meat and a pound of bread per day, (usually taking the bone out of the meat) with a few pounds of tea, coffee, sugar, and dried fruit, whiskey ad libitum. Men consume more on the plains than anywhere else.

Witness further states that he is well acquainted with the value of the articles above enumerated. California saddles, none other being used, were worth not less than sixty dollars, Mackinaw blankets eighteen dollars per pair, saddle blankets of good quality not less than eight dollars a pair, one pair being requisit for each mule, Alforgasses are very large leather saddle bags, worth at least twenty dollars each, guns, according to quality, from forty to a hundred dollars, Colts pistols at Great Salt Lake from fifty to seventy-five dollars each, (they are somewhat cheaper now.) I have known as much as $150 given for one pistol in the year 1852. Lariette rope is worth from forty to sixty cents per pound, each one weighing four or five pounds, picket pins of iron are worth $1.50, cooking utinsils not less than six dollars coffee forty cents per pound, tea two dollars, bacon forty cents per pound, bread is cheap, say $6.00 per hundred pounds for flour, and fair average price of Spanish spurs is twelve dollars. I have never known them sell for less than eight; have often seen them sell for twenty; no other spurs are used on the plains, Knife, belt, and pistol holsters are worth at least ten dollars; they generally cost more. . . CHARLES A. KINKEAD. Sworn and subscribed before me, this 5th day of July 1856. J. H. Goddard, J.P.[1]

It will be observed that the above estimate is for a non-freighting crossing of the plains, which was done especially by many of the freighters in the earlier years. The personal equipment aside from the cost of mules and their gear which would be represented in the wagon and its outfit is fairly representative of the expense attendant upon any freighting enterprise. An estimate of outfit for a freight wagon or an emigrant wagon, which would be comparable is listed by Burton as follows:

The following estimate of outfit was given to me by a Mormon elder, who has frequently traveled over the Utah route. He was accompanied by his wife, and family, and help--six persons in total; and having money

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[1]Alter, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 217.

to spare, he invested it in a speculation which could hardly fail at least to quadruple his outlay at the end of the march: the stove for instance, bought at $28, would sell for $80 to $120. The experienced emigrant, it may be observed, carries with him a little of every thing that may or might be wanted, such as provisions, clothing, furniture, drugs, lint, stationary, spices, ammunition, and so forth; above all things he looks to his weapons as likely to be at a pinch, his best friends:

2 Yokes oxen	at $180 to $200
1 cow (milch)	25.00
1 wagon	87.30
1 double cover	8.50
2 ox yokes	8.00
1 tar bucket	1.00
1 ox chain	1.50
1 large tent ($9 for smaller size)	15.00
Camp equipment, axes, apades, shovels, triangles for fires etc	10.00
600 lbs. flour	25.50
100 lbs. ham and bacon	14.00
150 lbs. crackers (sea biscuits)	13.13
100 lbs. Sugar	9.50
25 lbs. " (crystal)	3.00
24 lbs. raisins	4.00
20 lbs. currants	3.00
25 lbs. rice	2.25
1 bushel dried apples	6.00
1 bushel dried peaches	4.30
1 bushel beans	2.00
1 stove	28.00
Grand total	$490.98[2]

Inasmuch as the cost of wagons, animals, and related equipment represented the largest single item of expense in preparing the freight trains, they would naturally be the major concern in the economics of the freighting activity. During the major portion of the period covered by this study, the emigrants and freighters were more or less bidding against each other for the equipment necessary to cross the plains. This was particularly true during the early periods of freighting, before the coming of the army to Utah, when the freighting contractor preferred to buy outfits which would find a market in the valley. Here he would dispose of his entire train, wagons, animals, goods, and everything and then return to the Missouri River

[2]Burton, op. cit., pp. 138-139.

and repeat the operation again the year following. The wagons which were in demand in the valley were those smaller vehicles adaptable to farm work and the hauling of goods from the canyons and between communities. These were also the types of equipment purchased by the emigrants who then had outfits which they could use in the valley when they came there. Because the demand naturally determined the cost of outfits to everyone alike, and because the official records of the emigration was more complete in their information on these costs, the information will be quoted from these sources. In 1853, Isaac Chauncy Haight in his journal records:

> February 23 Wed. Still have a bad cold. contracted with Mr. Espenchied for 14 wagons at $58.00 each.
> March 15 Tues. After traveling thru the country purchased 370 yoke of cattle at $65 per yoke.
> March 23 Wed. Made contract for 1670 sacks of flour at $2 per sack.
> April 5 Tues. Contracted with Isaac Henry of Ill. to purchase me 280 cows at $21.50 per head.[3]

By 1854 prices had increased some and animals suitable for plains travel became harder to obtain. William Y. Empy relates the following:

> Feb. 28. This day we landed at Kansas at 4 o'clock. Bro Eldridge went on up the river etc. I made some inquiries about the prices of cattle and horses found them verry high prices & all other articles in proportion.
> March the 1 1854. I hired a horse & rode out in the country about 30 ms to purchase a horse but could not find any till I came within 5 ms of Kansas where I bought a French poney for 75 dol & was offered 15 dollars for my wagon in one hour afterwards.
> March the 2. I went out again with Solomon Young to purchase some cattle of him. He offered to close a contract with me for as many I wanted etc.
> March the 3. I saw several of Doct. Hobbs cattle and sorted one out, that is a 3 year old heifer that should be as a sample of one fourth of the cows that is the 3 years old, 1 heifers and the rest should be from 3 to 7 years old, in good order. I got 2 brands made cost 4 dollars. I was to have 2 hundred yoke of good work cattle well broke, in good working order for 70 dollars per yoke, from 7 years to 8 years without blemish, delivered at near Kansas by the first of May to the 28th of April. I branded 4 on as samples of the 5 years old and one of the four & also a heifer of 3 years old for to be a sample of the three

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[3]Isaac Chauncy Haight, "Biographical Sketch and Diary of Isaac Chauncy Haight. 1813-1862." (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) l. 104.

years old heifers. I went out to Independence Jackson County Mo. and closed our contract for 4 hundred head of good working oxen & 2 hundred cows.

March the 4. I also contracted for one hundred yokes at one dol & 80 cents a peace to be delivered at west port Jackson County Mo. at any time that I should say. . . I advanced to him 5 thousand dollars. They give me good security for their delivery of the above contract & for the money that I advanced them. I was to pay them 22 to 24 dol. for 2 hundred cows, one fourth to be 3 years old and the rest from 3 to 7 years old & also 2 hundred yoke of oxen 70 dollars per yoke without blemish.[4]

By 1856 the following report as to the cost of wagons and other goods is listed:

A dependant Company of ox teams will start when they get their cattle. The wagons that are here and those that are gone by the two "Cart" companies, came from Chicago and cost from $75 to $110. Flour at this point is worth about $3.50 per. hd. lbs.: bacon about $9.00 per hd.[5]

When Johnston's Army came to Utah and the great pioneer freighting company of Russell, Majors, and Waddell undertook to supply them with supplies, a new practice entered into the freighting picture. This company had been accustomed to using the large freight wagons capable of hauling very large loads but which had little value for the general use to which an ordinary citizen would put a wagon. These wagons were designed for the freighting business only. Because of their size, the cost was proportionately higher and the equipment necessary to handle them was equally more expensive, the prices of equipment increased. From the records of the above mentioned company we have the following costs of outfit for the enterprise to Utah in 1857: 4,796 heavy wagons which were especially adapted to freighting at a cost of $162 each, 46,720 oxen and cattle at $35 per head or $70 per yoke, 1500 mules at $101.35, 38,680 chains at $1.81 each, 24,090 yokes at $2.50 each and $49,000 as a total cost for wagon sheets.[6]

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[4]Empy, op. cit., p. 107. [5]Journal History, op. cit., June 11, 1856.

[6]Alter, op. cit., p. 284.

Costs would naturally vary with the conditions which arose to change the general picture of freighting but on the whole it was readily obvious that the amount of capital which was tied up in equipment and livestock was considerable. As the freighting enterprise was usually operated on a rather large scale, it was conceded that the cost of actual operation aside from costs for merchandise and incidental expenses would require a large investment of money, which could only again be realized in the profit which could be made on the goods when they were sold in the Valley.

Wages

Besides the investment in equipment and supplies, the matter of wages became an item of consideration. William Wallace Hammond, a teamster with Russell, Majors and Waddel in their enterprise of furnishing the army with supplies, lists his wages as $40.00 per month, gold discharge at Salt Lake City or $30.00 per month furnished with transportation on return to Fort Leavenworth."[7] As a teamster this wage might well represent an average wage for all of the personnel which traveled with the trains across the plains. Wagon masters likely received a higher wage and the incidental helper likely received a lower wage. Considering this as an average wage and considering the time required to cross the plains at from 40 days[8] to more than 72 days[9] depending upon the size of the train, the nature of the loading and the misfortunes which might be encountered, the wages of each man associated with a train would be from sixty dollars to more than one hundred dollars. In the case of the round trip freighter from Salt Lake the cost would be considerably higher in that it often took six and a half

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[7]Hammond, op. cit., p. 10. [8]Deseret News, Sept. 14, 1859.

[9]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 69. Biographical Appendix.

months to negotiate the entire journey. In this connection certain economies were possible particularly to the Mormon freighter who employed emigrant labor which could obviously be procured cheaper than the regular employed teamster and incidental worker. The Mormon freighter did not have a monopoly on this labor, however, in that any freighter was likely to find this source of manpower a most economical one.

Losses and other Incidental Expenses

In the beginning of the freighting business to Utah, the outlay for equipment and manpower represented the major item of expense. Losses in time and materials, however, imposed a considerable drain on the investment of the freighting contractor. These losses were occasioned by the extreme risks which were imposed by the natural problems which faced the freighter as well as the danger from hostile Indians. As facilities were established to assist the freighters, the natural dangers were decreased, and because of the added assistance, the working year was lenghtened because there was increasingly less need to wait for the natural barriers to become friendly to the traveler. Although they provided advantages, they still introduced new items of expense in the form of tolls and expense in the use of these facilities. The charges for these facilities varied as to the use to which they must be put and often to the whims of the operators. They nevertheless had to be considered in this discussion of economics. In the areas which were not under the control of legislative action and penalty, the operators charged whatever they chose,[10] but in the Utah Territory, some of the first legislative acts passed placed control on ferries, bridges and roads. This control gave the freighters something upon which they could de-

[10]Burton, op. cit., p. 140.

pend in the estimation of their expenses. Although the legislative assembly provided for control of the establishment of these facilities, some few individuals appropriated for themselves the privelege of especially establishing bridges, and when the conditions were right, collect toll at these bridges. When the waters were high, these great number of bridges made the toll charges almost prohibitive to the traveler.[11]

Tolls on Ferries, Bridges and Roads

In 1850 Parley Pratt opened his "Golden Pass" through the mountains and established the first pattern for the collection of toll for roads. His advertisement sets forth his toll schedule as follows:

> 50 cents per conveyance drawn by one animal
> 75 cents per conveyance drawn by two animals
> 10 cents per each additional draught, pack or saddle animal
> 5 cents per head for loose stock
> 1 cent per head of sheep
> The foregoing prices will average about one dollar per wagon.[12]

The rates were equitable enough for the service rendered but freighters would find the costs above the estimated one dollar charge, particularly if the outfits were large and drawn by the long teams of animals which were often used in the freighting business.

By 1851 charters had been granted for the establishment of ferries across the Bear and Green Rivers. These ferries became very necessary because these streams were always treacherous even at low water season. The rates of tolls established in these franchises; for the Green River:

> . . . for all light carriages, buggies, or wagons, whose burthen is not over 2000 lbs he shall charge not exceeding the sum of $3.00.
> For all wagons over 2000 lbs and not exceeding 3000 lbs. he shall charge, not exceeding $4.00.
> For all wagons over 4000 lbs. he shall charge not exceeding $6.00.
> And for each horse, mule, ox, cow, or other animal ferried over said river, $.25.[13]

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[11] Carter, op. cit., pp. 99-101. [12] Deseret News, June 29, 1850.

[13] Ibid., Feb. 7, 1852.

On the Bear River the ferry charges were:

For a carriage or wagon drawn by 2 animals	$3.00
For a carriage or wagon drawn by 4 animals	4.00
For a carriage or wagon drawn by 6 animals	5.00
For a carriage or wagon drawn by 8 animals	6.00
For pack animals each.	.50
For all other animals each	.25[14]

For the bridge which was maintained across the Malad River in connection with the Bear River ferry, charges were:

> . . . one fourth for carriages and wagons of the rates charged on Bear river ferry, and twenty five cents for pack animals, and ten cents for each additional animal.[15]

In 1853 franchises were again granted for the purpose of establishing ferries across the Green and Bear Rivers. The provisions were essentially the same as quoted for 1851 with the one exception that they were granted an extra 25 cents per head for pack animals.[16] The toll schedule on the Bear River was changed, however, for the ferry:

> Sec. 4. Said Young and others shall be allowed to charge toll at the following rates viz: For carriages or waggon drawn by two animals, $3.00; by four animals $4.00; by six animals $5.00; by eight animals $6.00; by ten animals $7.00; by twelve animals $8.00. For carts one half of the forgoing rates each; all animals with their packs each $1.00; all packs each $0.50. All Horses, mules, jacks, oxen, cows and bulls, except pack animals, each $0.25; all colts, calves, sheep, hogs, & goats, each $0.10; all necessary drivers and assistants in ferrying wagons and animals free. All other men, each $0.25.[17]

For the toll bridge across the Malad River which was associated with the Bear River ferry:

> For carriages and waggons, each $1.50, for carts $1.00 for pack animals, each $0.25, for all loose horses, mules, jacks, oxen and cows, each $0.10; for colts, calves, sheep, goats, and hogs, each $0.02; all men free.[18]

During this year (1853) other enterprises were undertaken in the

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[14] Ibid., Feb. 7, 1852. [15] Ibid., Feb.,7, 1852.

[16] Ibid., Jan. 22, 1853. [17] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1853.

[18] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1853.

establishment of other ferries and bridges within the territory. A ferry was established across Hams fork in that year with the rates of toll set as follows:

> . . . For buggies, carriages, or waggons, whose burthen is not over 2000 lbs. $2 each. For all whose burthen is over 2000 lbs. and not exceeding 3000 lbs. $2.50 each. For all whose burthen is over 3000 lbs. and not exceeding 4000 lbs. $3 each. For all whose burthen is over 4000 lbs. $3.50 each. Sheep, goats and hogs, each 10 cents. Every other animal, each 20 cts.[19]

The same year a franchise was granted for the establishment of toll bridges across East Weber and Bear Rivers with schedule of toll set as follows:

For any vehicle drawn by two animals	$1.00
For any vehicle drawn by four animals	1.50
For any vehicle drawn by six or more	2.00
For every man and horse,	.25
For every pack animal	.25
For every loose animal, such as horses, mules, cattle, &c.	$0.10
For sheep, hogs, goats, &c. each	$0.02.[20]

Two bridges were established on the lower reaches of the Weber River, one at Ogden and the other at the mill of Abia Wardsworth. Tolls for both bridges were the same:

> For every vehicle drawn by two animals $2.00, for every two additional animals to said vehicle $.50; man and horse $.50; pack animals $.50; loose horse, mule, jack, ox, cow, or bull $.20; sheep, hog, calf, or goat $.05; footmen $.10.[21]

These smaller streams, although they required a ferry at certain seasons of the year, enjoyed a shorter ferrying season than the larger streams such as the Green and the Platte, consequently at many seasons they could be crossed without paying toll, especially when the water was low.

Toll Roads

By 1855 the legislative assembly had established acts for the build-

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[19] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1853. [20] Ibid., March 5, 1853.

[21] Ibid., June 18, 1853.

ing of near adequate ferries and bridges. They turned their attention to the establishment of roads which would overcome many of the handicaps to be met in entering the Salt Lake Valley. With the two mountains on the original pioneer trail offering serious hindrance to travel, franchises were granted for the establishment of roads through the three most likely canyons leading to the Valley. The charter of the Weber Kanyon Road Company provides for the establishment of two toll gates on the road with the privelege of collecting toll at rates to be established by the county court of Weber County.[22] A franchise was granted to establish a toll road through Provo Canyon. Toll was to be established for this road also by the county court of Utah County.[23] In the same year the Territorial Road Commissioner was directed to establish a road up the Big Kanyon Creek (Parley's Canyon). Toll on that road was to be as follows, to be collected at one toll gate:

> For every load of wood, timber, coal, rock, or lime drawn by two animals $0.25. For every such load drawn by four or more animals, $0.37½ for the traveling community. For every wagon or carriage drawn by two animals, each $1.00 for every additional pair of animals to such wagon or carriage $0.50. Loose animals, (excepting sheep and hogs,) each $.10.[24]

In 1856 ferries were again franchised on the Green River and the Bear River with a bridge across the Malad River. In this franchise the toll structure was changed somewhat. The toll charges allowed at the Green were as follows:

> For any vehicles together with its loading weight not over 1000 lbs. $2.00. For any vehicle together with its loading weighing over 1000 lbs. and not over 2000 lbs. $3.00, and the rate to increase $1 for each additional 1000 lbs. weight; for each horse mule, ox or cow $0.50; for each sheep, goat or swine $0.25.[25]

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[22] Territorial Legislative Assembly Acts 1855, op. cit., p. 281.

[23] Ibid., p. 281. [24] Ibid., p. 228.

[25] Deseret News, April 16, 1856.

A risk clause was included which provided:

> In case of high water, winds, rains or storm of any kind, which render the crossing unsafe, then said ferries shall not be required to run; but any agreement of parties shall be allowed as to risk and price of crossing: Providing, that nothing herein shall justify the parties in taking more than one third over the within specified rates of toll.[26]

Rates for the Bear River ferry and the Malad Bridge were as follows respectively:

> For any vehicle not over 2000 lb. weight $2.00; for any vehicle over 2000 lb. weight and less than 3000 lb weight $4.00. For any vehicle over 3000 lb. weight and less than 4000 lb. weight $5.00. For all vehicles over 4000 lb. weight $6.00; all animals with packs, each $1.00. All horses, mules jacks, oxen and bulls each $0.25; all colts, calves, sheep and hogs each $0.10.
>
> For carriages, wagons and carts, each $1.30; for pack animals, each $0.20. For all loose horses, mules, jacks, oxen, and cows, each $0.10. For sheep, colts, calves, goats and hogs each $0.02; all persons shall pass toll free.[27]

As the freighting activity expanded to include the Denver and Pikes Peak business, a toll road was authorized to be built from Utah Lake to the Colorado border with the following provisions for collecting toll:

> Sec. 2.--The said Company are authorized and empowered to construct a wagon road from Utah Lake eastward through Uinta Valley to the eastern boundary of this Territory, there to connect with the road running westward from Denver through Colorado Territory; and also the exclusive right to erect bridges over the streams traversed by said road and one mile above and below the crossing of said road to erect toll gates on said road, not exceeding one to every twenty miles of road; and to erect toll gates on each of said bridges wherever the streams over which said bridges are erected exceed one hundred feet in width; and to demand and collect at each of said gates upon said road, for each wagon or vehicle passing over said road drawn by one pair of horses, mules or cattle, twenty-five cents; and for each additional pair, ten (10) cents: for each riding horse or mule, five (5) cents; for horse mules, cattle or other animals driven loose, five (5) cents per head; and to demand and to collect the following rates of toll at each of said bridges, to wit: For a wagon drawn by two animals, one dollar, for each additional animal, twenty-five cents, for vehicles drawn by one animal, fifty cents, for each horse, mule and rider, ten cents: Provided, if the said Company shall establish and maintain a ferry over Green River at the crossing of said road, they may charge for ferriage the same rates of toll

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[26] Ibid., April 16, 1856. [27] Ibid., April 16, 1856.

as are allowed for passing over one of the Company's bridges.[28]

In the same year as the Uintah Road Company was established (1865) another franchise was issued for the operation of the Provo Canyon Road Company. Toll charges were authorized in that franchise:

> For every carriage or vehicle drawn by two animals $1.00. For additional animals 50¢; for each horse mule led, rode or packed 25¢; for sheep goats and hogs, each 5¢; for every loose animal of the horse or cattle kind 15¢.[29]

In 1866 the road which had been authorized to be built up the Big Canyon Creek was extended to Wanship in Summit County and divided into three sections, each section to be equipped with a toll gate at which toll might be collected at the following rates:

> For any vehicle, drawn by one or two animals, twenty five cents; for each additional pair of animals, fifteen cents; for every horse or mule and rider, or led horse or mule, ten cents; for every score of meat cattle loose horses or mules, fifty cents; for every score of sheep twenty five cents. Provided; that persons hauling fuel or produce from within sixty miles of Great Salt Lake City, shall pay but one way being entitled to a return ticket free, and that no traveler shall be compelled to pay toll for a greater distance than one section of the road at any one toll gate.[30]

The liberalized terms of toll for the haulers of produce was to protect the coal supply for Salt Lake City which came from mines which had been developed on the Weber River as well as other local transportation.

In 1867 both the Provo and Weber Canyon Road Companies were again franchised. The Weber Canyon Road Company were authorized to erect two toll gates and to collect toll at each of these at the rates of one dollar for each vehicle drawn by one span of animals, fifty cents for each additional span, for loose cattle, horses, and mules ten cents per head and for sheep, goats, and swine five cents per head. All teams which were to return within

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[28] Acts, Resolutions and Memorials passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. Chapter CXXXVI.

[29] Ibid., Chapter CXXXII. [30] Deseret News, March 8, 1866.

ten days should receive a return ticket free.[31] The Provo Canyon Road Company had their charges raised to:

> For each vehicle drawn by two animals $1.50. For each vehicle drawn by four animals $2.00. For each vehicle drawn by six animals $2.50. For each additional pair of animals $1.00. For each vehicle drawn by one animal $.75. For each pack $.15. For each horseman $.15. For loose horses, mules or cattle, each $.10. For sheep, goats or swine $.05. Provided: that persons hauling timber, fuel or produce from within thirty miles of Provo City shall pay but one way, being entitled to a return ticket free.[32]

This listing accounts for the major toll collecting facilities within the Territory of Utah. There were, however, a number of wild cat operators who collected toll as they could. Quoting from "The Great Salt Lake Trail," Kate B. Carter records:

> When the snow began to melt from the mountain peaks in the spring the little creeks swelled up and for a few weeks were transformed into raging torrents, too deep or too dangerous to ford. At such seasons the few ranchmen who were in the country built temporary bridges across them, hardly ever exceeding fifty feet in length. While the streams were high, these bridges were veritable gold-mines from the revenue paid by the freighters as toll. In order, however, to make their toll lawful, every bridge owner was required to possess a charter approved by the governor. This official document authorized the proprietor to charge such toll as he saw fit--usually five dollars for each team of six yoke or cattle and wagon.
>
> It very often happened, through egnorance of the law or from ignoring it, that these ranchmen took out no charter because its possession was so rarely questioned.[33]

Some of these wildcat operators did not take the trouble to build their bridges but appropriated structures already in existence and required the freighter and traveler to pay them toll. An account of such an operation was quoted in the Deseret News:

> Among the tales that have been told concerning toll gathering between this and the South Pass, in the counties of Summit and Green River, is one representing that certain parties have been in the habit, during the late high waters, of requiring travelers to pay for crossing a bridge

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[31] Acts and Resolutions and Memorials passed and adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah Sixteenth Annual Session 1867. P. 39.

[32] Ibid., p. 16. [33] Carter, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

> built by the Overland Mail Company, of which the parties or some of them were employees. With the money thus obtained, they bought whisky, the drinking of which to excess has worked for them a discharge from service.[34]

How much the freighter was under the necessity of expending in order to bring his cargo to its destination in Salt Lake because of the toll charges depended upon many factors. Did he come to the streams when they were fordable or not? Did he have to use the facilities which were there for his use? Did he have to use one of the toll roads or did he have sufficient animal power and equipment to travel over the emigration road which was comparatively free from toll charges? All these factors and others would determine the cost to him. One thing seemed evident from the study of the above figures on charges. That is that the freighter with his large loads and heavy outfits could plan on paying the higher prices for service so that toll charges made a definite impression on the charges which he would have to make in order to realize a profit from his enterprise. As the years progressed and the facilities became more highly developed and more numerous he was faced with an increase in his costs as the toll charges varied from time to time and from place to place.

Rates Charged for Freighting Services

By reference to the above materials on costs and the chapter on problems, which outlines the losses suffered by the freighter as a problem of economics, it seemed that the freighter would of necessity need to charge a considerable fee for his services if he were to realize a profit on his enterprise. As there was considerable variation in the expense from year to year, considering the difference in various factors; income of freighters was often considered to be exhorbitant.

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[34] Deseret News, July 23, 1862.

Early in the history of the Territory of Utah the pattern of charging was established for the service of freighting from the Missouri River to the Salt Lake Valley. Although the charges varied somewhat, the general pattern remained the same.

When the Great Salt Lake Carrying Company was established, the rate for hauling freight from the Missouri to Salt Lake was established at $250 per ton, of which two thirds must be paid in advance.[35] This would then be at the rate of twelve and one half cents per pound, the lowest rate ever offered for the distance before the completion of the Railroad. In 1855 when Brigham Young addressed his article "To those who are engaged in freighting on the Western Waters;" he listed the freight rates to Utah as being seventeen cents per pound.[36] This seemed to be about the average for freight rates which was established over the years for hauling merchandise to Salt Lake City. In 1860, E. R. Young of Salt Lake City, who was inaugurating commission buying and freighting for the citizens of Utah advertised his rates as, "New York City to G. S. L. City 20 cts. per lb; St. Louis to G. S. L. City 18 cts. per lb.; Florence to G. S. L. City 17 cts. per lb.; freight money invariably to be paid in advance."[37] Mr. George W. Armstrong who was also bidding for freighting business advertised:

> To merchants, manufacturers and others. The subscriber will return to the States on about the 1st of April next, and will freight in connection with his own team, from thirty to fifty tons of merchandize or heavy machinery at the following rates contracts to be made by the 25th of the present month.
>
> From Philadelphia, New York or Washington City to Utah 20 cts. per lb. From Cincinnati, St. Louis or St. Joseph to Salt Lake 18 cts. per lb. From Omaha or Florence to Utah 17 cts. per lb.
>
> One half of freight money, cash in advance, the residue on the arrival of the train at the points agreed upon in the contract. Also a lot of superior work oxen, from 5 to 7 years old, in good working order,

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[35]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 298. [36]Deseret News, Nov. 21, 1855.

[37]Ibid., Feb. 22, 1860.

for sale at cash price. The above rates included freight and insurance to the starting point of train at Missouri river. Address: Geo. W. Armstrong, Provo, City, Utah.[38]

In 1860 Burton reported freight rates to Salt Lake as follows: "Freight upon every article, from a bar of soap to a bar of iron, must be reckoned at 14 cents (7d) per lb. coming from the East, and 25-30 cents from the West."[39] By 1865, Mr. E. R. Young had become rather well established in the commission freighting to Utah. He entered the following advertisement in the Deseret News:

> Read the Terms. Take notice as I shall buy exclusively for Cash, can purchase Goods from 7 to 10 percent cheaper than those large dealers who buy on time. Owing to severe weather I shall not start east until about April 1st. Meantime, I will receive orders on the following terms, Viz: Commission on purchases, 5 percent. Freight from Omaha City to G. S. L. City, prepaid 25 cents per lb. or half prepaid and the balance on delivery, 30 cents per lb.
>
> After my departure, I have authorized Mr. George J. Taylor to receive and transmit orders until June 1st. For Further particulars, apply to E. R. Young.[40]

Luggage was carried in the trains as a service to the emigrant. William Jefferies reports ". . . all extra luggage had to be paid for at the rate of 20c per pound, unless the payment was in advance, then it was 15 c. per lb."[41] Similar rates applied to the handcart companies who traveled in association with freight trains and carried their baggage.

Carrying the mail was not generally considered as a function of the freighter but during the early years, before the mail service had been taken over by the government, freighters carried the mail both East and West depending upon which way his journey took him. In the Deseret News of July 1, 1850, this news item appeared:

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[38] Ibid., March 7, 1860. [39] Burton, op. cit., p.

[40] Deseret News, March 29, 1865.

[41] William Jefferies, "Diary of William Jefferies 1831-1895." (Ms, Brigham Young University Library) p. 200.

> We are informed that Estell and Co. of Weston Mo. are running a mail from Mo. to Pacific Springs, accommodating all travelers on the route at 50 cts. per letter.[42]

Further detail of the postal arrangements is set forth in another release two months later:

> Next Mail--Elder O. Hyde is expecting to leave this place about the 10th of Sept. direct for Kanesville, and will take the Mail. All who wish can send letters at the Usual rates, 40 cents, single letter, to Kanesville; 50 cents to any Post office in the States, to be pre-paid invariably. Those paying 40 cents, will make their own change. Letters to England 65 cents, or 40 cents to Kanesville; and twenty-five cents may be paid in England.[43]

Citing the function of carrying the mail in connection with freighting activity, Ashton says:

> Carrying the mail, along with the Church Property, the Egan company was well on its way in May. . . . . .
> After ferrying across the Green River, Howard Egan struck out for Salt Lake Valley, taking the mail with him.[44]

Again he relates:

> The long-awaited mail, however, arrived in the valley from Kanesville on Saturday, June 8, just two weeks after Dr. Richards had written the News prospectus. The mail came in with Thomas S. Williams. He was "Tom" to almost everyone, and he was a lion-hearted letter-carrier who had taken messages across rain-soaked Iowa during the exodus from Nauvoo and who had answered the Mormon Battalion call on the plains.[45]

Although Ashton referred to T. S. Williams as a mail carrier, he was far better known as a freighting contractor in the pioneer community and undoubtedly carried the mail as a portion of his freighting activities. On this particular trip, however, he had acted as guide to a group of twenty-three emigrants who were on their way to California. They issued a statement to the public recommending Mr. Williams as a pilot across the plains.[46] Only the very first of the freighters enjoyed this source of income in that

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[42] Deseret News, July 1, 1850. [43] Ibid., August 31, 1850.

[44] Ashton, op. cit., pp. 19-21. [45] Ibid., p. 37.

[46] Deseret News, June 22, 1850.

the first regular mail service was undertaken on August 1, 1851.[47] Although this service was short lived, it served to provide a little additional revenue for the freighter.

When the railroad began to build West, the rate picture changed, both because of the shortening of the distance over which the goods had to be freighted by wagon and because of a lowering of the freight rates by the railroads themselves. On June 10, 1868, the following appeared in the Deseret News:

> . . . The Union Pacific Railroad made a general reduction on freight charges between Omaha and Cheyenne equal to twenty five per cent, of the old rates, to take effect on the 11th ult. This would reduce freight to ten and six-tenths cents per mile currence; which is seven and a half cents in gold.[48]

Prices on Goods

Many of the freighters engaged in the merchandising business as an avenue for the disposal of their goods at the best possible advantage. At the same time they provided themselves with profitable occupation for the slack season of winter when no freighting could be undertaken. The Citizens, on the other hand, were interested more in the price tag on articles than on the general rate schedule which was imposed by the freighters. For these reasons and others it was the purpose of this study to present a discussion of those problems and the factors which influenced them during the period in which the freighter supplied the wants of the Territory.

The first freighters who came into the valley with goods for sale, were able to set their own prices because of the great demand for goods which existed here. Of this period, the Deseret News says in an article entitled "Merchandizing in Utah:"

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[47]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 501, footnote.

[48]Deseret News, June 10, 1868.

Captain Grant, of Fort Hall, was the first person from outside our community, who brought goods to this market for sale. He sold sugar and coffee at one dollar a pint (less than a pound), 25 cents calico at 50 and 75 cents a yard, and other articles in proportion. Why did he not sell higher? Perhaps he had some conscience, and it is probable he thought the then poverty of the settlers would not admit of any dearer rate, and it must be confessed the above were pretty high figures.[49]

Within two years after the first company came another merchant appeared:

November 21, 1849.--Louis Vasquez, associated with James Bridger, opened a branch store in Salt Lake City. He sold sugar at three pounds for $2.[50]

In 1849 the first regularly organized freighting and merchandising firm came to Utah. Livingston and Kinkead brought $20,000 worth of goods[51] to Utah which influenced prices. Of this influence the article on "Merchandizing In Utah" continues:

The next traders of note, in so brief an article, were the old firm of Livingston and Kinkead, who brought on quite a large and well selected stock of goods in the fall of 1849. They came with the intention of trading for five years, realizing the certain net profit, and then return to Egypt, which they have done. They established those prices which have ruled until a very recent date, and based them upon first cost, interest, and expenses, until sales could be made, coupled with their future designs, and the demands and payments of purchasers.

After carefully weighing the matter in all its bearings they offered sugar and coffee for 40 cents a pound, good calico for 25 cents a yard, &c. Here was a direct gain to the purchaser of from one to two hundred per cent, and upwards, on every article, and the goods were better, more suitable, and in far greater variety. True, they brought but little iron and steel, but for nails, mill irons, and like heavy articles, for they would not pay so high a per centage; hence the largest portion of their stock consisted of those articles they could make the most profit on, independent of the wants of the community, which is too much the case in all our stores.

Could they afford to sell so far below the former ruling rates? We answer, yes; or they would not have gone full handed to California at the end of their five years. And to their credit be it known that they never raised above their regular price on an article even when they had all there was in the market, never kept incorrect accounts, nor even failed to deal as fairly with a child or a person ignorant of value and price, as with the most knowing and influential, and it is no more than

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[49]Alter, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 179. [50]Ibid., p. 101.

[51]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 378.

just that this conduct be remembered, and the people stand by those who have been tried, and found to deal fairly.[52]

With the discovery of gold in California, and the gold fever which possessed the nation in 1849, Salt Lake City found a temporary respite from the high prices. Gold seekers who left home well supplied and equipped, found their anxiety to reach the gold mines too much to bear. They began to discard valuable goods and materials in favor of greater speed in reaching the "diggins" where they supposed their added wealth would more than repay them for their temporary losses.[53] As these gold seekers came to Salt Lake, the fever was fanned by the reports of gold from the men who had, as members of the Mormon Battalion, been present when the gold was discovered. In their eagerness to reach the gold fields, these men sacrificed much in their haste. Of this event, the Missouri Whigg reports:

> The valley has been a place of general deposit for property, goods, &c. by Californians. When they saw a few hogs and kegs of gold dust that had been gathered and brought in by our boys, it made them completely enthusiastic. Pack mules and horses that were worth 25 or 30 dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest price. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in at that.
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> Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels from fifty cents each. Vests, that cost in St. Louis $1.50 each, were sold in Salt Lake for 37½ cents; full chests of joiners tools that would cost $150 in the east, were sold in that place for $25. Indeed, almost every article except sugar and coffee, is selling, on an average, fifty percent below wholesale prices in the eastern cities. Would it not be a grand speculation for Kanesville and St. Joseph merchants to go to the Salt Lake to lay in their fall stock of goods? They can buy plenty of wagons there for less than one half what the iron costs in St. Louis and any number of cattle to haul them back. This kind of operation has put the people on their legs in the valley but when the alcohol was brought forward and sold, it threw some of them off their legs, not having had any for a couple of years or so, and being rather exhausted by digging gold all the time, they were not wise to hazard a contest with so potent an enemy, more to be dreaded than the mobs of Illinois.[54]

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[52]Alter, op. cit., p. 179. [53]Ashton, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

[54]Mormons in Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Etc. News Clippings 1848-49;

Not only did the gold rush have the effect of providing needed supplies for the citizens of Utah, but it also furnished them with the opportunity to replenish their depleted capital:

> As a result of the California-bound migration, there followed an enormous advance in the price of provisions, flour selling before the harvest of 1850 at one dollar per pound, and after the harvest at twenty-five dollars per cental. Throughout the autumn of this year the gristmills were run to their utmost capacity, grinding wheat for the passing emigrants, who at any cost must procure sufficient to carry them to the gold mines. Some other articles of food were for a time equally scarce, sugar selling at the rate of three pounds for two dollars; though beef was plentiful, and could be had for ten cents per pound. It is probable, however, that these rates represent the prices charged the passing emigrants, for at this period the wages of laborers did not exceed $2 per day, and of skilled mechanics $3. The saints prided themselves upon their honorable dealings with these strangers, and the moderate priced demanded, though frequently charged with swindling. They could afford to part with their produce, because they had learned to dispense with many articles which among other communities were considered necessaries. For men who had fed during their first winter in the valley on hides and roots, it was no great hardship to dispense for a season with a portion of their provisions, their grain, beef, and butter, their coffee and sugar, in return for which they received such value.[55]

This relief from high prices was short lived, and although many articles were sold in the valley at unheard low prices, the less durable goods such as clothing and foods had to be replenished very soon. The freighting contractors, undoubtedly found their trade interfered with, but the increased buying power occasioned by the improvement in the capital holdings of the citizens eventually contributed to their benefit. Prices remained high, but with the coming of more merchants and freighters to the Territory, adjustments began to be made. Of these "Merchandizing in Utah" says:

> All these unlooked for circumstances, together with expectations in the future, induced the firm of J. M. Horner and Co. to lead out, and to drop sugar to three pounds for a dollar, whereupon Livingston and Kinkead sold sugar at 30 cents a pound, 25 cent calico at 18 3/4 cents,

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Collection in Brigham Young University Library. Quoting a report of A. W. Babbitt in Missouri Whigg, Palmyra (Mo.) J. Sosey. Vol XI, No. 10, p. 2, Sept. 20, 1849.

[55]Bancroft, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

> and went through their large and splendid stock of goods, and marked 25 per cent below former prices, with the guarantee that they will not again exceed their present rates, even though as heretofore, they may have all there is in market of a given article.[56]

Despite the increase in freighting contractors, the population was also on the increase due to emigration. During the first years of the emigration to Utah, many of the emigrants who came were rather well supplied with goods which they brought with them. They served to supply in part at least the citizens of Utah, but in 1856 when the first handcart companies were organized and sent across the plains the picture changed somewhat. These poor emigrants who used this method of conveyance, were almost entirely an economic liability upon their arrival. They were unable to bring more than the bare necessities for the journey with them.[57] In most cases the same is true of the emigrants who came with the church trains at a later time, 1861-1869. Because of these poor emigrants who came in such great numbers and because of the necessity of replacing the perishable goods in the community, such as food and clothing for the entire population, Utah never lacked for a ready market for almost as much freight as could be brought to the Territory. This ready market, then, served to keep prices on imported goods at a high level and generally constant throughout the years of wagon freighting.

Prices were again influenced by the arrival of the Army in 1857. They came shortly after a year of near famine in the valley in 1855. Because of the hostile nature of the expedition, freighters abandoned their activity during 1857 which caused a great shortage of goods in the Valley. Extremely large stores of goods were brought into Utah to supply the army, some of which found their way into the regular channels of trade to tide

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[56]Alter, op. cit., p. 179. [57]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 667.

the citizenry over until the regular freighters again resumed their activity. Although these goods were plentiful, they were brought here at extremely high prices. Of these high prices, Horace Greely says:

> . . . Every article eaten, drank worn, or in any manner bought by the soldiers, costs three to ten times its value in the states; part of this extra cost falls on the treasury, the residue on the troops individually. . . . . .
>
> A suspicion that it is kept here to answer private pecuniary ends is widely entertained. It is known that vast sums have been made out of its transportation by favored contractors. Take a single instance already quite notorious: Twenty-two cents per pound is paid for the transportation of all provisions, munitions, etc., from Leavenworth to this point. The great contractors were allowed this for transporting this year's supply of flour. By a little dexterous management at Washington, they were next allowed to furnish the flour here--Utah flour--being paid their twenty-two cents per pound for transportation, in addition to the prime cost on the Missouri. As Utah has a better soil for growing wheat than almost else, they had no difficulty in subletting this contract at seven cents per pound net, making a clear profit of one hundred and seventy thousand dollars on the contract, without risking a dollar, or lifting a finger. Of course, I expect contractors to bargain for themselves, not for the government, but somebody is well paid for taking care of the public's interest in such matters. . . . .
>
> There have recently been recieved here thirty thousand bushels of corn from the states at a net cost, including transportation, of three hundred and forty thousand dollars, or over eleven dollars per bushel. No requisition was ever made for this corn, which could have been bought here, delivered, for two dollars per bushel, or sixty thousand dollars in all.[58]

Because of these high prices which were paid for these commodities in Utah, they had little influence in bringing prices down until they were sold at auction or were condemned and sold, at the time of the withdrawal of the troops at the outbreak of the Civil War. Of this sale of goods, Linn says:

> . . . Such a slaughter of prices as then occurred was, perhaps without precedent. It was estimated that goods costing $4,000,000 brought only $100,000. Young had preached non intercourse with the Gentile merchants who followed the army, but he could not lose so great an oppertunity as this, when, for instance, flour costing $28.40 per sack sold for 52 cents, and he invested $40,000. "For years after" says Stenhouse, "The 'regulation blue pants' were more familiar to the eye in the Mormon

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[58]Alter, op. cit., pp. 303-304. Quoting Horace Greeley's "Overland Journey."

settlements, than the Valley Tan Quacker grey."[59]

The account of this sale as recorded in the valley differs considerably from the account above:

> The sale of condemned subsistance stores, on Thursday last, came off at Camp Floyd according to announcement. The bacon, according to original weight, brought about $5.00 per hundred; by actual weight about $7.00 upon the average; the flour $1.34 per hundred nearly; total amount of sales, as reported by one who was present, $4,424.50, not quite as much as it cost to purchase and transport it from the States.
>
> Some of the bacon sold is represented to have been quite good; not so with the flour, as that was badly damaged, and sold for all it was worth.[60]

Another phase of the same event was aluded to by Pulsipher:

> On account of the Army being here--money is plentiful & merchandise is coming by thousands of wagon loads--clothing, tools and almost everything we need & money to buy it with--Surely the Lord over-rules the designs of enemies, for good.
>
> There are such hosts of oxen that they can hardly be sold. I bot a pair for $35.00 of Wm Huffaker & gave him $50.00.[61]

Despite these influences which pushed prices down for a time, the general pattern of prices remained fairly constant and at a relatively high level. Sugar and coffee seemed to have been accepted as commodities to which all other prices were compared. Freighters and merchants constantly maintained that their prices were low and going lower. This attitude was reflected in an advertisement inserted in the Deseret News by Williams and Blair:

> And they have a full assortment and stock of every description of both Dry Goods, hardware, Stationary, Queensware, and a fair supply of Groceries, which we purpose to sell low, very low; to wit:--Coffee Rio, 37½ cents, sugar Clarified, 33 1/3 cents, and every thing else in proportion. Call & see; buy our Goods and Groceries, and we will soon return for more, and sell them low too. Try us at the New Store, opposite the Temple Block, West of the State House.
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> We have already built a store, which has cost us about $4000; are ready to build our dwelling house just as soon as time will permit making this our permanent residence; help build up the City; pay our tith-

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[59]Linn, op. cit., p. 537. [60]Deseret News, Nov. 14, 1860.

[61]Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 135.

ing; and follow the counsel of those authorized to counsel, in all things. We do not advertise some articles, lower than some have been selling, for the sake of running our brother merchants in the trade; or for a speculation to draw customers and charge double prices on other articles, but for doing as we would be done unto, Living and Let Live, and as we progress in business, should we increase in capital, we design to invest the whole in such machinery as shall be most useful to the citizens of Deseret. We ask our friends to try us once, and see for themselves. Williams & Blair G. S. L. City, Sept. 1850.[62]

By 1855 Williams and Blair had been changed to T. S. Williams & Co. and were advertising their goods at: "Coffee .40 per lb. Sugar .40 per lb. Tea 1.50 to 1.75 per lb. Indego 2.50 per lb. Madder 1.40 per lb. Soap .40 per bar; Domestic .20 per yd; Olive Oil, a pure article 1.25 to 1.75 per bottle."[63] By 1859 one company proposed to "sell Sugar at 25 cents per pound by the single sack; Coffee at 40 c; Prints at 13 to 15 c per yard by the bolt; Domestics at 15 to 17 c; Castings, 25 c per pound; Tobacco, 45 to 65 c; Bacon, 35 c (retail); nails, 25 c per pound by the keg."[64] The same year Mr. Nixon set his price at "Sugar, coffee and dried fruit at 40 cents per pound."[65] By 1860 Moore and Greene advertised their prices as follows:

Sugar 3 lb for $1. 10 lb for $3.00. Coffee, 1 lb. for 35 c. 3 lb for $1.00. Tea, from $1.25 to $2. Rice, 30 c. Alum 30 c. Copperas 30 c. Nails 30 c. Lead 25 c. Powder 60 c. Soap 30 c. bar. Shot 30 c. Candles 50 c. lb. Spun Cotton, $2 any no. 7 to 12. Soda, 30 c. Starch, 25 c. Madder, 40 c. Dried Apples, 35 c. Rope 35 c. Prints to 20 cents per yard.[66]

On the matter of prices and supply, Burton made the following statement upon his visit to Salt Lake in 1860:

As in India, the mere necessaries of living at Great Salt Lake City are cheap; the foreign luxuries, and even comforts, are exorbitantly dear. A family may live almost for nothing upon vegetables grown in their own garden, milk from their own cows, wheaten bread, and butter which derives a peculiar sweetness from the bunch-grass. For some reason, which no one can explain there is not, and there never has been, a

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[62]Deseret News, Sept. 7, 1850. [63]Ibid., May 30, 1855.

[64]Ibid., August 3, 1859. [65]Ibid., August 10, 1859.

[66]Ibid., March 14, 1860.

market at Great Salt Lake City; consequently, even meat is expensive. Freight upon every article, from a bar of soap to a bar of iron, must be reckoned at 14 cents (7d) per lb. coming from the East, and 25-30 cents from the West. Groceries and clothing are inordinately high-priced. Sugar worth 6 cents in the United States, here fetches from 37½ to 45 cents per lb. Tea is seldom drunk, and as coffee at 10 cents per lb. in the States here costs 40-50 cents, burnt beans or toasted corn, a caricature of chicory, is the usual succadaneum.[67]

By 1869 the Deseret News listed the selling policy of A. C. Pyper & Co. as follows:

White crushed sugar which they were selling at forty cents per lb. they now offer at three lbs. for a dollar. Other articles have met a proportionate reduction.[68]

The above discussed prices are for the staples of life in the valley. When the church undertook either to import or encourage citizens to import machinery for the manufacture of goods for the purpose of working the farms, the conditions were somewhat changed. The weight and size of such equipment rendered it difficult to handle and expensive to ship. In relation to the shipping of these items and the prices which were charged, we find E. R. Young advertising:

I am in a position to contract for the supply of Cotton Spinning Gins, capable of spinning five pounds of no. 10 cotton yarn per day, to be driven either by hand, horse, or water power for the sum of $150 at the Manufactory, or $250 delivered in Salt Lake City.[69]

A year later Mr. Young advertised the following priced on machinery:

I will deliver in G. S. L. City, Double Cylinder Wool Carding Machines, with picker, Card Cloth, clothing, Belts, &c. complete for $1500.00. Single ditto, complete for $1000; Cotton Jenny Spinners, complete $250; Mower and reaper 2 horse power complete 400; Threshing Machines with 6 to 8 horse power 1500; Grist mills, for grinding breadstuffs, horse feed &c. from 4 to 5 bushels per hour 150; Horse power for the same 4 horses 200; 8 horses 300, Cane Mills 1 horse power 200.[70]

In 1866, Eldridge and Clawsons advertised, "Three buckeye mowers at $500 each, Nine Buckeye Reapers and Mowers at $750 each."[71]

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[67]Burton, op. cit., p. 320. [68]Deseret News, Feb. 17, 1869.

[69]Ibid., Feb. 25, 1863. [70]Ibid., Mar. 30, 1864. [71]Ibid., Aug. 9, 1866.

Taxes and Licenses

In an effort to control the commodities which were to be sold in the valley and to collect whatever revenue it would yield, an ordinance was passed in 1850:

> Sec. 1.--Be it ordained by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, that all spiritous liquors which are offered for sale, or disposal in any way, within this State, and the same shall be assessed and taxed at the rate of fifty per cent upon the selling price thereof. . .
> Sec. 3.--All Iron, Steel Castings, Glass, Nails, Hardware Hollowware, Glass and Queensware, Paints, Oils, Dye-Stuffs, Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Rice, Molasses, Dried Fruit and all other Groceries, together with Medicines, Boots, Shoes, and all kinds of Leather, are hereby exempted from all and any assessment or tax whatever.[72]

How much an ordinance of this kind would yield in revenue is not stated or how much the ordinance would cost the freighter-merchant is difficult to estimate. Taxes and licenses cost the freighter and merchants considerable if a release in the Deseret News is an indication of the picture during the entire period of freighting:

> There has also been received into the treasury from the 25th of March, to Dec. 16th 1852 the sum of $9,346.28. Of this amount $1,875.83 have been received in cash on taxes; $610 for fines and docket fees; $1,859.65 on account of ferry and merchants' Licenses.[73]

Freighters contributed their share to the ferry licenses inasmuch as these fees were determined on the basis of a percentage of the income from the operation of the ferries. The licenses of the merchants were almost entirely from the freighter or the people whom they served.

Efforts at Price Control

The freighters arrived in Utah during the Utah War with their heavy outfits which they hoped to return to the states because they could not sell them to an advantage in Utah. In order not to be under the necessity of returning entirely empty, they undertook a project of freighting farm

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[72] Ibid., June 29, 1850. [73] Ibid., Jan. 8, 1853.

produce from Utah, especially grain, to the mines at Denver and thus provide them with a paying load at least part of the way back. The resources of the agriculture of Utah had been placed under a strain by the purchase of grain by the emigrants who were passing through the Territory on their way to California. With this added demand on the resources, there was a real danger that the supply would run short. Many of the citizens were not careful as to their prices and thus encouraged the wholesale disposal of grain. In an effort to forstall such eventualities, the farmers of Davis County inaugurated a movement of price-fixing:

> It seems that the farmers of Davis County are taking active measures to keep their wheat in the country, establishing its price at two dollars per bushel, below which they will not sell it and if they strictly carry out their resolutions, it will most effectually keep it out of the market for the present at least as dealers cannot afford to pay that price for transportation to the gold regions, or to the army stationed in New Mexico and Arizona, neither to supply the army in Utah.[74]

Early Banking Facilities and Exchange Service

Among the problems which were caused and met alternately by the freighters was the lack of cash to be found in the Valley. The importation of goods required the sale of those goods for cash, inasmuch as that was the only medium of exchange which could be employed by the freighter to purchase his goods in the Eastern markets. Freighting had not been pursued very long until the needs became acute. By 1851, Livingston & Kinkead had entered into arrangements to furnish other media of exchange:

> Having entered into arrangements with the well known Bankers, Messrs Page and Bacon of St. Louis Mo., we are now prepared to sell sights or time bills of exchange on them, in sums to suit purchasers, we are also prepared to pay on presentations the drafts of messrs Page, Bacon and Co. Bankers of San Francisco and Sacramento, we will also purchase certificates of deposits of money or bills of exchange, on the Eastern cities or any parts of Europe. Livingston & Kinkead.[75]

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[74] Ibid., Sept. 5, 1860. [75] Ibid., Nov. 6, 1852.

When cash was scarce in the early years of the Territory, freighters were anxious to accept claims against the Federal Government[76] which could then be redeemed in the East and would thus be as good as cash. These claims were principally represented by subsistance and clothing claims held by the members of the Mormon Battalion.[77]

Advice on matters of keeping cash in the country is given in the Deseret News:

> Cash has been drained from our midst, and drafts have been furnished until coin is becoming scarce for our business requirements. From this fact it would seem to be good policy for all parties, if those handling large sums would send off drafts in lieu of coin, that a sufficient amount of the latter may at all times be in the market.[78]

These early banking enterprises and efforts to provide the money necessary to carry on the business of the Territory imposed an expense of their own:

> We called upon a Mr. Sandford, the merchant who held our bills drawn at the Salt Lake, for the purpose of ascertaining why it was they had not been honored. He at once cheered us by saying that he was not at all uneasy about it, that the bills had not been protested and that the only cause of their not being paid was the want of advice to pay them. He then presented us to Me. H. R. Mules, agent of the bank of Wells and Fargo, who without the slightest hesitation lent us five hundred dollars, charging an interest of five per cent a month. This service, a little costly perhaps even for California, was of great assistance to us, inasmuch as it permitted us to discharge our servants after paying them their wages.[79]

So the freighter pursued his business paying the costs which were required of him. He charged the prices which he could collect either by the ability of the citizenry to pay or by prices established by competition. Prices were high and income was large in years when the losses and costs were at a normal level. This induced some to come to Utah with the idea of making a large percentage on their investment. The regular freighter, how-

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[76] Ibid., Oct. 19, 1850. [77] Ibid. [78] Ibid., Sept. 21, 1854.

[79] Remy and Benchley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 473.

ever, met all losses and expenses as they came through the years and made his income on that basis which was not as large percentage wise as the speculator.

Out of the economic conditions and the efforts to make money arose one of the disputes and struggles which developed between the citizens and the freighter. This problem will be discussed in more detail in a chapter on "Conflicts" in this study.

CHAPTER VIII

CONFLICTS ASSOCIATED WITH FREIGHTERS AND FREIGHTING IN THE UTAH TERRITORY

When the Mormons came to Utah, they had just escaped from the worst and most vile persecutions which have ever been heaped upon the heads of any people in the history of the United States. In the ten years prior to their arrival in Salt Lake City, they had been forcibly and unlawfully evicted from their homes in Missouri and driven from the state. When a request was made to grant them redress for their wrongs, their plea was ignored. They were accepted in Illinois with a promise of good fellowship and relief from their persecutors. There, through their industry and frugality, they built the largest city in Illinois and gave of their influence to the development of the general commonwealth. In 1844 those same people who had accepted them five short years before, arose against them and renewed the persecution and added charges and indignities of their own. This persecution increased in intensity until it climaxed in the brutal assassination of their prophet leader and his brother Hyrum Smith in the Carthage jail by an armed mob. Not being satisfied by this infamous act, the mob continued their depredations until the entire population of the church was forced to leave the State of Illinois in February of 1846.[1] Unprepared for their new ordeal these refuges prepared to move to the West and seek freedom from a repetition of their experiences. Their hardships were many, but when they

[1]For a complete discussion of the experiences and the forces which let up to the persecution of this period, see History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Period I. Edited by B. H. Roberts. Vols. III-VII.

arrived in the Great Basin, their hopes were, that they were not so far from their persecutors as to be free from infringement in the pursuit of their way of life and their religious convictions. Of this settlement Brigham Young says:

> When I was written to in Nauvoo by the President of the United States, through another person, inquiring, "where are you going, Mr. Young?" I replied that I did not know where we should land. We had men in England trying to negotiate for Vancouver's Island, and we sent a ship load of Saints round Cape Horn to California. Men in authority asked, "Where are you going to?" "We may go to California, or to Vancouver's Island." When the Pioneer company reached Green River we met Samuel Brannan and a few others from California, and they wanted us to go there. I remarked, let us go to California and we cannot stay there over five years, but let us stay in the mountains and we can raise our own potatoes and eat them, and I calculate to stay here. We are still on the backbone of the animal, where the bone and the sinew are, and we intend to stay here, and all hell cannot help themselves.[2]

General Suspicion

With this background it is little wonder that the Mormons were more than a little suspicious of outsiders who came into their midst. This is particularly to be expected when it is considered that these freighting and traveling personnel came from the general area from which they had been so unjustly driven such a short time before. Many of the people who came to Utah with the freight trains were from Missouri and Illinois. Those who had not come from those areas originally had made that their point of departure and had unquestionably heard, at least, of the difficulties which had existed between the citizens of that area and the Mormons. It is little wonder then that every Gentile who ventured into Utah was looked upon with the jaundiced eye of suspicion. Hosea Stout refers to such an occasion:

> Mr. Pomroy came in with a train of 34 wagons loaded with goods & groceries. He started for the mines but fell short His waggons had four or 5 yoke of oxen each.

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[2] Alter, op. cit., pp. 250-251.

Sat. The council to day appointed a committee to notify Mr. Pomroy to pack up his goods & leave here as "he had found us in peace to leave us so." This was because he was said to be one who had assisted to drive us from Missouri. He demanded a hearing which was granted.

Aug. Sun. 12. Some 5 or six of our people came forward and testified that they knew Mr. Pomeroy in Missouri during the time of our difficulties and that he was our warm friend and had to send off his family & property to keep them from mob violence such was the antipathy against him because he took such an active part in our favor.

Suffice it to say he was honorably acquitted.[3]

Even though the Mormons had moved from the United States in an effort to avoid persecution and false and vicious reports, these reports still were being circulated, probably as an aftermath of the persecution or because of ignorance of those who spread the reports. Many people found in the stories which were circulated about the Mormons and their vile and depraved doings some source of satisfaction. Driggs in "Westward America" cites an incident which applies to this matter. In the story of William Lewis Manly which he related in his book "Death Valley in '49" we find the following incident:

How to get to the gold mines quickly was uppermost in the minds of all those that crowded the westward trails during the open months of Eighteen Forty-nine. Anything that threatened delay was taken with seriousness. It is small wonder, therefore, that young Manly and some of his companions were ready to listen to foolish tales that teamsters of a soldier train told them about dangers that might come if they tried to take the Mormon Trail through Salt Lake City to California.

This sort of talk started them planning to get to the diggings by some other route. When they reached Green River, several of the younger men of the party, to avoid the imaginary trouble, decided on a reckless venture. An old raft, or ferry boat, lay on the bank of the stream. Why not load their supplies and weapons on the rude craft and float southwest to the golden coast? It certainly would be no more dangerous and difficult an undertaking then to dare the deseret trails.[4]

After much hardship and loss of equipment, and upon the suggestion of Walker, chief of the Utes, the young men again altered their plan. Again he records.

As a result the adventurous young men--all but one--gave up their

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[3]Hosea Stout, op. cit., p. 317. [4]Driggs, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

reckless plan. Following the chief's further directions, they struck westward through the mountains for Salt Lake City. A member of their party decided to accept Walker's invitation to join him on a buffalo hunt. There was a friendly parting in the wilds, and a few days later Manly and his companions found themselves in the land of the Mormons with friends they had left on the Green River.

About three hundred fifty gold-seekers by this time were in that frontier city receiving hospitable treatment while they laid further plans to get on to California.[5]

With the reports of such rumors coming to the Mormon people and the natural mistrust they had for all Gentiles, it is little wonder that the citizens of Utah mistrusted and suspicioned every outsider and his motives. These problems with others are discussed in an editorial in the Deseret News:

> There are hundreds of emigrants passing our midst every day, honorable men we presume, who come and get what they want, pay for it, and go on their way. All right. Who are they? Men of wealth and influence and character, where they have lived; well enough off where they were, if they had thought so; but they wanted more, and they had a perfect right to go and get it.
>
> What next? Grass begins to be scarce by the wayside; the little flour the following thousands had in store for their own sustenance, is divided with their teams, and the emigrants who would have gone on the northern route, from the influence of malicious falsehoods oft told, and oft published, risk their lives to come through the valley, to get something to eat, rather than starve among the wolves and before you know it, if you are not more wise, you and your friends, now coming, and looking to you for support may be worse off than the half starved inhabitants of Asia, or those traveling through your midst at the present time.
>
> And why all this? Simply because that which "costs nothing, is worth nothing." "Far fetched and dear bought." What traveler cares how much flour he feeds to him team, so long as he can buy it for 3 or 4 cents per pound? No one! Not a man that has left Missouri river this season would have brought a pound of flour with him, only to last him here, if he had known he could have bought it here at 3 or 4 cents per pound, when he had to pay there 6 or 7 cents per pound, if newspapers and emigrants themselves tell the truth; and that, too, in a country where there is comparatively no end to grain; and if they are short in one town, they can run to another, in a day, and get a thousand loads? No one. And the shorter the feed grows by the way, the more flour will be fed to teams; the more emigrants will pass this way to get supplies, and if the saints continue to feed the thousands and tens of thousands of travelers teams; now enroute, at a cypher, what may you expect before another harvest; after the present; when you have tried

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[5]Ibid., pp. 218-219.

to feed all, and found yourselves and all your groceries a cypher.

What did you have to pay for grain in the Great Basin 5 years ago? We would gladly have paid a dollar a pound, from the shirts on our back, but we could not get it at any price. And will it be any cheaper when you and your friends have eat what little may be left, after the emigrants with their teams shall be supplied, at 3 cents per pound, and you and the friends you have pledged to supply, shall have eat up what remains, and you are no nearer civilization and cultivation that you were five years ago, when flour could not be bought for $50 per barrell?

But some may make the plea, "I have run in debt to the merchants, and I can't get the money, and I must pay them at their prices, $1, 75 cts. 50 cts. per bushel for wheat. So far so good. Do as you agreed. If you have made a bad bargain stick to it. If you have "sworn to your own hurt, change not." Keep your covenants with your creditors, and your God; but learn to be more wise in future.

But what have the merchants of Deseret and Utah to do with the case? They came here, brought their goods and entered into business like other men, and as all men have a right to do, and you have run in debt to them for their goods at their price, you are bound to pay for the same; this is right; and what can not be cured must be endured, as much in the moral as in the physical world; and, therefore pay your debts, and keep your covenants, and not disgrace your religion.

But what would be the wiser course for the future? Keep out of dept to the merchants, who have charged you from one to sixteen hundred percentum on cost for everything they have sold you, so far as we are informed from the day such a store was opened in Deseret to the present moment, on an average; and left you in debt, after all their good and kind credits; whereas, if you had all been governed by the same principles as the "Trades Union" which originated in "Boston" a few years since, you might have had all the goods you have had, better articles, for less money, and, consequently now had hundreds of thousands of dollars in your own pockets to do what you pleased with; but as the Trades Union did not, suit your pleasure or your faith, you left it for others to reap the benifit after it was recommended to you and which hundreds of thousands are now receiving; but who knows, or is willing to acknowledge the source from which it originated.

It is no reason, because men have been foolish, that they should deny their contracts; therefore, brethren, pay your debts as fast as you can, though it is to your disadvantage; do what you have agreed to do.

But in another point of view, so far as morality, integrity, honesty, uprightness, equity, "doing as you would be done unto" are concerned, what claim have the merchants of Utah, to the general favors of this people? This question is worthy of an answer.

When this people were poorer than they now are, (the golden god, in veritable shape excepted) these merchants came among us; for what? To sell and get gain like other merchants; like other business men of the earth. And who questioned their right. Nobody! We believe that all men should be "free and equal," if they are not, like the South and the North, "Abolitionists and slaves;" and we acted upon this principal, just as we now act upon it; and ever expected to act upon it; and we have bought their goods at an average of a thousand percentum, above cost, (which is hard to reckon, when lawyers and mathematicians decide that anything over 100, is a per centum innumerable) because they have

asked it, and because the saints were not ready to enter into the "Trades Unions" which our President first proposed.

So far, so good, if the saints have fulfilled their engagements, and paid their debts according to contract; and what next? Then some ("Gentile") merchants (as the returned officers are pleased to call them) have been in St. Louis, and probably New York, if not Boston and Washington, the past winter and spring, more or less of them, having clerks here in Utah to trade and do their business, and make for them a few ten thousand dollars per annum out of these poor, despised saints; (yes, you saints in Utah) and lay on their easy cushions, and watch the news in the next daily to see where they could buy the next pound of camphor refined at 27 cts., and sell it at $4.00; or a pound of brimstone at 3¼ cents, to be sold at 50; and all other things in proportion; and lay down and sleep soundly over a hearty laugh at the reading of the returned officers' report, and all the lying slanders of scape grace emigrants; and not lift one solitary voice in favor of truth; not one word in all the papers to discard the falsehoods that were flooding the earth, against the poor, despised saints, for fear somebody should think them doing a good business in Utah, and cause that somebody to bring on another store of goods and hurt their sales. But if these same merchants had possessed that noble honor and honesty, within their breasts, which they like to see displayed in others, why did they not come out, like honest men, and tell the world, in their own proper names and through the press, (the same channel that had trumpeted the lies that have caused their bad customers all their trouble) that the Utahs, the "Mormons," were the best customers they ever had; that they would pay their debts to the last farthing if possible, and that no merchant in Deseret or Utah ever had occasion to sue his customers, to get his dues?

This question we leave the merchants in our midst and out of our midst, to answer, the best way they can; and let them stand by, at the capital of the nation, Washington, and see the paper of their justly due creditors protested, and the whole Utah community damned, and not dare to open their heads, for fear of their popularity, because they knew the 'Mormons' would pay them their dues, whether the General Government allowed them their just accounts or not. O ye saints, when you think of such things, forget them as soon as you can, and pay your debts to gentlemen merchants, with whom you have spent your hundreds of thousands; and who would sooner see you crushed to the nethermost hell, than publish one word of truth in your behalf; the sooner you pay them the better; and attend to your own concerns for the future raise your own wheat, and eat it; raise your own flax and wool; spin it and weave it; and remember that the Lord will take care of those that take care of themselves, and that home manufacturing is the life of the nation, politic and domestic.

Raise and take care of all the wheat and flax you can; and soon you may be independent of all men, and be covered and fed, without regard to friends or foes. But one thing remember, you have been strangers in a strange land; and as you then wanted to be treated, so treat those who may chance to fall in your way. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unaware.[6]

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[6]Deseret News, July 10, 1852.

This analysis of the economic difficulties of the settlers in the Valley is without doubt over simplified. The temptation which was held out to the Saints must have been great and probably in that respect the freighters were involuntarily and indirectly responsible for the untimely sale of grain and other commodities to provide money to purchase the goods which had been brought to this area. Regardless of the degree of responsibility for the economic problems, it is evident that the settlers in the valley were prone to blame their difficulties upon the Gentile freighter who came to Utah with his stock of goods. It is not the premise of this thesis to determine the degree of responsibility which can or cannot logically be laid at the door of the freighter for these problems but to emphasize the conflicts and frictions which arose because of the freighting activity.

Brigham Young saw in the heedless selling of grain to the emigrants, whatever the reason, a threat to the security and during the early years to the very existence of the colony of Saints in the Valley. In an official statement, which became rather a standard for the guidance of the citizens on the matter, he says:

> I say unto you, farmers, keep your wheat, for I foresee if you are not careful, starvation will be on our heels; preserve your grain, lest you suffer; preserve every kernal, and if we are prudent, we will have enough. If a man wants wheat to enable him to go on his journey, let him work; and that will be mutually benifiting each other. If any man will take in emigrants' horses into the Big Field for fifty cents a day, he will rue it; for I say that the grain SHALL be preserved; and you millers you have no right to sell your flour to the emigrants, to feed horses and mules, and rob this people of their breat; What! sell bread to the man who is going to earn his one hundred and fifty dollars a day, at the same price as you do to the poor laborer, who works hard here for one dollar a day? I say, you men who are going to get gold to make golden images, have your golden gods fixed up in your pulpits, pay for your flour!
>
> You who have lived here, you know better! Have you forgotten that two of our brethren died from eating poisonous greens, when they could not get a particle of bread to eat? We have always told the emigrants, that we are not able to supply them; dont depend on this settlement for your supplies; we cannot make this a garden of Eden in one, or two years. I say unto every man, when you write to your friends, tell them to bring

their supplies, and do not depend on this place for your bread. We are informed by many of the emigrants, that A. W. Babbitt told them they could get their supplies here, which is palpably not true; for Almon W. Babbitt was told positively that we could NOT supply the emigrants with food; but we had to divide the bread which we had for our own families, last year, with them to keep them alive; and we shall have to do the same this year; and we publish to all travelers, that when we are able to supply them, and they can depend on this place for their supplies, that we will notify them, and then they may rely on obtaining their food, and not be dissappointed as many are, this season.[7]

The selling of grain continued to be a concern in the Territory and the freighter and his stock of goods was always related to that problem. The difficulty was kept current by the large influx of emigrants who had to be provided for until such a time as they could become self sustaining. With a particularly lean year behind them (1855), they had ample reason to become particularly concerned when the following editorial appeared in the Deseret News:

In addition to our present number, according to accounts that I see, there are 5000 saints ready for the plains at one place and 5000 more at another, besides those that are casually falling into the ranks, and they have to eat, as well as we until another harvest.

I speak of these things to warn and forewarn you to take care of your grain and save it, and it will be better for you to do this, even though in so doing you have to go bare footed. And it will be better for the sisters to let fine shoes, fine dresses, fine bonnetts, ribbons, veils, laces and all other imported finery stay in the stores until they rot, than to let their grain go for such articles.[8]

Because of the scarcity of cash in the valley, and the necessity of a system of exchange in carrying on their business, the supply of cash and the price level became very important. Naturally, the freighter and his associates were blamed for any difficulties in these matters. The problems of prices were discussed in an editorial in 1865 as follows:

Perhaps in no country in the world have men engaged in ordinary mercantile trading been able to accumulate fortunes so rapidly during the past ten or twelve years, as in this territory, the causes which operated in their favor are very obvious. A large population engaged in agriculture, and kindred pursuits, were dependant upon a few for their

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[7]Ibid., July 20, 1850. [8]Ibid., August 20, 1856.

supplies of many articles which had come to be looked upon as necessities, and some which the claims of existance and improvement absolutely required. A long--a very long way from a market in which depleted stocks could be replenished; with various hazards attending the freighting of goods hither, and with hardly a nominal competition on the part of traders, they found they could exact a very exorbitant percentage of profit on invested capital, and if the dollar was not quickly turned, it was turned to some purpose; to accumulate a respectable fortune, for those regions, in three or four years, being the rule, not the exception, Produce, of every kind, was almost looked upon with contempt; there was plenty of it, for years; no pressing demand for it elsewhere within a distance available for business transaction of such a nature, and if imported goods sold for a price that would now be deemed very reasonable, when the products of the earth were offered in exchange for them, the quantity demanded from the producer made the price to him exorbitantly high. Things have somewhat changed in this latter respect. Produce is considered of greater value now, because it is found to be a more marketable commidity than it was then.

But though the farmer does, at the present time, receive more in imported goods or cash for his produce, it is not because merchants are any the less anxious to double their dollars and amass fortunes in a limited period of time. They are willing to pay a higher price for produce, because it can be sold readily and with good profit, and because it cannot be purchased so cheap, but the interest recieved upon the invested capital, in the form of profit, is still very high.

It is true, capital is turned very slowly here, about once in a year being the rule; and a heavy profit is required to keep the business of a firm safely floating in a region where the facilities for replenishing stocks are so very limited. Yet, in other places where such facilities do exist, men engage in ligitimate mercantile trading are satisfied they can acquire a handsome competence with the labor of the best half of a lifetime. Not but what they would like to secure it in less time; but sompetition is too powerful for the gratification of their desires.

The increased cost of goods in the wholesale markets, and the depreciation of the national currency, are the reasons advanced for asking the high figures for goods which are now demanded. The reasons are cogent enough, as far as they go, but the heavy profits of the past might be considerably diminished and merchants become rich as rapidly as other portions of the community who toil with brains and hands equally as hard, and are equally as meritorious. We have strong reasons, however, for thinking that there is still another cause; and that is, the probability of this year's purchases being at much higher rates than even last year's, and, to be secured against such a contingency, the retail prices are raised correspondingly. Is this just to the people or to the moral welfare of those who do so? We think not. The people are made to bear the weight of anticipated high prices, which they will have again to bear if that contingency becomes certainty, and if it does not, the safes of the traders will become the repositories of means which in justice to the community should be flowing in other channels.

When a new establishment is opened, the usual promisis are made of "the cheapest goods" "the best values," etc., which if honestly interpreted would read, "we only want to secure your custom, and when we have got it, and made a good start, we'll pile it on as heavy as anybody

else;"--Yet human nature, with all its experience, credits these promises and learns, after a time, that this incipient competition dies away, and the prospect of the stock being disposed of before it can be replenished induces the possessor to ask any price for his goods which he thinks their prospective scarcity will enable him in the end to obtain.

When men give themselves up to the spirit of trading, it is nearly useless appealing to their philanthropy, or placing before them the paramount claims of the welfare of a community. Yet sometimes a course similar to that we are treating upon effects a public good, and in the end defeats itself by forcing the people to dispense with many things they would otherwise procure, and manufacturing articles for home consumption which they would have purchased from the imported stocks, if the prices had been reasonable. We will not be sorry if the course pursued by some of the merchants here produce this result; it will tend the sooner to bring about our independence from foreign commerce.

If our remarks give offence in any quarter, all we can say is, we advocate the claims of the public, and they are superior to private and personal interests.

We recommend the people to import as much as they can themselves, and bring all the useful machinery possible, and the means for manufacturing much of what we require among ourselves.[9]

The problem of the lack of cash money and its causes are discussed in an editorial in the Deseret News of 1856:

Many persons in the city, and country, are daily complaining of the hard times of the scarcity of provisions, and money, and of the severity of the winter &c., and the consequent general suspension of business; all of which is very true, but there is no use in complaining about things that cannot be helped; neither about those that might have been, by a wise and judicious course of proceedure in time past, after it is too late to prevent their occurance.

Any school boy possessed of common understanding with but a smattering knowledge of mathematics, could have predicted with reasonable certainty, two years ago, that the money in this Territory, or the greater part of it, would be withdrawn from circulation, and instead of being in the pockets of the many, it would shortly, if not taken out of the Territory, be in the coffers of the few. Every community, whether great or small, that imports more of the necessities of life, in use, than they export will sooner or later, according to the amount of the excess, be short of cash, and all the gold mines on earth cannot prevent it, and on the other hand, every community or individual that produces more than is needed for their own consumption and use, and dispose of the overplus to others, will with like certainty sooner or later have their pockets filled with the shining "dust."[10]

Home Industry

[9]Ibid., Feb. 22, 1865. [10]Ibid., Jan. 16, 1856.

Brigham Young was not the kind of a man to simply satisfy himself with merely laying the blame, but he determined to do something about it. From the very earliest of his communications from the valley, he encouraged the oncoming Saints to bring all they could of the needed goods with them and thus render themselves independent of suppliers. These men had the opportunity to cause difficulties by simply cutting off the vital supplies to the Valley. This eventuality was to be forstalled at any cost and consequently the encouragement of freighting by the settlers themselves was undertaken. Not only was the security a consideration but also a savings to the people. By hauling their own goods it would serve to give them financial and general economic independence. In 1865 an article appeared in the Deseret News which sets forth the problem as seen from the viewpoint of the citizenry of the valley:

> Can we not do our own freighting? This is a question which owners of wagons and teams are asking our merchants and which merchants are asking in return. It is suggested that the freight bill of the past season, amounting to about a half a million in round numbers, might be as well saved to the people of the Territory in another season. We freight from the east and the west; we freight to the north; there are hundreds of wagons through the Territory that could be used for this purpose, an abundance of oxen, horses and mules that could do the work and yet the freight of the goods brought here is paid in money to be taken out of the Territory, when, with a mutual understanding between merchants and men who could do freighting, might be profitable spent in the best markets, to the benifit of the Territory in general and those who did the freighting in particular.
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> This is no longer a hypothesis, a theory or speculative uncertainty, the sending of teams to the Missouri river for the poor saints had demonstrated year after year, that teams can be sent from here and return in better condition than those which make the trip for the first time across the plains. If it would not pay one man to send one or two or three wagons, a settlement, city or locality might unite together and send what teams they could spare, under the charge of an experienced captain, with careful and efficient teamsters, for the purpose, where there is not an individual with enough teams to enter largely into the freighting business alone. We have conversed with several of our leading citizens on the subject, including merchants, and all favor this idea, an idea which was plainly and pointedly thrown out by the President at Last Conference. We hope to see it acted upon, as far as practicable in the ensuing season; and would suggest that it be considered in those settlements best able to take it up, and that men from those

settlements consult with our commission and heavy purchasing merchants when in the city, and see if the necessary arrangments cannot be made to accomplish it. In advocating this measure before, we have enumerated some of the advantages resulting from it, which are so well known that we need not repeat them.

In England, and in some parts of the eastern States, where keen and continued competition among merchants gives the retail buyer many advantages he could not enjoy where that competitive action is not to be found, the principle of co-operation has been employed with marked benifits to those who have entered into it. Working men and others of limited means unite, put their pittances together, stock a store, and while that store undersells the regular retail dealers, recieve a fair percentage of interest on their invested capital, however little that may be. Why could we not have such co-operative action here? By putting together what means they could spare for this purpose there is nothing to hinder the people from becoming their own store-owners, having trustworthy men in the stores to attend to the business for them. By this means the profits would flow directly to the people themselves. Or they could combine their means, send and get their purchases made, and divide the goods when they were recieved. We have perfectly reliable and shrewd-dealing commission merchants among us, who have made considerable purchases of this kind the past and previous seasons; but if the principle were expanded in its operations, so that the man with only twenty, ten or even five dollars could send that amount into the cheapest market, and recieve its value in such goods as he might need, its benifits would be proportionably increased. This can be done on the plan suggested, and which has been tried to a limited extent already. As a community we are better organized for accomplishing a thing of this kind than any other. In every settlement are men tried and known to be trustworthy and reliable, who could become the agents through whom these combined littles could pass to the commission merchant, with the orders for goods; and the goods, when received, could be divided among the owners by themselves.

We throw these hints, without elaborating them, believing that thought and reflection will show how they can be advantageously acted upon, and knowing how general the desire is to be relieved from the exactions made by many merchants in the Territory in demanding exorbitant prices for the goods brought here. The saving in money to the people of the Territory would be very considerable annually, and that very saving could thus be employed in purchasing a larger quantity of goods, more machinery and other like needed things, which would the sooner enable us to be more self sustaining than we are at present.[11]

More important even than the saving of the costs of freighting, was the matter of the Saints becoming industrially independent. The church had a long line of tradition of self sufficiency. Starting with the Law of Consecration which was established shortly after the church was organized,

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[11] Ibid., Nov. 30, 1865.

it became a tradition for the Saints to feel concern for each other to develop a feeling of brotherhood; to have pride in the corporate well being of the group. When the political and economic conditions began to deteriorate in Nauvoo, Illinois, after the death of the Prophet, the church established what were known as "Trades Unions" which had as their objective to make the Saints as nearly as possibly industrially independent of outside assistance and also to provide a surplus for export.[12] When the Saints were crossing the territory between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers on their way West, they found that the selling of articles which had been produced by the members of the group, provided them with the best source of adding cash to their resources. These experiences, coupled with an understandable mistrust of all "outsiders" prompted Brigham Young to press very hard for the establishment again of the Trades Unions.[13] Failing in this, his next recourse was the encouragement of "Home Industry" which was calculated to make the Saints industrially strong and economically independent. In his Governor's Message of 1852, Brigham Young set the standards which he envisioned for the starting of the home industry:

> If all the people of the Territory, would dispense with every article of manufactured goods, except such as were manufactured in their own families, until they could be produced by Manufactories established among themselves within the Territory; even if it had to be done at the sacrifice of a few comforts in the first instance, and at the expense of raising a little less grain, or cultivating a few less acres of land, they would in my opinion find their own interest materially advanced, and the circulating medium would soon find its home in the Territory, instead of traveling to Eastern cities, to defray the expense of imported goods.[14]

Brigham Young immediately placed his own influence and fortune in the effort to establish this type of industry by importing machinery which

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[12]Berrett, op. cit., 4th ed., p. 309.

[13]Deseret News, July 10, 1852. [14]Ibid., Dec. 25, 1852.

seemed to be vital to the establishment of certain strategic industries in the Territory. He also encouraged his associates to do likewise.[15] The church invested large sums of money in industrial equipment, not with the idea of competing with private industry but rather to bring machinery to the Territory to be utilized by private parties and absorbed in private industry. Every incentive was given to the establishment of various industries in Utah. In 1854, Brigham Young outlined some of the advantages which can come to the community through home manufacturing:

> I cannot refrain from again calling your attention to the subject of Home Manufactures. Large quantities of wool, flax, hides, furs, and almost every variety of the best material for the manufacture of Wollen cloth, Linen, Leather, Hats, Soap, Candles, Glue, Oil, Sugar, Pottery, and Castings, are found in abundance, and easily procured, and yet we find large quantities of such articles annually imported, and purchases by the people, which causes a large and constant drain of our circulating medium. If a few hundred thousand dollars, which are not annually expended, and carried away for imported goods, were instead thereof invested in Machinery and articles for Domestic Manufactures, it would prove far more advantageous, and rapidly advance the prosperity of our thriving Territory.
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> It would appear, that the expense and trouble of transporting goods over a thousand miles of land carriage, would be sufficiently protective to encourage the capitalist to embark in domestic Manufacturing. It is manifestly our interest as a people, to more generally produce from our own resources, articles for our own use. It is the spring of wealth to any community--of independence to any state. Much has been accomplished, but the very prices prove that the manufacture of all the above mentioned articles, as well as many others, is a lucrative business, opening to the enterprize of many more of our citizens.
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> If our market could be abundantly supplied with articles of domestic industry, and economy, our object would be attained, the money retained in the country, and the importers seek elsewhere a market for their goods.[16]

Officially the attitude of the church was more pointed than is evidenced in the general press releases. Instead of being merely a matter of good business or a matter of protection of the industrial health of the communities, it became a religious obligation with all the fervor of reli-

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[15] *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1859; Sept. 25, 1861.

[16] *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1854.

gious zeal associated with it. This attitude is evidenced in an official statement of the presidency of the church and released through the columns of the Deseret News:

> TO THE PRESIDENTS, BISHOPS AND SAINTS GENERALLY.
>
> Brethren:--We wish the capitalists in your community to use their means for purchasing machinery--for manufacturing purposes--which will best meet the growing wants and necessities of the people of this Territory; and if the Saints residing in the settlements over which you preside want dry goods and groceries, let them select brethren in whom they have confidence, and place the means in their hands and send them to purchase goods in the eastern states.
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> If the machinery for working up the wool grown in this Territory were more plentiful, the people would manifest a much greater interest in taking care of their sheep than they do at present, for when it costs the people more to grow wool and manufacture it than it does to buy cloth, we cannot expect them to employ much of their time and means in raising sheep; but let those brethren who are able, bring forward the wool carders, spinners and power looms, and sheep raisers will multiply and the great profits which will be realized on the manufacturing of the raw materials may be retained by those whose interest it is to build up the kingdom; whereas if the people do not improve the present opportunity and obey this counsel, aliens to the government of God will possess themselves of that which the Almighty intended his Saints to enjoy. Cease paying the exhorbitant prices demanded by disinterested persons and our enemies for all imported articles, and hundreds of thousands of dollars may be saved annually by the Saints, and the revenue which has heretofore enriched those who have no interests with us, may be devoted to the building up of the Kingdom of God which we, as Saints of the Most High, have covenanted before heaven to do all in our power to accomplish, and woe unto this people if they violate those covenants. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Danial H. Wells.[17]

With this relationship existing between the church and the economic well-being of the community, it was only natural that there should be a concern for every possible resource for home industry. During the early years in the valley, freighters and merchants found the supply of cash a hindrance to their commerce. They sought for every resource to supply them with readily convertable commodities. One of these was in the furs which the citizens were able to get in this wilderness area. These could be readily transported to the Eastern markets and there be converted into cash. Of this

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[17] Ibid., Jan. 9, 1867.

practice the Deseret News editorializes:

> When will the children of the Kingdom become as wise as the generations of the world in which they live? This question suggests itself in the contemplation of the fact that the skins and furs from the wild beasts in these mountains are about to be transported to the eastern cities there to be dressed the manufactured into muffs, boas, tippets, (another name for shawls, what enchantment there is in a name) caps, gloves, capes, &c. and then be sold to the lords and ladies of that country at an advance of from 500 to 2000 percent, if they are returned to us and sold for double that amount. Just look at the otter caps imported to this valley and sold for 18 to 20 dollars, when perhaps the identical skin was first sold here for fifty cents or a dollar and might just as well have been dressed, colored, and made up here as in St. Louis or New York; and we have those in the valley who understand tanning, dressing, pressing and capping. Fifteen or twenty-five hundred dollars might just as well be saved to Utah the present season on furs as not, only let our mechanics and manufacturers go at it in earnest.[18]

The home manufacturing was not without encouragement. Every piece of news which would support the movement was presented. In 1867 the following item appeared in the News:

> We notice, in an exchange, that six woolen mills in Oregon worked up and manufactured one million pounds of wool last year. This quantity worked up into woolen cloth of various kinds in this Territory, would save to our citizens in one year one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in cash in freight alone at fifteen cents a pound. Think of it.[19]

Recognizing the value of the home manufacturing to the Territory and the strength which it would give to the success of the government, the Legislative Assembly passed an act to encourage home industry:

> An act to encourage the raising of Cotton, Indigo and Madder.
> Sec. 1--Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah that the sum of four hundred dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be paid in awarding premiums as follows:--
> Sec. 2--The person that shall raise the greatest quantity of good, merchantable cotton, from five acres of land, shall be entitled to a premium of one hundred dollars.
> Sec. 3--The person who shall produce the greatest number of good, merchantable Indigo from one fourth of an acre of land, shall be entitled to a premium of one hundred dollars.
> Sec. 4--The person who shall produce the greatest number of pounds

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[18] Ibid., Dec. 27, 1851. [19] Ibid., June 5, 1867.

of good merchantable madder from one fourth of an acre of land, shall be entitled to a premium of one hundred dollars.

Sec. 5--All claims for the above premiums must be accompanied with sufficient evidence of the extent of land used, the quantity of seed planted, and that is was raised in the year 1857 within the limits of this Territory, and be accompanied by a written statement of the quantity of seed planted, kind of soil, how the soil is prepared, when planted, treatment while growing, when harvested the quality of article produced. Said evidence and statement must be filed with the Auditor of public accounts on or before the first of December next.

Sec. 6--As soon after the first of December as practicable the Auditor shall give each successful claimant an order on the treasury for the amount of premium due.

Approved January 6, 1857. W. H. Hooper Secretary pro. tem.[20]

The encouragement which was given to these home industries was given at the discouragement of the freighter and his associated merchants. The freighter played the part of the villain in this drama as seen from the point of view of the church and its members in the valley. Because of this unsavory reputation which was imputed to them and probably in the hope of finding a closer source of supply than the distant markets generally depended upon, some of the freighters and merchants began to buy and sell home manufactured articles. J. & E. Reese entered an advertisement in the News urging people to patronize home manufacture and buy the wooden articles which they had for sale cheap and which had been brought from Utah Valley.[21] In 1853 the following notice appeared:

> G. G. (George Goddard) intends to encourage the sale of Home Manufactured articles, as far as possible, and for this purpose he hopes shortly to have one room at least set apart for their exhibition, that the industry and mechanical production of the citizens of Deseret may be seen at one view.[22]

Much publicity was given to efforts at home manufacturing. Scarcely a single copy of the News was issued which did not carry either an advertisement or an article about some phase of the home industries. Despite all

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[20] Ibid., March 18, 1857. [21] Ibid., April 3, 1852.

[22] Ibid., June 18, 1853.

the efforts at publicizing home industry, the movement met with a few problems. This problem is discussed and the hopes expressed in an article which appeared in the News:

> But what will be the result if the broom maker furnishes brooms, and a good article too, at half, or one third, or one fourth what the poor thing by nature, of the same name has been selling for? The people will patronize him, by his brooms, pay for them, and use them; and that will prevent the importation of foreign brooms. The price of domestic manufactures of any kind, must be a little lower than the imported to prevent importation; else the cash will go to the foreign market for the imported articles.[23]

These hopes for local industry being able and willing to produce articles at half or one third of the price of the imported article did not materialize, rather the alternate, less desirable course seems to have applied. In an article in the News of August, 1856 the following appears:

> So far as our comprehension in the matter extends, it appears certain that a home made article must either be better than and sold as cheap as a like imported article, or it must be at least as good and sold cheaper, in order to prevent importation, otherwise, in addition to habit, people will go to the stores, when they can buy cheaper and better, with additional advantage of picking from larger assortments and being able to fill their bill at one place, free from the perplexity and loss consequent upon running over a large city to complete a small purchase.
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> When shoes can be bought in the stores for $2.50 or $3.00, such as will do good service for six months, and our mechanics ask $4.50 for a like pair which will not last half as long, upon what principle do those mechanics call upon their brethren to hunt them up and purchase of them?
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> Most excellent calf skins can be manufactured here at a full cost of only from 2 to 3$, and such skins sell in our stores at from 5 to 6$. Now why does not the tanner at once undersell the stores, which he is so easily able to do at a large profit, and supply the demand to the extent of the number he can turn out? Only for the reason, so far as we are aware, that he will not. And so long as he persists in that policy, so long he may expect that the best pay and the best customers will find their way to the stores in spite of all his entreaties.[24]

Brigham Young saw a real necessity of establishing a self-contained, independent, and entirely self supporting society in the mountains. In such a society, and only in such a society, could the ultimate goal of de-

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[23] Ibid., March 19, 1853. [24] Ibid., August 20, 1856.

velopment and strength for the society of the church and the ultimate Kingdom of God as he saw in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, become a reality. Any challenge to that independence and self-sufficiency, he looked upon as a threat not only to a community but also to the movement of the Kingdom itself. Around this conviction of the President of the Church grew the controversy between the freighter and the church. Of all the challenges to the absolute supremacy of the church and therefore the Kingdom of God, was the challenge to the economic control which was represented best by the freighter and his stock of imported goods which were placed on sale in the Territory. The money which these stocks brought in was looked upon not only as a loss to the community but also a weakening of general economic health of the church. This conflict was not necessarily aimed at the Gentile merchants alone, but at freighters and merchants generally. H. S. Eldredge, a local merchant, who was not only a member of the church but also the emigration agent for the church for many years, as well as president of the St. Louis Branch from which the emigration left for the valley says:

> There seemed to exist, for some unknown cause, a degree of prejudice against merchants, particularly Mormon merchants, to that extent that we concluded to retire for a season at least. Hence we wound up our business in the fall and divided our goods on hand, I concluding to store mine for the present.[25]

If this policy was calculated to be prejudiced and openly hostile to the freighter is difficult to determine, but surely the doctrine of home industry and the insistence on patronizing home industry did little to encourage intercourse with the freighter. It would be a freighter with a particularly "thick skin" who would fail to find in this policy a direct challenge to his best interests. The economic reasoning and the justification

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[25]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 67 ff. Biographical Appendix.

for such an action in Utah are set forth in an editorial in the News, 1865:

> Every nation or community that imports anything, no matter whether it be for absolute sustenance or for luxury, must export in a corresponding ratio, or it will become steadily and surely poorer. As an illustration, Britain lays the world under contribution for the necessaries and luxuries. She brings her spices from the east, her wines from the south of Europe and South Africe; much of her silk from France; fruits of various kinds from countries that produce them; her tea from China; grain from the United States and up the Mediterranean, cotton from the southern portion of the United States, India and other countries; and multitude of other things from various nations. Yet she has grown enormously rich. She has paid for them all by exportation of coal, machinery, cutlery, cotton and woolen fabrics and other manufactures. This is commerce. As it has been and is with Britain, so it has been and is with our own and other nations. They have imported what they did not make, raise or produce, and they have paid for it with their exports of what they manufactured, raised or produced.
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> As a community we have had and still have to import largely. If a class of men have imported for us who had no other object in view but to trade and become rich on our necessities, we have been so much the more foolish for allowing them to do it, when we could have had it otherwise by doing it ourselves or doing without many things until we could import them ourselves. What have been the counter balancing exports? Produce, grain, vegetables, to a very limited extent, fruit, and the products of the dairy and hennery. Our population is rapidly increasing, and the wants which these importations supply are increasing with the population. Are our exports or the articles we are in a position to export increasing in proportion? and likely to grow as fast as the demand for those things that are now imported, unless we can supply that demand or a portion of it without ourselves, or produce or manufacture some other articles of commerce? These are grave questions, for our commercial and financial prosperity depend, not upon the answer, but upon the facts embodied in them.
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> The necessity of our lessening the number of articles which we now import, has been urged upon this community for years, in advocating home manufactures. Instead of being importers of manufactured goods we should be exporters. We have people here practically acquainted with almost every kind of manufactures that are carried on extensively elsewhere. All we lack is machinery; skilled labor we possess. We can raise the sheep and grow the wool for woolen manufactures; we can grow the cotton and silk; we have the iron ore and coal; we can raise the tea and tobacco for those who will use them. Our markets for produce are at the same time widening in extent and demand. Flour is freighted from the States to Montana and other mining regions, and brings a higher price than flour taken from this Territory. So it will be with other articles for sustenance. Other places will make efforts to supply the demand and secure the gold. Is it not evident that we must in our importations endeavor to bring on machinery much more largely than heretofore? that we must contrive to meet our own growing demands, and grow into supplying our neighboring markets with other things than produce? We put it to the good sense and reflection of our capitalists and the people generally.[26]

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[26] Deseret News, Nov. 30, 1865.

Despite the great amount of encouragement given for the establishment of home industry, and the discouragement given to the citizens in their dealings with the freighters and merchants, the citizens were still human with all the natural propensities of the human kind. Thereby the freighters received their greatest encouragement and support. Tullidge says:

> . . . A fresh opening of a season's stock of States goods by our merchants, for instance, was quite sufficient to kill a whole years preaching on home manufactures.[27]

Sociological Problems

Even though the economic conflicts and differences of opinion were very constant, they never seemed to flare into open hostilities in the Valley; seldom were they more demonstrative than some rather terse and accusing statements from either side. This is not the case, however, with the conflicts which grew out of the problems related to sociological differences which already existed and were soon to grow up between the freighters and the citizens of the Utah Territory. The type of society which Brigham Young envisioned for his exiled Saints could develop best in an atmosphere of isolation from all the influences which had made their move to this area necessary. The hope was to be left alone until such a time as the new community could become strong enough within itself to withstand the pressures to which it might be subjected. The religious beliefs of the Saints which were universally expressed in their community life had been some of the influences which had necessitated the move to the mountains. As long as the Saints maintained a large enough majority over those who were not of their faith, they felt secure in the expression of their beliefs and in the practice of the type of community life which they desired. When anything came

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[27]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 670.

into their midst which hinted at a movement to narrow that margin of majority which they felt was so necessary, that influence was met with rather definite reactions.

During the first few years of the settlement in the Valley, the problem was less acute than in later years, partly because the number of freighters was smaller and partly because their attitudes were different. The first of the freighters to enter the Valley came for the purpose of carrying on a general business enterprise which depended for its success upon the patronage of the citizens of the Valley. They, therefore, tried to adapt themselves to the life in the community and become more or less a part of it. They were dependent upon the citizenry for much of their help in their enterprise:

> This, however, does not embrace those families and teamsters who are with merchant trains, most of which have in part or in whole been supplied from our emigrants.[28]

It served the best interests of the freighter to use such manpower wherever feasable in that the cost to them for teamsters was considerably less than would be the case of regular teamsters who made a living at such an occupation. The emigrant was assisted in his travels West and there was no necessity of returning the teamsters to the East again. As the freighting business grew, the teamsters from the emigrants became harder to find. The emigrants were coming increasingly more frequently from Europe than from America, and were, therefore, less likely to be skilled in the teamster business. The freighting contractor began more and more to depend upon a teamster who would need to winter in Salt Lake in order to return to the East in the spring. While in the Valley, he was more or less a displaced person and, therefore, gave rise to problems. In 1855, an incident occured

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[28] Deseret News, Sept. 5, 1855.

which involved some of these men:

> There were quite a number of persons came here as teamsters in Gilbert and Garrish's train of goods, arriving here in 1855, after winter had set in. They arrived here very destitute, and at that season of the year there is nothing that a laboring man can get to do. Some of these men entered the store of S. M. Blair & Co., at various times in the night, and stole provisions and groceries.[29]

Although these problems were not unknown, the general relationship between the freighter and the settler was comparatively cordial. With the coming of Johnston's Army to Utah in 1857, the entire picture changed. From that time forward a situation of open rivalry and hatred to a greater or less degree, existed between the citizenry and the freighter.

With the coming of the Army the attitude of the Gentile toward the Mormons was heavily influenced. In the early years of Utah, a person could hold whatever attitude toward its citizens which he chose. He could consider them as being displaced persons worthy of ones sympathy, or he could think of them as a deluded and foolish people. With the declaration of war, however, any person whose sympathies were allied with the United States government was almost forced thereby to think of the Mormon people as enemies of the nation and to be dealt with accordingly. The Army and the freighters who came with them followed true to the pattern and came to Utah as enemies of the citizens and all they stood for. The situation was not helped by the reaction of the Saints to the coming of the army to Utah. As soon as the citizens became aware of the approach of the army, they tried to find out what the reason was for their coming. Until such a time as they could find out to their satisfaction why Utah was being attacked, they determined to hinder the army as much as possible and thereby give time for finding out what the grievance was and to prepare for their own protection.

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[29]Alter, op. cit., p. 237. Vol. I. Quoting from the Milleneal Star, No. 28, Vol. XIX, Sept. 19, 1857.

Captain Lot Smith was dispatched to meet the long trains of men and supplies and to detain them as long as possible.[30] He recognized the folly of attempting to attack the army itself because of the superior forces and equipment which they had. The logical place of attack was on the freight trains which were traveling to Utah to supply the army. These trains were more vulnerable than were the troops and yet would prove a great loss and hindrance to the whole operation. Inasmuch as Captain Smith had been advised to avoid any bloodshed if possible, there would be less danger to men on both sides in attacking the unarmed freight trains. In a release of October 5, 1857, the following accounting of his activity is given:

> Lot Smith, and 43 mounted Mormon rangers burned two supply trains in Green River Valley belonging with Johnstons army; the next day they burned another train. In all, there were about seventy-five loaded wagons, the loss including 2,720 pounds of ham, 92,700 of bacon, 167,900 of flour, 8,910 of coffee, 1,400 of sugar, 1333 of soap, 800 of sperm candles, 765 of tea, 7,781 of hard bread, and 68,832 rations of disicated vegetables.[31]

The destruction of these trains, although they did not account for a very large percentage of the entire freighting effort associated with the expedition, caused a great deal of feeling among both the soldiers and the freighters against the Mormons. Besides the destruction of the trains, the "Mormon Rangers" were constantly harrassing the troops and driving off their cattle[32] which served to detain them until they had to spend the winter near Fort Bridger. All these events served to sour any milk of human kindness which the freighters might have had for the Mormon people.

The freighters who came to Utah were members of a peculiar group. Undoubtedly they had many virtues as judged by their own standards, but their

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[30]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 512 ff. In this chapter Bancroft gives a rather careful and comprehensive discussion of the whole problem.

[31]Alter, op. cit., p. 254, Vol. I. [32]Bancroft, op. cit., p. 519.

standards would scarcely fit into the pattern of life as taught and practiced by the citizens of Utah, who taught industry, sobriety, thrift, and friendliness toward all who would reciprocate. The freighter and the men who worked for him are described by Burton in his picturesque style. Speaking of freighters generally, he says:

> . . . At Saint Joseph (Mo.) better known by the somewhat irreverant abbreviation of St. Jo., I was introduced to Mr. Alexander Majors, formerly one of the contractors for supplying the army in Utah--a vetran mountaineer, familiar with life on the prairies. His meritorious efforts to reform the morals of the land have not yet put forth even the bud of promise. He forbade his drivers and employes to drink, gamble, curse, and travel on Sundays; he desired them to persue Bibles distributed to them gratis; and though he refrained from a lengthy proclamation commanding his lieges to be good boys and girls, he did not the less expect it of them. Results: I scarcely ever saw a sober driver; as for profanity-- the Western equivalent for hard swearing--they would make the blush of shame crimson the cheek of the old Isis bargee; and rare exceptions to the rule of the United States, they are not to be deterred from evil talking even by the dread presence of a "lady." The conductors and road agenst are of a class superior to the drivers; they do their harm by an inordinate ambition to distinguish themselves. I met one gentleman who owned to three murders, and another individual who lately attempted to ration the mules with wild sage.[33]

Speaking of a freighter as an individual he says:

> The "ripper" or driver, who is bound to the gold regions of Pikes Peak, is a queer specimen of humanity. He usualy hails from one of the Old Atlantic cities--in fact, from settled America--and, like the civilized man generally, he betrays a remarkable aptitude for facile descent into savagry. His dress is a harlequinade, typical of his disposition. Eschewing the chimney-pot or stove pipe tile of the bourgeois, he effects the "Kossuth," an Anglo-American version of the sombrero, which converts felt into every shape and form, from the jaunty little head-covering of the modern sailor to the tall steeple-crown of the old puritan. He disregards the trichotomy of S. Paul, and emulates St. Anthony and the American aborigines in the length of his locks, whose ends are curled inwards, with a facinating sausage-like toll not unlike the cockney "aggrawator." If a young hand, he is probably in the buckskin mania, which may pass into the squaw mania, a disease which knows no cure; the symptoms are, a leather coat and overalls to match, embroidered if possible, and finished along the arms and legs with fringe cut as long as possible, while a pair of gaudy moccosins, resplendent with red and blue porcelain beads, fits his feet tightly as silken hose. I have heard of coats worth $250, vests $100, and pants $150; indeed, the poorest of buckskin suits will cost $75, and if hard worked it must be

[33] Burton, op. cit., p. 5.

renued every six months. The successful miner or gambler in these lands--the word is confined to the profession--will add $10 gold buttons to the attractions of his attire. The older hand prefers to buckskin, a "wamba" or round about, a red or rainbow collored flannel over a check cotton shirt; his lower garments, garnished with leather, are turned into hessians by being thrust inside his cow hide wellingtons; and when in riding gear, he wraps below each knee a fold of deer, antelope, or cow skin, with edges scalloped where they fall over the feet, and gartered tightly against throns and stirrup thongs, thus effecting that graceful elephantine bulge of the lower leg for which "Jack ashore" is justly celebrated. Those who suffer from sore eyes wear huge green goggles, which give a crab-like air to the physiognomy, and those who can not procure them line the circumorbital region with lampblack, which is supposed to act like the surma or kohl of the Orient. A broad leather belt supports on the right a revolver, generally Colt's Navy or medium size (when Indian fighting is expected, the large dragoon pistol is universally preferred); and on the left, in a plain black sheath or sometimes in the more ornamental Spanish scabbard, is a buck horn or ivory-handled bowie-knife. In the East the driver partially conceals his tools; he has no such affection in the Far West; moreover, a glance through the wagon-awning shows guns and rifles stowed along the side. When driving he is armed with a mammoth fustigator, a system of plaited cow-hides cased with smooth leather; it is a knout or an Australian stock whip, which, managaed with both hands, makes the sturdiest ox curve and curl its back. If he trudges along on ox-team, he is a grim and grimy man, who delights to startle your animals with a whip crack, and disdains to return a salutation; if his charge be a muleteers, you may expect more urbanity; he is then in the "upper-crust" of teamsters; he knows it, and demeans himself accordingly. He can do nothing without whisky, which he loves to call tarantula juice, strychnine, red-eye, corn juice, Jersey lightning, leg stretcher, "tangleleg" and many other hard and grotesque names; he chews tobacco like a horse; he becomes heavier "on the shoulder" or on the "shyoot" as, with the course of empire, he makes his way westward; and he frequently indulges in a "spree," which in these lands means four acts of drinking--but, with a fifth of rough-and-tumble. Briefly, he is a post wagon driver exaggerated.

Each train is accompanied by men on horse or mule back--oxen are not ridden after Cape fashion in these lands.[34]

In a foot note he says:

For instance "whiskey is now tested by the distance a man can walk after tasting it. The new liquor called 'Tangle leg' is said to be made of diluted alcohol, nitric acid, pepper, and tobacco, and will upset a man at a distance of 400 yards from the demijon."[35]

With the arrival of the Army in the valley and the many difficulties began to make their appearances, the army was blamed for all the trouble.

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[34] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[35] Ibid., p. 24 footnote.

Considering the large numbers of freighters who came with the army, this criticism is comparatively unfounded. Exactly how many freighters and teamsters came with the army is difficult to determine but some general ideas can be established. Of the entrance of the army into the valley, Pulsipher says:

> It was the latter part of June that this once proud, but now humbled army, came into Salt Lake Valley. Instead of their doing as they boasted they would do with the Mormon women, they passed thro the deserted City prepared for burning--without seeing one of them. There was scarcely a man in sight.
>
> A few home guards, were in the city where they could see, without being seen.
>
> It took the whole day, from 8 in the morning 'til sundown, for that army to pass thro the city to camp west of Jordan. The train consisted of about 3,000 men & 6000 wagons with six mules to each wagon. The army moved over to the west mountain & made camp out of our way.[36]

How many of these six thousand wagons were manned by the personnel of the army is not clear, but it is safe to suggest that at least half of them had to be manned by non-military personnel because there had to be at least a teamster to each vehicle which does not take into consideration the incidental personnel which always traveled with any train of such size. At least a few of the wagons were manned by members of the army because during the winter at least three hundred teamsters joined the army.[37] Joining the army seemed to be the lesser of two evils. After having served their contracted time as freighters they had not reached their destination. They had their choice of either joining the army and thus be provided for, or take the proffered horses and supplies and attempt to return to the States which some did to their own sorrow. To take their chances in going to Salt Lake City seemed the least acceptable procedure considering the purpose of the expedition and the stories which had been circulated about the Mormons.

Many of the teamsters who had come with the army upon their entrance

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[36]Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 131. [37]Hammond, op. cit., p. 13.

into the Valley in June were still at Camp Floyd or in its vicinity. The next year's supply of goods consigned to the army at that place began to arrive and with the trains came other thousands of teamsters and freighters. The firm of Russel, Majors and Waddell report having sent to Utah 4,380 men with the trains in 1858.[38] This does not account for the other companies who contributed their share of "outside" population to the Territory. With this large population in the Territory, centered around Salt Lake City and Camp Floyd, the ideal situation was established for social conflict. The attitudes of these teamsters, aggravated by the above mentioned influences, were of a hostile nature so it is little wonder that many acts of hostility and general rowdyism began to be perpetrated. Not only the teamsters and freighters were concerned but also the "hangers-on" who came with the army and the freighters in the form of gamblers, saloon keepers, dance hall girls and their attendant evils. They began to make their appearance in Utah Communities and contributed their share to the problem of social friction and disorganization. In a letter from John Kay to Thomas Williams and reproduced in the Millennial Star of January 15, 1859, the following expression of the problem:

> On the first Monday in this month, the grand and petty juries were called together in the City Hall. Nothing done: adjourned because the prosecuting attorney had not arrived from the States. His arrival is anticipated on the 1st of November. I am one of the first-named jorors. There are twenty-four in number, half Mormon and half Gentile. So it is with the petty jorors. W hat will be brought before us, when we are ready for business, I cannot tell; but no doubt our enemies are expecting great things in their favor. But they will be mistaken, as before; for the Almighty has decreed that his kingdom shall be built up in the last days, and that his servants shall reign, rule, and triumph over all their enemies.
>
> For the last two months our streets have been crowded with Government teamsters of the lowest grade. There are also another class--gentleman gamblers, blacklegs, and cutthroats. Our lock-ups are crowded with thieves and drunkards. Our officers are therefore necessitated to

[38] Alter, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 284.

deviate from the good old way and preach with the truncheon instead of the Bible. When the scum of their boasted civilization boils over, it has to be forcibly checked up.

Since the opening of the new scene, there have been four murders perpetrated, and knock-downs beyond number. Two murders were committed in the most public streets, one of which was the murder of a policeman while in the discharge of his duty--a good, faithful brother, by the name of William Cook. Two gamblers got into a quarrel and shot each other; one died, but the other got better and slided off. Two negroes quarrelled; one was stabbed, and the other shot dead.

Yesterday, about sixteen miles south, one of those desperate characters went into a trading house. After some talk, seeing no one about he drew a revolver, and wanted the young man to buy it. He refused, and the ruffian shot him, robbed the house, and left, though I believe he has since been taken. It is thought the young man will get better. Among the many nuisances introduced are grog-shops, which I trust we shall soon be able to tip over.[39]

When the army and their accompanying freighters came to Utah, they came for the ostensible purpose of bringing civilization to the Territory and to give culture to the Mormons whom they looked upon as ignorant barbarians. This effort gave rise to some rather vitriolic comment on the part of the citizens. One of these bursts of sarcasm is recorded in an editorial of the Deseret News:

Progress of Civilization (!) since the introduction of civilization within our borders, it is so singular and so new to us, especially to those who have been reared in the mountains that it is a wonder that our citizens have not previously understood enough to petition to have an army sent here, and for the introduction of gamblers, whoremasters, and every variety of rowdies, that we might not have been deemed so unfashionable, unpopular, and behind the times. But for the gratification of all lovers of modern civilization we are not enabled to chronicle evidences of its unquestioned progress in this far off and hitherto benighted region.

For want of space we omit the details of rapidly increasing profanity and drunkenness, and of the progress of gambling, whoredomes, &c. and for the present merely note the fights as yet most prominent. A short time past two colored gentlemen quarreled in the streets; one was stabbed and the other shot dead by his antagonist. On the 9th inst. (a date, by the by, which was enlivened by five other fights between newly arrived citizens) Longford M. Peel and Oliver H. Rucker from Fort Leavenworth, met and fought with pistols, in Miller, Russel & Co.'s store, Peel killing Rucker, and himself recieving three wounds from which it is not yet known whether he will recover.[40]

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[39]Alter, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 281. Also Deseret News, Oct. 13, 1858.

[40]Deseret News, Sept. 15, 1858.

By 1860 the situation had not changed very much. The editors of the News were constrained to make the following remarks in their columns:

> There has been no inconsiderable amount of scientific shooting done within the last two years in this once peaceful and quiet city, and in other places in the Territory, among those who followed the army hither to gamble, steal, rob and plunder and their associates; those following that business being generally well skilled in the use of revolvers--two or more of which murderous weapons they have usually about their persons, ready to use; and few of that clan are ever seen without a large belt knife and, at times when they have been in imminent danger of assault from those belonging to another clan, with which they may have been at war, or variance, they have not infrequently carried shot-guns for the purpose of more effectually doing up or resisting the work of death, if they and their adversaries should chance, under certain circumstances to look each other in the face. . . Murder after murder has been committed with impunity within the precincts of Great Salt Lake City, till such occurrences do not seemingly attract much attention particularly when the murdered have had the reputation of being thieves and murderers or of associating with such characters from day to day and whenever they had a chance.[41]

Details of the disagreement and consequent fight between a freighter and one of the citizens during the period alluded to above is recorded in an article from the Deseret News of February 1, 1860:

> On Thursday last, late in the afternoon, a man named Martin Oats, who came to the Territory in the fall of 1858 as a teamster in one of the Government supply trains, called at the Hot Springs Brewery Hotel, near the point of the mountain, on his way to Camp Floyd, with an ox team and, as reported, commenced abusing the proprietor, Mr. Hereford who, he said had reported that he (Oats) was a thief; drew a knife and flourished it about, declaring that he would cut out the heart of any man that accused him of stealing.
>
> After abusing Mr. Hereford, he turned to Mr. O. P. Rockwell, who was present--having heard his name called by some one--and accused him of stealing cattle from him or something of the kind; continuing to brandish his knife and to make threats of violence; to which Rockwell paid but little attention, merely saying that he had no acquaintance with the fellow, did not even know his name and did not wish to have any altercation with him.
>
> Hereford having no weapons with which to defend himself against an attack that might be made upon him by the boasting and threatening desperado, went for his pistols and on his return found Oats and Rockwell clinched, the former, knife in hand, having the latter by his beard and Rockwell holding Oats off by the hair of his head.
>
> On the appearance to Hereford, Rockwell requested him to take away the madman, as he did not wish to hurt him, upon which Hereford, taking

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[41] Ibid., May 23, 1860.

the knife from Oats, directed two men to take him and put him on his wagon, start him off towards Camp Floyd and escort him as far as might be necessary, to get him fairly under way and thereby secure his departure effectually, so that he would not return, which was accordingly done.

Some time after Oats had thus been started off and the two men who escorted him had returned to the hotel, Rockwell mounted his steed and started for Lehi, his place of residence; but before reaching the point where the Camp Floyd road diverges from the road to Lehi, he overtook Oats, who had not made good speed, or had been loitering along by the way for no good and, as Rockwell was passing, he sprang, seized his animal by the bit, and renued his abuse and threats, whereupon Rockwell, after trying every expedient to make the fellow desist, and giving him proper warning of the consequence that would follow if he did not let him alone, shot the villian; the ball taking effect in the breast, produced almost instantaneous death.

Mr. Rockwell returned to the hotel and informed Mr. Herefore of what he had done, requested him to send out some men and take care of the body and of the dead man's team, and then went to Lehi and gave himself up to the civil authorities.

An investigation of the matter has since been had, and Mr. Rockwell has been honorably acquitted. The result seemes to have given general satisfaction to all parties.[42]

Murder was by no means the only crime which was fostered by the influx of freighters and their fellow travelers. Being the most spectacular, it rated more space in the newspapers. Stealing accounted for many of the disputes and difficulties. In the spring of 1859, the following appeared in the News:

> We are informed that in the opening of spring many transient persons, such as teamsters, &c. purpose leaving this Territory for California and the States. During the winter they have been out of employment and spent what money and effects they possessed and, to sustain themselves, many have stolen chickens, Beef, pork, clothes off lines, and every thing they could grasp from the inhabitants.[43]

Not only the Mormons and other citizens of the community were victimized by thieves. The freighters themselves were subjected to the problem. In 1860 the following appeared in the Deseret News:

> Sometime about the 23d ult. a band of thieves and robbers made an attempt in the night time to drive off a lot of cattle belonging to Miller, Russell & Co., that were being herded on Provo bottom, Utah county, but met with such warm reception from the herdsmen, who were well armed, that they were forced to retire without effecting their ob-

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[42]Alter, op. cit., pp. 306-307. [43]Deseret News, March 9, 1859.

ject, altho' they fought bravely and did not leave till two of their horses went off without riders, but it was not known whether any one was killed or not.[44]

Another account of stealing from freighters, this time in the train itself is cited in the Deseret News:

On Monday, the 13th inst. two men named Thomas Isaacs and Samual Walsh came to Mr. Hennefer's on the Weber. They had with them twelve revolving pistols, all quite new. One of them offered a revolver for sale, and subsequently wished Mr. Hennefer to bring both of them to town, which he aggreed to do for $10. They complained of being short of the "needful" and wanted Hennefer to take a pistol and pay them the difference; this, however, he very properly declined to do, being suspicious of the men when he first saw them.

In the evening, Mr. Price, a wagon master arrived at Mr. Hennefers in search of some animals; he recognized Isaacs and Walsh as having been teamsters in his train, and charged them with stealing the revolvers. They acknowledged the theft and said they would give up the property, if Price would promise to make no "fuss" about it. Mr. Price declined to make any compromise, but had them arrested immediately, set a guard over them, and the next morning engaged Hennefer and his team to bring them to the city.

The prisoners were examined before Mr. Justice Miner, and in default of finding bail to the amount of $1,000 for their appearance at the next regular term of the Probate court, were committed to the county jail.[45]

Stealing, then, seems not to have been calculated as an effort to oppose the citizens of Utah but to have been merely an expression of the general sociological situation which existed in the valley at that time. Despite the causes, the results were to generally intensify the feelings against the Gentile element which was represented in Utah by the freighters and their fellows. Blame was interchangeably laid at the door of the freighters and the citizens of the Territory, depending upon which was making the charge. The Mormons being generally in the minority as far as the nation was concerned often became the object of false rumors and accounts made by unscrupulous individuals in the Territory. Utah publications and individuals were constantly under the necessity of clearing up these mis-

[44]Ibid., Sept. 5, 1860. [45]Ibid., August 22, 1860.

understandings and placing blame where it belonged. Of one of these rumors, the Deseret News says:

> Mr. Nixon (poor fellow) is next guilty of impudently renting "his warehouse to Messrs. Gilbert & Gerrish, after Brigham Young had told them distinctly that they should obtain, none with his consent" and ordered off upon a mission as a penance for his crime. . . . . .
> The charge concerning Mr. Nixon is refuted by the quiet occupation of his story by Messrs. Gilbert & Gerrish, in which they carry on a very thriving business; and Mr. Nixon himself who, instead of being on a mission is prosecuting a very successful trade in sugar, coffee, buckskins, black pepper and general varieties.[46]

Sensing the feeling which existed in the Territory between the citizens and the outsiders who came at the time of the Army, Able Gilbert of the firm of Gilbert and Gerrish inserted the following statement in the News:

> For the purpose of doing justice to my own feelings I wish to state thro' your sheet that I arrived in this city on Friday evening last 2nd inst. in company with the California mail. I recieved nothing but the kindest treatment from the inhabitants in the southern settlements of this territory. The Indians were all peaceably disposed.[47]

An anonymous statement was set forth in a letter to the "Mormon" which was reproduced in the Millennial Star November 29, 1856. This letter gives an insight into the problem of the false reports and the relationship of the outsiders to plural marriage and the moral code of the Mormons:

> The main difficulty in Utah is this: There are such reports circulated concerning the Mormons, their licentiousness, &c., so that all the rascals, libertines, thieves, and adulterers, that have escaped from prison or the laws of the States, and start for California and Oregon, come by way of Utah. When they arrive there, the first thing they do is to endeavor to carry on their old tricks--they get disappointed, and soon find the place too hot for them, they get frightened, and having fled away, then appears a long letter about the abominations of the Mormons, or about some one that has been imposed upon, in the columns of some paper in California, from some one of these scoundrel sympathizers at Salt Lake, such as the correspondent of the New York Herald.
> It is death, by the law of the Mormons, for a man to seduce another's wife or daughter, and several I have been informed have met their fate by committing such deeds. The Mormons believe in plurality of wives, but those who have them must take care of them, support them and their

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[46] Ibid., Sept. 29, 1858. [47] Ibid., April 7, 1857.

children, and not go after strange women. . . . .

They will not suffer their women or daughters to be seduced, neither will they suffer any house of prostitution, so numerous in the cities of the States, to exist there. A libertine or prostitute is looked upon by the Mormons as a curse to society and not fit to live; and woe be unto the man or woman that undertakes to practise iniquity in Utah. They prefer their daughters marrying with those of their own faith; but I know there is but little opposition to their marrying a Gentile, if he be but an honourable man, as in the case of Mr. William Bell, of the firm of Livingston, Kinkead & Co., and also of Captain W. H. Hooper, formerly of the house of Holladay and Warner, at present one of the firm of Hooper, Williams and Co., of Great Salt Lake City. Both married Mormon girls, and, as I understood, with no opposition, Gov. Young performing the ceremony himself in Mr. Hooper's case. . . .

Late a Citizen of Utah.[48]

Immorality

One of the most serious problems of sociological reaction was the matter of immorality. To the Mormon people the sin of immorality stands near the top in the serious sins to which man is liable. As cited above, those who indulged in the practice were looked down on as unfit for the society of others. When the army came here and the freighters before and after it, they had some concepts that the plurality of wives among the Mormon people indicated, at least, a lax attitude toward a strict Christian morality. Those who felt inclined toward the practice of immoral relations, anticipated the freedom which they supposed existed in such matters in Utah. It was not surprising then that some friction should arise over the matter, and that cases of immorality would be found. In his diary, Charles L. Walker under date of August 21, 1858, says: ". . . some of our women are at the camp of the U. S. Troops playing the harlot."[49]

There are many incidents of immorality to be recorded during the period covered by this study but to look into one of them as an example will

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[48]Alter, op. cit., p. 226 quoting the Millenneal Star, Nov. 29, 1856.

[49]Walker, op. cit., p. 48.

constitute the effort of this study. Before the coming of the Army to Utah and its attendants the problem had already made its appearance. In 1851 Hosea Stout our early Utah lawyer, says in his diary of an incident of immorality:

> Sunday Sept. 21, 1851--Went to meeting to day. I learned to day that Howard Egan, who has returned from the gold mines lately, and upon learning that his wife had been seduced or in other words had had a child willingly by James M. Monroe during his absence. Said Monroe had also gone to the States for goods for Reese and was now on his return here, whereupon Egan went and met him near Cache Cave and after talking the matter over sometime, Egan drew a pistol and shot him dead, which makes the second man who has been deliberately shot dead for the same offence in less than one year in the Territory.[50]

Of the outcome of the case he says:

> Sat. Oct. 18th 1851. Attended court at ten a.m. the case of U.S. Vs Egan came up as per adjt. George A. Smith first made his plea. He justified Egan for what he had done said it was the duty of the nearest kin to a female who was seduced to take the life of the seducer. He made an able plea & was followed by the prosecuting attorney when the jury retired and was absent about 15 minutes when they returned with a verdict of not guilty as found in the Indictment whereupon the court discharged Egan. This is like to be a precident for any one who has his wife, sister, or daughter seduced to take the law into his own hands and slay the seducer & I expect it will go still farther but of that at the time.[51]

The defense of Howard Egan on this occasion as presented by George A Smith in his plea before the court, sets forth some of the attitudes of the citizenry of the Territory:

> The principle, the only one that beats and throbs through the heart of the entire inhabitants of this Territory, is simply this: The man who seduces his neighbors wife must die, and her nearest relative must kill him!
>
> Call up the testimony of the witnesses, Mr. Horner had been made acquainted with it; he said, "Do you know the cause?" he said he advised Monroe and told him for God's sake to leave the train, for he did not wish to see him killed in his train. Mr. Horner knew the common law of this Territory: he was acquainted with the genius and spirit of this people; he knew that Monroes life was forfeited, and the executor was after him, or he (the executor) was damned in the eyes of this people for ever. "Do leave the train," says Horner; "I would not have you travel in it for a thousand dollars.". . . Was Monroe a real noble

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[50]Hosea Stout, op. cit., p. 411. [51]Ibid., p. 419.

creature? A dog that steals a bone will hide away; but will a man be called a reasonable creature, when he knows the executioner is on his track and at the same time walk right over the law, crawl between the sheets of a fellow citizen, and there lay his crocodile eggs, and then think to stow away gunpowder in a glowing furnace? If we are called upon here to say whether a reasonable creature has been killed a negative reply is certain.

Not Mr. Horner only, who has testified that he knew the cause of the deed, but a number of others. When the news reached Iron County, that Egan's wife had been seduced by Monroe, the universal conclusion was "there has to be another execution;" and if Howard Egan had not killed that man, he would have been damned by the community for ever, and could not have lived peaceably without the frown of every man. Now we see that the laws of England only require a civil suit for damages, in a case of seduction; but are these laws to be aplied to us who inhabit these mountain heights? The idea is preposterous. You might as well think of applying to us the law of England which pertains to the sovereign lady the Queen, alone. I will say, here in our territory, we are the sovereign people, and to seduce the wife of a citizen is death by the common law.[52]

With the coming of the Army to Utah in 1858 and the variety of personnel which pertained to the expedition, the problem of immorality became aggravated. Pulsipher says of the entrance of the army:

It was the latter part of June that this once proud, but now humbled army, came into Salt Lake Valley. Instead of their doing as they boasted they would do with the Mormon women, they passed thro the deserted City prepared for burning--without seeing one of them.[53]

What these threats might have been can easily be guessed when it is considered the type of individuals who came with the army. Even the Territorial officials proved themselves in many cases to be degraded and lewd toward the citizens of the community. Roberts quotes from Brigham Young's History as follows:

A letter in the handwriting of Chief Justice Eckles was picked up in the streets, written to one Lieutenant Bennet, in which the chief justice deplores the fact that he has not been able to procure for him (the lieutenant) a mistress as yet. His efforts in this detestable

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[52]Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, his Two Councelors, The Twelve Apostles, and Others, Reported by G. C. Watt. (Liverpool: F. D. and S. W. Richards, 1854) Vol. I, pp. 95-100.

[53]Pulsipher, op. cit., p. 131.

business are given in terms too gross for reproduction; but the circumstance is too well attested to admit a doubt of the fact of it.[54]

In another item on the same subject he says:

The people of Utah were further edified by the scandalous gallantries of army officers who sought, and sometimes successfully, to induce women to go to Camp Floyd, there to enter into illegal and shameful relations. One army officer while passing through Nephi on duty, became the temporary guest of a prominent family, and sought, by offering a considerable sum of money to a second person, to purchase the favors of the matron of the house hold.[55]

Indians came in for their share of problems from the soldiers and the freighters, particularly in the matters of immorality. Roberts again cites some instances pertinent to the subject:

In addition to these "gallantries," the army was further disgraced by the shameful relation of soldiers and camp followers of the army with the Indian women of the tribes in contact with both Camp Scott and Camp Floyd.

Little Soldier, chief of the Cumumbahs, or Snake Diggers--who was camped near the soldiers at Camp Scott, details the brutality of soldiers who, entering the tents of the Indians whenever the men were absent, would lay hold of and ravish the women. The chief in consequence of these things left the camp.

Many of the squaws for their "favors" recieved money, which their husbands would force from them in order to buy the exercrable whiskey of the camps; and as the savage knows nothing of self-restraint, this ended in drunkenness. Sometimes various parts of soldiers clothing, from caps to trousers, and even Sibley tents were bartered for these licentious favors.

P. W. Conover, whose two sons were interpreters, informed George A. Smith, church historian, that Antero Yampants, chief, and Peteetneet, burned six squaws in consequence of their having contracted the "Mexican Dierhed"--a venerial disease.

It is only proper to say, that the term "soldier" with the Indians, means the entire army and attaches, so that it is fair to presume that most of the atrocities practiced upon the Indians, of the kind here enumerated, were the work of teamsters and camp followers, by far the worst element of the "Expedition," and the least under discipline.[56]

Postwar Gentile Community

The army and all its supporting personnel came to Utah with general

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[54]Roberts, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 457. [55]Ibid., p. 458

[56]Ibid., p. 459.

approbation and encouragement of the citizens of the United States and of the papers in particular. These people had been in Utah but a short time, however, before the general attitude toward the entire operation began to change. The problems which arose and could not be sanctioned by even the most blasé, began to bring unfavorable comment about the enterprise and general criticism of the conditions and the actions of the individuals in which the freighters shared richly. Freighters themselves recognized the problems occasioned by the presence of such large numbers of teamsters and assorted personnel. Roberts says:

> On the 27th of October a Mr. Miller, of the firm of Miller and Russell, told Mayor A. O. Smoot of Salt Lake City that four hundred and fifty soldiers would be discharged from Camp Floyd on the first of November; that two hundred trains to which were attached six hundred men from the east were making a determined effort to get into Salt Lake City and be discharged there. Mr. Miller had paid off through his firm thirty-five teamsters, and anything they would not steal, he would not have as a gift; and the other six hundred teamsters who would be in soon, were no better than they were.[57]

The change of feeling of the press and citizenry generally is reflected by Remy and Brenchly as follows:

> The angry feeling which was manifested against the Mormons by the American press at the outset of the expedition, had now very much calmed down, and public opinion seemed inclined quite to change its direction, for the New York journals soon began to protest against the disorders occasioned by the army in the valleys of Utah. According to them, the army contractors had an interest in keeping the troops at distant outposts; the camp followers, composed of every sort of scum, plunged in drunkenness and irregularities of all sorts, had become a standing cause of annoyance to both Mormons and Indians; and the revolver had made its appearance and was disturbing the stillness of these once peaceful solitudes. It is even at this day asserted, that the war arose out of no quarrel between the Mormons and the federal government, but that it was merely an opportunity made use of as a plausible pretext for putting jobs into the hands of greedy contractors. We cannot quite give our assent to this view of the case which would reflect too much discredit on a great nation.[58]

This loss of the support of the general press for the cause of these

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[57]Ibid., pp. 464-465. [58]Remy and Brenchly, op. cit., p. 491.

non-Mormon elements in Utah must have been a blow to the general movement in the valley. Because of the general condition of conflict which existed in Utah between the Mormons and the "Gentiles," a division between these two groups became more pronounced. The merchants and their freighting associates became the nucleus of the "Gentile movement in Utah." As other groups came to the Valley, they naturally associated themselves with the group which represented most nearly their own point of view, which in the case of the non-Mormon arrivals placed them in the group known generally as "Gentiles." That these people would represent many attitudes with which the merchants and freighters could not agree, is evident. The fact was generally recognized by the citizens of Utah that there were many who would not meet the high expectations of the community nor be of the same general class as those who had been accepted by the community in the past. Of this matter, the Deseret News editorializes:

> . . . There are men of honor in this Territory, who do not belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who enjoy the respect and esteem of the community, because they have confined themselves to their legitimate business, have conducted themselves like gentlemen, and would not be drawn into the miserable clique who keep hatching plots continually for our destruction. Such men will enjoy the respect and esteem of the upright and good everywhere, independent of religious views or differences of opinion.
>
> But there have been and there are those here, who have labored for years unintermittingly to make us trouble. These we desire to have no fellowship, communication or dealings with. They can leave the Territory or stay as it suits their pleasure. If they go, none will lament their absence; if they remain, they will change very much if they do not continue to be the objects of contempt which they now are. We would not trade with them, would not associate with them, would not willingly be brought into contact with them would not injure them in the slightest degree; but we would let them alone--severely alone--and give them uninterupted freedom to associate, trade and mingle with those of Kindred dispositions, while guaranteeing to them the fullest enjoyment of every constitutional right of which they would rob the people who for years have been filling their coffers.[59]

Despite this recognition of a difference between the various groups

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[59] Deseret News, Jan. 2, 1867.

of non-Mormons in the Territory, the term Gentile came to represent both to the non-Mormon, and the Mormon citizens of the territory all elements who were not members of the church or directly sympathetic to its beliefs. As the conflicts became more acute from time to time these distinctions became more pointed. Many movements developed to aggravate the situation. The questionable characters who came with the army gave a bad flavor to the "Gentile" population. With the passing of the army from active duty in Utah certain elements among the non-Mormon merchants of the Territory were blamed for attempting to encourage trouble in Utah with the purpose in mind of bringing another armed force to this area. Of this effort Roberts says:

> Relative to the purpose of those who sought to bring about the "renewal of hostilities" that they might "prey upon their victims," it can be said that at the very height of Judge Cradlebaugh's effort to incriminate Brigham Young in the Springville homicides, this passage was written of the non-"Mormon" merchants: "The merchants of Salt Lake City say that if they cannot get up a collision between the 'Mormons' and the army at this time they will all be 'broke' (fail in business--be ruined) which is equivalent to acknowledging that they are at the bottom of this outrage upon this people." This at first sight might seem paradoxical; but a collision between the "Mormons" and the army meant reinforcements to the army, an influx of more people, more government contracts, more business hereabouts in Utah--hence the preying upon the "Mormons" as victims.[60]

Such reports as these did much to aggravate the feeling of hatred against the "Gentile" elements in Utah. Among the influences which heightened the feeling of antagonism, was the coming of the "Land Jumpers" to Utah. Because the territory which was occupied by the pioneer company to Utah belonged at that time to Mexico and the first land claims, therefore, were made at a time when the land which was claimed did not belong to the United States at all these claims were disavowed by some individuals who came to Utah in the early sixties. These claims were further substantiated by assertions that: ". . . the corporation of Salt Lake City had no legal

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[60]Roberts, op. cit., pp. 467-468.

existence because the acts of the legislature of the Territory of Utah for 1859-60, containing the charter of Salt Lake City corporation, were not submitted to the President and Congress of the United States as required by the Organic Act of the Territory."[61] As these land jumpers came to Salt Lake City and attempted to lay claim on the valuable improved lands within the city limits, many incidents arose directly or indirectly associated with the activity of these men.[62] Many of the freighting and merchant community gave support and assent to these activities and this brought criticism from the official and unofficial groups among the Mormon people. In an effort to retaliate against these activities, a boycott was launched. Of this matter Roberts says:

> The "squatters" as the land-jumping agressors were called, quite generally recieved sympathy and encouragement from the Gentile population, from the non-"Mormon" merchant firms, and the anti-"Mormon" press --the Union Vedette; and such was the bitterness engendered by this course, that as a measure of retaliation and protection to the Latter-day Saint community, against whom the aggressions of land jumping was aimed, a boy cott was advised against individuals and firms known to be in sympathy with these and other measures--some of them of a political character--against the old settlers of Utah.[63]

The Boycott

Inasmuch as the boycott was to extend to all segments of the economy, the freighter as well as the merchant, it became necessary to make some provisions to supply the needs of the citizens. In 1860 a plan was proposed to fulfill this need. Roberts says of this movement:

> As early as July, 1860, Captain W. H. Hooper, John Sharp, Bishop E. D. Wooley, Daniel H. Wells and a number of other leading brethren had proposed to President Young the organization of a wholesale "Merchants'

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[61] Ibid., Vol. V, p. 203.

[62] For a more complete discussion of these incidents see Roberts, Ibid., Chapter CXXXI p. 194 ff.

[63] Ibid., p. 209.

Association Company" for the shipment and sale of merchandise in the territory.[64]

Brigham Young did not take kindly to the idea, preferring rather to attempt to supply the needs of the territory from home manufactures. The project was tabled for the time being but the boycott continued against the merchants who were selling imported goods and the freighters who brought them here, often one and the same person. By 1865 the feeling had changed toward the freighting business and in the October Conference of that year Brigham Young came out in favor of the citizens entering into the freighting business to bring the commodities which they needed to the valley. His advice at that time is as follows:

> We propose to the bishops, presiding elders and leading members of the church, who are here assembled to representthe kingdom of God upon earth and to all those who are not here, who act in these capacities in the various places where there are saints gathered together, to do their own merchandising and cease to give the wealth which the Lord has given us to those who would destroy the kingdom of God and scatter us to the four winds, if they had the power. Cease to buy from them the gewgews and frivolous things they bring here to sell to us for our money and means--means that we should have to bring the poor here to build our temples, our towers, ornament our public grounds, and buildings, and to beautify our cities. For, as merchandising has been generally conducted here, instead of having our means to perform these public works, it has been borne away by our enemies by the million.
>
> I wish the brethren, in all our settlements, to buy the goods they must have, and freight them with their own teams; and then let every one of the Latter-day Saints, male and female, decree in their hearts that they will buy of nobody else but their own faithful brethren, who will do good with the money they will thus obtain. If we have not capital ourselves, there are plenty of honorable men whom our brethren can enter into partnership with, who would furnish and assist them whenever they would recieve an intimation to that effect. * * * I know it is the duty of this people to build up themselves; for our enemies will not build us up, but they will do their uttermost to tear us down. This will not apply to all; but there are enough to bark, and yelp, and growl, and snarl till the peaceable, good-meaning man dare not open his mouth. We have thousands of warm-hearted friends who dare not say anything in favor of this people. If nobody will speak for us, let us speak for ourselves; if no person else will do anything for us, let us do something for ourselves. This is right; it is politically right, socially and morally right, and it is right in every sense of the word for us to sustain ourselves.[65]

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[64] Ibid., p. 209. [65] Ibid., p. 211.

The association which existed in the minds of the citizens between the Gentile freighter and all the troubles which they associated with the Gentiles, caused the people generally and the officials of the Church in particular to make some rather unfriendly remarks about Gentiles which, of course, included the non-Mormon freighters and merchants. For a time a distinction was made between the Gentiles who were recognized as being friendly to the Church and those who were considered to be unfriendly. As the friction increased this distinction became less marked until finally it ceased to exist. When this difference disappeared and the strong language of the boycott began to be applied to them, the merchants and consequently their Gentile suppliers registered a protest in an article which appeared in the Daily Telegraph:

> TO THE LEADERS OF THE MORMON CHURCH.
> GENTLEMEN.
> As you are instructing the people of Utah, through your Bishops and Missionaries not to trade or do any business with the Gentile Merchants, thereby intimidating and coercing the community to purchase only of such merchants as belong to your faith and persuasion; in anticipation of such a crisis, being successfully brought about by your teachings, the undersigned Gentile Merchants of Great Salt Lake City respectfully desire to make you the following propositions, believing it to be your earnest desire for all to leave the country that do not belong to your faith and creed, namely--
> On the fulfillment of the conditions herein named, first--The payment of our outstanding accounts owing us by members of your Church.
> Secondly--All of our goods, merchandise, chattels, houses, improvements, etc., to be taken at a cash valuation, and we to make a deduction of twenty-five per cent, from the total amount.
> To the fulfillment of the above we hold ourselves ready, at any time, to enter into negotiations, and on final arrangements being made, and terms of sale complied with, we shall freely leave the Territory. Respectfully yours, Gilbert & Sons, Walker Brothers, Bodenberg & Kahn, Wm. Sloan, C Prag, of the firm of Ransohoff & Co., Ellis & Bros., by J. M. Ellis, M'Grority & Henry, J. Meeks, F. Auerbach & Bros., Siegel Bros., Oliver Durant., L. Cohn & Co., S. Lesser & Bros., Klopstock & Co., . . . Glucksman & Cohn, Wilkinson & Fenn, Morse, Walcott & Co., J. Watters, J. Bauman & Co., M. B. Callahan, Morris Elgutter, Thos. D. Brown & Son.
> Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 20th, 1866.
> (By request, one name is omitted from the original advertisement.--Ed. Telegraph.)[66]

[66]Alter, op. cit., p. 369.

Brigham Young made a reply to the above letter and the two articles were published in the Dec. 28th issue of the Salt Lake Daily Telegraph. Brigham Young's reply is as follows:

GENTLEMEN,

Your communication of December 20th, addressed to "The Leaders of the Mormon Church," was recieved by me last evening. In reply, I have to say, that we will not obligate ourselves to collect your outstanding accounts, nor buy your goods, merchandise, and other articles that you express yourselves willing to sell. If you could make such sales as you propose, you would make more money than any merchants have ever done in this country, and we, as merchants, would like to find purchasers upon the same basis. Your withdrawal from the Territory is not a matter about which we feel any anxiety; so far as we are concerned, you are at liberty to stay or go, as you please. We have used no intimidation or coercion towards the community to have them cease trading with any person or class, neither do we contemplate using any such means, even could we do so, to accomplish such an end. What we are doing and intending to do, we are willing that you and all the world should know. In the first place, we wish you to distinctly understand that we have not sought to ostracise any man or body of men because of their not being of our faith. The wealth that has been accumulated in this Territory, from the earliest years of our settlement, by men who were not connected with us religiously, and the success which has attended their business operations, prove this. In business we have not been exclusive in our dealings, or confined our patronage to those of our own faith. But every man who has dealt fairly and honestly, and confined his attention to his legitimate business, whatever his creed has been, has found friendship in us. To be adverse to Gentiles because they are Gentiles, or Jews because they are Jews, is in direct opposition to the genius of our religion. It matters not what a man's creed is, whether he be Catholic or Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Quaker, or Jew, he will recieve kindness and friendship from us, and we have not the least objection to do business with him, if in his dealings he act in accordance with the principles of right and deport himself as a good, law abiding citizen should.

There is a class, however, who are doing business in the Territory, who, for years, have been the avowed enemies of this community. The disrupture and overthrow of the community have been the objects which they have pertinaciously sought to accomplish. They have, therefore, used every energy, and all the means at their command, to put into circulation the foulest slanders about the old citizens. Missionaries of evil, there have been no arts too base, no stratagems too vile for them to use to bring about their nefarious ends. While soliciting the patronage of the people, and deriving their support from them, they have, in the most shameless and abandoned manner, used the means thus obtained to destroy the very people whose favor they found it to their interest to court. With the regularity of the seasons have their plots and schemes been formed; and we are warranted by facts in saying that, could the heart's blood of the people here be drawn, and coined into the means necessary to bring their machinations to a successful issue, they would not scruple to use it. They have done all in their power to encourage

violations of law, to retard the administration of justice, to foster vice and vicious institutions, to oppose the unanimously expressed will of the people, to increase disorder, and to change our city from a condition of peace and quietude to lawlessness and anarchy. They have donated liberally to sustain a corrupt and venal press, which has given publicity to the most atrocious libels respecting the old citizens.

And have they not had their emissaries in Washington, to misrepresent and vilify the people of this Territory? Have they not kept liquor, and serreptitiously sold it in violation of law, and endeavored to bias the minds of the Judiciary to give decisions favorable to their own practices? Have they not entered into secret combinations to resist the laws and to thwart their healthy operation, and refused to pay their taxes and to give the support to schools required by law?

What claims can such persons have upon the patronage of this community? And what community on the earth would be so besotted as to uphold and foster men whose air is to destroy them? Have we not the right to trade at whatever store we please? Or does the Constitution of the United States bind us to enter the stores of our deadliest enemies and purchase of them? If so, we should like that provision pointed out to us. It is to these men whom I have described, and to those alone, that I am opposed, and I am determined to use any influence to have the citizens here stop dealing with them, and deal with honorable men. There are honorable men enough in the world with whom we can do business, without being reduced to the necessity of dealing with the class referred to.

I have much more to say upon this subject. Brigham Young.[67]

In a speech in the Tabernacle on Sunday December 23, 1866, he did say more, elaborating upon the charges set forth in the above statement. How many of these accusations are to be laid at the feet of the commercial interests in the Territory is not clear. It does seem that because of encouragement which the freighting and merchandising element in Utah gave to such actions they are at least partially responsible for the situation which arose over the years and found its expression in the above statements. The conflict continued in Utah for another year or so and then found its logical expression in the organization of Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution which was incorporated Dec. 1, 1870. By this time the railroad had been completed and the freighter ceased to be a factor in the economic struggles which followed.

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[67] Ibid., pp. 369-371.

The freighters throughout their entire period of operation in the Utah Territory found themselves identified with conflicts of one kind or another. Some they were merely identified with and some they were blamed for. Their challenge to the economic independence of the Church in its new home either from fear or from jealousy brought these problems to the front.

CHAPTER IX

OUTSIDE FACTORS WHICH EXERTED AN INFLUENCE ON FREIGHTING IN UTAH

The purpose of this chapter will not be to give a complete discussion of the factors outside of the freighting enterprise, which had an influence upon it either for good or bad. The details of this matter are presented in the foregoing chapters and are related to the various subjects discussed therein. The purpose of this chapter will be rather to show the correlation of these problems to the freighting enterprise and to indicate general relationships.

Supply Of Money

Since freighting is essentially an economic activity, the matter of money and its relative supply becomes of paramount importance to the freighter. In as much as the emigrant groups who came to Utah were pioneering a new country after having been driven from their old homes, the matter of a supply of money became a critical one to them. Of this matter, M. Remy and Brenchley have the following to say:

> In a country so little endowed with natural gifts, in a society installed, and so poor, it cannot be a matter of surprise that nothing as yet has been produced for exportation. Nevertheless, Utah has already increased its herds of cattle so much as to be able to spare some to the adjoining countries. The emigrants who cross the country on their way to Eldarado, are likewise able to provision their caravans at several points of the Mormon territory. But if the exports be next to nothing, it is by no means so with the imports, which have sometimes reached the amount of 300,000 dollars in a year. It is the city of St. Louis which is principally benefited by this market. In 1855, one American house, Livingston, Kinkead and Co., established at Great Salt Lake City, sold in one month merchandise to the amount of 30,000 dollars, payable at short dates. We should not be able to understand how the Mormons could

find capital with which to buy what they want, if we were not aware that many of them came from Europe with money in hand from the sale of their property, and that, moreover, the Church has funds of its own. We have already mentioned in a previous book, that it is to the soldiers of the Mormon battalion we are indebted for the discovery of Gold in California. These lucky miners brought with them to Salt Lake 94,000 ounces of the presious mental, which they lost no time it is said in offering to the church.[1]

Aside from the above sources of income to the Saints there was another which proved a cource of ready cash for the purchase of the goods of the greighters and that was the pay which was forthcoming to the Battalion and other persons who held government claims. In the early days of freighting and merchandising in the valley these claims were accepted in payment for goods as is indicated in a release in the News:

> The undersigned will pay a fair price for the claim of every Officer, Musician, and Private of the Mormon Battalion against the Government of the United States, for Traveling pay and Subsistance, or he will make out their Claims and prosecute the payment of the same from the Government Claims attended to from 1790 until now, of pensions, Back Pay, Back Rations, and every thing due the Soldiery.
> Fellow Soldiers, it is worth your attention. Call and see me at my office in Dr. Hotchkiss' new building near Williams' new store. Office hours from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m. Aug. 7, 1851 S.M. Blair.[2]

These funds were either absorbed by those who were to collect them in Washington or were brought back to the valley to supply the people with much needed money.

California Gold Rush

The first major social and economic influence came with the discovery of gold and the consequent Gold Rush of 1849. As the news of the rich gold strike, which had been made in California reached the States, people sold their homes and possessions and bought an outfit with which to travel to the

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[1]Remy and Brenchley, op. cit., Vo. II p.p. 269-270

[2]Deseret News, Aug. 18, 1851.

gold country where money was to be had for the taking. As they came nearer the gold fields the urge to hurry increased. In their rush they discarded all but the absolute necessities and drove their animals beyond their capacity. When they arrived in Salt Lake Valley, almost at the very threshhold of their goal, and heard first hand of the gold from some of the men who had been in on the discovery or had first hand information about it, their anxiety knew no bounds. They recklessly disposed of their goods and outfits at whatever they could get and then bought an outfit of fresh, fast animals in the valley for the prices which the citizens of Utah wanted to charge which was comparatively high. Of this matter, Alter says:

> " . . About twelve or fifteen thousand California emigrants passed through the valley, and about three thousand calculated to winter here. Many of the Californians have been baptized, and intend to make that place their home--some of the first class of them for wealth, character, and influence.
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> . . . . . .
>
> The valley has been a place of general deposit for property, goods, &c., by Californians. When they saw a few bags and kegs of gold dust that had been gathered and brought in by our boys, it made them completely enthusiastic. Pack mules and horses, that were worth twenty-five or thirty dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest price. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in at that. Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels for fifty cents each. Vests that cost in St. Louis one dollar and fifty cents each, were sold at Salt Lake for three bits, or 37½ cents. Full chests of joiners' tools that would cost 150 dollars in the east, were sold in that place for 25 dollars. Indeed, almost every article, except sugar and coffee, is selling on an average, fifty per cent below wholesale prices in the eastern cities. Would it not be a grand speculation for Kanesville and St. Joseph merchants to go to the Salt Lake to lay in their fall stock of goods? They can buy plenty of wagons there for less than one-half what the iron cost in St. Louis, and any number of cattle to haul them back. This kind of operation has put the people on their legs in the valley, but when the alcohol was brought forwards and sold, it threw some of them off their legs, not having had any for a couple of years or so, and being rather exhausted by digging gold all the time."[3]

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[3]Alter, op. cit., Vol.I pp. 100-101

Although the selling of goods at such unbelievably low prices was a source of wonder among the Saints, the large amounts of money which they were able to garner from their dealings with the emigrants seemed to have been the most remarkable. William Adams in his autobiography says:

> The gold emigration began to arrive the latter end of July, and flour was worth $25.00 per hundred pounds and scarce at that price.[4]

Again from Hosea Stout:

> Went to visit the Emigrants camp saw many. They were trading off their waggons harness and surplus clothings &c cheaper than State prices taking in exchange Horse mules saddles pack saddles &c at very high prices.[5]

Of the merchandising between the Mormons and the emigrants on their way to California, Bancroft says:

> As a result of the California-bound migration, there followed an enormous advance in the price of provisions, flour selling before the harvest of 1850 at one dollar per pound, and after harvest at twenty-five dollars per cental. Throughout the autumn of this year the grist-mills were run to their utmost capacity, grinding wheat for the passing emigrants, who at any cost must procure sufficient to carry them to the gold mines. Some other articles of food were for a time equally scarce, sugar selling at the rate of three pounds for two dollars; though beef was plentiful, and could be had for ten cents per pound. It is probable however, that these rates represent the prices charged to passing emigrants, for at this period the wages of laborers did not exceed $2 per day, and of skilled mechanics $3. The saints prided themselves upon their honorable dealings with these strangers, and the moderate prices demanded, though frequently charged with swindling. They could afford to part with their produce, because they had learned to dispense with many articles which among other communities were considered necessaries. For men who had fed during their first winter in the valley on hides and roots, it was no great hardship to dispense for a season with a portion of their provisions, their grain, beef, and butter, their coffee and sugar, in return for which they received such value.[6]

The effect upon the merchants and freighters of the period of this sudden and unexpected wealth is set forth in a letter from John Taylor to Orson Hyde and quoted from the Frontier Guardian in the Millennial Star of

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[4]Adams, op. cit., p. 18. [5]Hosea Stout, op. cit., June 24, 1849

[6]Bancroft, op. cit., pp. 300-301

March 15, 1850.

"We have of course had many inconveniences to cope with, owing to the position we occupy, so far remote from supplies. The emigration the past summer, brought many things with them which they found superflous upon their arrival at the Valley, and were glad to give them in exchange for horses, oxen &c.; besides, there were many small merchants who brought from two to ten thousand dollars worth of goods with them, who found it indispensably necessary to sell out in the Valley, owing to the loss of team and 'pack' from thence to the mines. The Messrs. Pomeroy, of Missouri, with about fifty thousand dollars worth were of the number who found it impracticable to proceed. . . . .

"When Messrs. Livingston and Kinkead, Col Reese, and others arrived with an assortment of goods adapted to the wants of the people; they found a very ready sale and large profits; so much so, that if you had been at Deseret, you would have thought the ladies were bees, and their stores the hives---though unlike in one respect, for the bee goes in full, and comes out empty; but in this case it was reversed.

"I am assured by Mr. Pack, who rented the store to Messrs. Livingston and Kinkead, that they took from two to three thousand dollars a day, for several days after they commenced sale. . . . .

"Yours, in the E.C., John Taylor."[7]

It seems that the goods brought here by the emigrants and sold so cheap in Salt Lake City, did not duplicate too extensively the goods brought by the freighters, consequently they did not serve to ruin their business in the Valley.

The constant emigration of converts of the church to Utah, did much to influence the freighting business. Many of these emigrants brought some goods with them which they could use for their own support and for the support of the citizens in the valley, but large numbers of these emigrants came to the valley destitute. This was particularly true of the hand-cart emigration and the poor who were brought to the valley in later years by the trains which were sent out from Salt Lake to bring the less fortunate to the Valley.[8] These individuals were in immediate need of the commodities for life and comfort. The emigration was large and, consequently, there was a need for

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[7]Alter, op. cit., p. 100.

[8]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 246.

goods to support and maintain these large numbers of settlers in the valley. This need made an ideal commercial climate for the freighter. Not only did he have the market which would come from a natural depletion and wearing out of the goods already here, but he was blessed with a constantly growing population which was continually making a claim on his services to provide more and more goods.

Utah War

The second event which exerted a profound influence on the freighting and related matters was the coming of Johnstons Army to Utah. The immediate result of the approach of the army was one of panic, which, coupled with the aftermath of a hard year (1855) drained the supply of goods to nearly destitution. Tullidge says of the matter:

> The famine of 1855-56 had impoverished the Territory in its agricultural resources; the handcart emigration had brought to the country several thousand poor people, destitute, after their terrible journey, of even the barest clothing, whereas in former year the "Independent Companies," and the "Ten pound ox team companies," had brought moderate, and in some cases rich and plentiful supplies, which had lasted the emigrants several years before they were entirely exhausted. But now for a long while the common sources of supplies had been suspended by the expidition itself. The Gentile merchants had broken up their houses at the approach of the army, and General Johnston on his joining his army issued orders that no trains of merchandise bound for Great Salt Lake City, should be allowed to pass his lines.
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> Thus the community had become utterly destitute of almost everything necessary to their social comfort. The people were poorly clad, and rarely ever saw anything on their tables but what was prepared from flour, corn, beet-molasses and the vegetables and fruits of their gardens. They were alike destitute of impliments of industry, and horses, mules, and wagons for their agricultural operations. Utah was truly very poor at that period; indeed, never so poor since the Californian emigrants poured into Great Salt Lake City in 1849.[9]

Upon the approach of the army there was considerable commotion in the Valley. In that period of uncertainty as to what the purpose of the army was to be in Utah, the general decision was made to move south and to

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[9] Ibid., p. 246

apply the torch to everything that might prove serviceable to the army in sustaining itself in the valley. With this prospect before them and also the prospect of a general war in which both goods and property would be destroyed, the freighting-merchants who were in the valley decided it to be the best move to leave the territory until the matter should be settled. The last to leave was Mr. Bell of the firm of Livingston, Kinkead & Co. Their goods were sold to members of the community who continued for a time to carry on a business. An advertisement in the News explains the conditions:

> Owing to the absence of so many of the citizens who were indebted to the late firm of Livingston, Kinkead & Co., they were unable to make collections of debts due them. To accommodate both parties we advanced Mr. Bell the means for the same, and their debts have been transferred to us. We therefore earnestly request such as know themselves indebted as above, to call and pay the same. Cattle will be received. Wm. H. Hooper.[10]

These goods lasted for a time, but with the blockade imposed by General Johnston, they were soon depleted, having no source of replacement. When the army came they brought with them tremendous quantities of goods and equipment. Following the entry of the army into Utah, other vast quantities of goods were shipped after them in the trains of contractors who had been commissioned by the government to keep the army well supplied with those things necessary to the maintenance of the army. These goods arrived in such quantities as to greatly overstock the army post. Freight arrived in such quantities that many of the complaints against the Mormons were forgotten in the general speculation that this was a "Contractors War" rather than a war against the Mormons. In a news item quoted from the Evening Post the Deseret News says:

> From the Army in Nebraska.
> Fort Laramie, Neb. Ter. 18 July 1858.

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[10] Deseret News, Dec. 2, 1857.

We have received General Scott's order of the 29th June, making new dispositions of the troops in and under orders for Utah. . . . The General seems (very naturally, considering the rumors) to be a little suspicious of the Mormons. The idea of their intended treachery is laughed at on this line, and has been raised and encouraged by the contractors for their own ends. This Utah war is known on the route as the "contractors' war," and this people in western Missouri and Kansas are extremely anxious to prolong it.[11]

For a time these excessive supplies of goods had little effect in relieving the shortages in the Valley, but this was soon changed because the Sutlers attached to the army saw an opportunity to benefit themselves by offering their goods to the citizens of the Valley where they would demand a higher price than at the fort. Some enterprising citizens of the Valley entered into negotiations to secure some of the surplus goods which were so abundant at Camp Floyd and thus set themselves up in business. Tullidge says of this movement:

> The presence of the army soon changed the condition of the community. It was not to be expected that the leaders of the Church would, from the Tabernacle, encourage much intercourse between the camp and the citizens, but quite a number of the self-reliant men, who have since represented the business and commerce of the Territory, sought directly the intercourse of trade with the camp, while the more cautious furnished these middle men with the native supplies of the country, by which the trade was sustained. In this way money was gathered in freely by the Gentiles and the bold Mormon traders, and the people generally were thus indirectly clothed and supplied with the delicacies of tea, coffee and sugar, in return for the produce of the field, the dairy and the chicken-coop.
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> It was at Camp Floyd, indeed, where the principal Utah merchants and business men of the second decade of our history may be said to have laid the foundation of their fortunes, among whom were the Walker Brothers. Nor should it be made to appear that this commerce with Camp Floyd marked the rising of an apostate wave in Utah society. It signifies simply the desire of each to better his own condition and that of society at large. And this commercial intercourse and mutual benefits softened the feelings of hostility between the citizens and the soldiers, and the Utah Expidition became transformed into a great blessing to Utah, and especially to the Mormon community.[12]

As soon as the army had become settled at Camp Floyd, the old freight-

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[11] Ibid., Oct. 6, 1858.

[12] Tullidge, op. cit., pp. 246-247

ers and merchants began returning to their old business to take up where they left off at the time of their exodus in 1857. Speculating freighters hoping to capitalize on the supply of the army and its attendant functionaries, brought trains of goods into the valley. These often found their way into the regular commercial avenues rather than to the army which was already amply supplied. This influx of goods is discussed in an editorial in the Deseret News:

> Merchant trains have been coming in so thick and fast of late that their arrival has almost ceased to attract attention, and if there is not some depreciation in the price of goods offered for sale in this market ere long, there is more money in the territory and a greater demand for merchandize than has been seen of late. Among the trains that arrived lately is that of Mr. Randall, freighter for Livingston, Bell & Co. consisting of some fifty wagons and about one hundred and fifty yoke of oxen. There are many other trains on the road from the Missouri river some freighted with goods for the regular merchants, and others for ransient traders, who are coming out here to pick up some of Uncle Sam's cash, which they suppose will be scattered about profusely. If the latter succeed in gathering many of the golden eagles that are uncaged, they will have to be very expert and sell their trappings at more reasonable prices, than have been demanded by the dealers since the "war".[13]

Two weeks later the Deseret News editorialized:

> Train after train of merchandize has arrived in this city within the last two weeks and, from reports, trains loaded with goods for this market, will be continually rolling in till late in the fall. East Temple Street has of late been literally filled up with freight wagons, . . . We think it would be a good plan to have the wagons taken out of the street as soon as they are unloaded and not left there week after week as has too often been the case, to the great inconvenience of the public as well as to private individuals; however, if merchant trains continue to arrive as fast, for weeks to come as they have during the last month, we hardly know what they will do with the wagons, unless they take them out of the city.[14]

These speculative freighters were undoubtedly attracted here by the reports of the fortunes which were being made by some at the expense of the government. There was considerable graft and general rascality. Quoting the St. Louis Democrat, the Deseret News says:

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[13] Deseret News, July 27, 1859.

[14] Ibid., August 24, 1859.

> . . . The issue between the Secretary of War and the Quarter-Master, is that the latter has been too exacting in his dealings with the contractors; that in several cases he rejected mules which they alleged came up to the specifications of the Department, and that the price he set on those which he accepted was below the market value.
>
> He is also accused of partiality to a few of the contractors, but the gravamen of the charges against him is that he refused, as the agent of the government, to accept all the mules which were offered to him by some contractors and also abused the discretionary power with which he was invested by paying them prices, which, though in reality exhorbitant, were below the calculations of their cupidity, and the promises of those politicians in Washington who procured for them the partonage of Secretary Floyd. . . . The Pennsylvania clique had also its candidates on the ground.
>
> . . . The Secretary gave orders to them all to supply so many mules--the number put down in the order being in proportion to the Congressional influence exerted in behalf of the recipient. No price was fixed, but the Secretary sent autographed letters to the Quarter Master at Fort Leavenworth, telling him indirectly to allow a large percentage on the outlay of the contractors.[15]

Not only in the matter of supplying the army with equipment was there to be found graft and corruption, but in the operation of the freighters themselves and their supply of the army after they arrived in the Valley. A number of incidents are listed by various contemporary writers which serve to indicate the extent of this graft. A quotation from Horace Greely will illustrate:

> A suspicion that it is kept here to answer private pecuniary ends is widely entertained. It is known that vast sums have been made out of its transportation by favored contractors. Take a single instance already quite notorious: twenty-two cents per pound is paid for the transportation of all provisions, munitions, etc., from Leavenworth to this point. The great contractors were allowed this for transporting this year's supply of flour. By a little dexterous management at Washington, they were allowed to furnish the flour here--Utah flour--being paid their twenty-two cents per pound for transportation, in addition to the prime cost on the Missouri. As Utah has a better soil for growing wheat than almost else, they had no difficulty in subletting this contract at seven cents per pound net, making a clear profit of one hundred and seventy thousand dollars on the contract, without risking a dollar, or lifting a finger. Of course, I expect contractors to bargin for themselves, not for the government, but somebody is well paid for taking care of the publics interest in such matters. Has he done his duty? . . . . . .
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> But it will be said that forage is dear in Utah. . . . But let us see how it costs so much. There have recently been received here thirty

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[15] Ibid., Oct. 20, 1858.

thousand bushels of corn from the states at a net cost, including transportation, of three hundred and forty thousand dollars, or over eleven dollars per bushel. No requisition was ever made for this corn, which could have been bought here delivered, for two dollars per bushel, or sixty thousand dollars, even supposing that the service required it at all. Somebody makes a good thing of wagoning this corn from the Missouri at over ten dollars a bushel. Who believes that said somebody has not influential and thrifty connections inside of the War department?[16]

With stories such as these of the reckless way in which money was spent in the Valley by the government and by the army, it is little wonder that many individuals and firms came to Utah in the hope of gathering some of these easy contracts for themselves. Many came with a train of freight to be sold to the army or to the citizens of the valley. Many of these were to be seriously disappointed. It was supposed that this bonanza would last for many years in that the Mormons would have to be watched for a long time and the army would need these large stores of supplies. As soon as the difficulties had been settled between the Mormons and the army, preparations were made for a portion of the army, at least, to leave the Territory for other duty. This move was hastened by the preliminaries and the actual outbreak of the Civit War in 1860 when the major portion of the army was recalled to participate in that war. As early as 1859 the people in the Valley began to notice the change in the economic picture. In an entry in his diary of August 3, 1859, George Laub says:

> at this time there is a very heavy emegration of gentiles coming in this place S.L. City also a great amount of goods more than ever has yet came to this place all seems to be peace in this place very warm weather cattle & mules are very cheap cattle $45 & 50 dollars per yoke. Mules one hundred dollars per spann which use to bring from Three to four hundred dollars this was the contrast in one year. Other things accordingly. . .[17]

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[16]Alter, op. cit., p. 304.

[17]George Laub, "Diary No. 2 of George Laub 1814-1880"(MS, Brigham Young University Library). p. 55.

With the departure of the army from Utah, the great stores of supplies were sold at auction to the highest bidder. The only bidders, the citizens of Utah and the established merchants who undoubtedly took advantage of the sale to improve their economic position, were in direct competition with the speculating merchants in the Territory, consequently they found themselves rather the worse for the experience. Of this sale of goods Tullidge says:

> The remainder of Johnston's army was ordered to the States to participate in the war; and order was given to destroy the best equipped military post ever established in the West. But before the evacuation and destruction of arms, public sales were announded of provision and army stores of every kind. Many went from Great Salt Lake City and the nearer settlements to purchase these valuable supplies, which were sold by auction, and consisted of flour, bacon, groceries of all kinds, hardware, carpenter tools, blacksmiths' tools, wagons, harness, tents, medical stores, clothing, and in fine, everything the settlers most needed. It was estimated that four million dollars' worth of goods were sold for $100,000. Flour sold for 52 cents per sack of 100 lbs. in double sacks, for which the Government had paid $28.40. Everything else was in proportion.
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> President Young sent his business manager, Mr. H. B. Clawson, to purchase all kinds of supplies most needed for his numerous family, dependents and work men. He bought about $40,000 worth, among which was the government safe, where had been deposited $80,000 in gold, which the Government had freighted to Camp Floyd in an ox team.[18]

These speculating freighters had not had much of a chance to make the money which they had hoped to earn on their enterprise by the time the army left. They had probably two seasons, 1859 and 1860 to ship their goods into the Valley and sell them. Certainly they could not have had more than three seasons at the most because the army did not come into the Valley before 1858. During the entire time that these freighters were here, the goods which were offered by the army for sale to the citizens, worked against their interests. Those who came in the 1860 season, found their market gone and they had a large train of goods in the Valley with no place to dispose of it. Such is the case with the grandfather of the past President of The United

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[18]Tullidge, op. cit., p. 248.

States, Harry S. Truman. His grandfather, Solomon Young came here in 1860 with forty wagons loaded with merchandise for the army which had already left the Territory by the time he arrived.[19] Such was the case of the many. Of the leaving of these freighters, the Deseret News says:

> Messrs. Hockaday & Burr, transient merchants or traders, who have been selling merchandize in this city, during the past year, have within the last few days sold the remaining portion of their goods to Messrs. Staines, Needham & Co. and are closing up their business in this territory preparatory to leaving for the States from whence they came.
>
> Since the, to them, unexpected change of affairs in this Territory has taken place, and the consequent revultion in merchantile business, has cast a gloomy shade over the prospects of many of those who came here with, or after, the army, to make fortunes by trafficking in borrowed capital, many of them are closing up business, as fast as the hard times will permit, and unquestionably most of them will succeed in arranging matters, so as to get off before the setting in of winter.
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> The Utah mission has been attended with an enormous expense, and more than one man has been reduced to penury and many others will be before their labors in civilizing the Mormons and the efforts to make fortunes by effecting their destruction shall have ceased and it is not probable that another attempt to propagate modern Christianity in that way will be made very soon.[20]

Not only did the army succeed in bringing great volumes of goods to Utah which found their way eventually into the hands of the citizens at great reductions in prices, but they also helped to provide the money with which the citizens could purchase those goods. Despite the enormous amounts of goods which were freighted in, there were some goods and services which could not be supplied by the freighters. Fresh farm commodities were furnished by the settlers as were building materials, hay, grain, and many other things. The Saints had no reason to be lenient in their charging for such goods and services, especially under the conditions which prevailed. Of this matter, William Lang says in his autobiography:

> and in August employed by the ward trading produce to the Troops excitement decreased, trains constantly passing ladened with Government Stores, Cattle cheap and money plenty the bullets the troops brought to shoot

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[19] Carter, op. cit., p. 102.

[20] Deseret News, August 29, 1860.

at us turned out to be gold Eagles and landed in our packets . . . [21]

The matter is summarized by the Salt Lake Correspondent of the New York Herald and quoted in the Millennial Star:

> Great Salt Lake City, August 17, 1860.
> Everything in this community is rapidly and radically changing from war to peace. The army has gone, the sutlers are closing up and the merchants are selling out. . . . .
> There is a universal dulness in this market; but, of anything, particularily among the Gentiles. In the palmy days of noisy war they had Government patronage and made their piles. Before the army came there was no money in the land; and coming, as it did, with the army, the Gentile merchants alone had the favours. The Mormons sold them lumber to build the barracks and the adjacent city, Fairfield; they supplied them vegetables, butter, eggs, grain, and the nicknacks of life; rendered them the service of tradesman, and got the eagles into their own hands. The Gentile merchants, blessed with the gushing torrent of trade, dispised the little streams, did nothing to make friends. Uncle Sam alone eclipsed everything and everybody. The Mormon shrewd men saw the fallacy, started stores on their own account, and just as visibly as the Gentiles go down, as visibly the Jews are rising. It is impossible to name a Mormon firm that is not rising, while it is as difficult to touch the opposite side without finding opposite facts. . . . .[22]

The influence of the Utah War on trade is rather well documented but other military activity in and through the territory had their influences, even though less well documented. In 1855 it was estimated that Colonel Steptoe, during his stay in Utah would spend about $400,000.[23] The relationships were not always cordial in all respects but wherever the army came there was a problem of supply which either directly or indirectly had an influence upon the business of freighting in Utah being as those elements which found themselves were so far from the conventional sources of supply.[24]

Divaluated Currency

The War between the States had little concern for the citizens of Utah and the freighters who supplied them, inasmuch as the war itself never

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[21]William Lang, "Autobiography And Journals of William Lang 1826-1896" (MS, Brigham Young University Library) p. 6.

[22]Alter, op. cit., pp. 317-318. [23]Ibid., p. 186 [24]Ibid., p. 359.

touched the soil of Utah except that the government sent a contingent of soldiers to Utah to insure the Union forces that the Mormon people would not join nor give aid to the Southern cause. Of course the war had its influence upon the freighter in his dealings along the frontiers, but one direct influence was evident in his relationships with the people of Utah. The currency of the country became inflated by reason of the war and the paper bills became of less value than the gold coin. This difference of value was rather eratic and could not be depended upon from one time to another. The situation in Utah which this condition brought on is set forth in the Deseret News:

> The unfortunate depreciation of Government currency--the legal currency of the nation--is beginning to seriously effect the equilibrium of trade in Utah, and prices are jostled from the staid scale of years past into a fitful up and down, constantly changing, very high and ever higher rate, to keep even pace, if possible, with the value of 'greenbacks' as quoted in Wall Street. Trade, with a constantly fluctuating currency, for its only circulating medium, is so uncertain, partakes so much of the nature of a game of hazard, that from all we can see at prepresent, it would seem good policy to go a little slow, until we can find some path within the scope of the law that will be commercially safe to walk in. In fact it would almost seem prudent to entirely cease trading with money, a course we are used to, than to go on stumbling in the dark--continually increasing prices to meet expected depreciation--until both buyers and sellers are hopelessly bankrupt.
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> It is to avoid loss through depreciation while in their possession that traders, producers, etc., are asking such high prices for their commodities, not knowing, and who can tell them? how much or how little money they recieve may be worth when they wish to use it? But it is this the best and only way in which to regulate prices?[25]

Miscellaneous Influence

The emigrant trains as they passed through Utah, came into conflict with the citizens on various matters which must have either directly or indirectly influenced some of the attitudes which existed between the freighters and the people. The outsiders attempted to take advantage of the settlers at times. One of these examples is cited by the Deseret News:

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[25] Deseret News, July 13, 1864

Many persons going to California and other places, want to sell the chance of finding their stray cattle or horses, when they have no such strays; and if they had, we want the brethren to understand, that when such strays are found, they belong to the Emigrating Poor Fund, till the owner calls for his pay. So if any one buys Sara Bogus' claim, it must be to their loss; for if they find such strays, it is their duty to deliver them to Wells, Wooley or Grant, who have charge of stray cattle.[26]

The Citizens were also guilty of some acts against the passing emigration which might well not have set too well in the minds of other Gentiles to come to Utah:

> This evening Wm. Bird was tried before Bishop Scott Perkins & Hickenhooper for stealing a pair of boots from one of the emigrants and found guilty. Condemned to pay him four fold return the boots pay the man & officers for their trouble and fined 50 dollars to be applied on the roads.[27]

Many incidents which occured could not be condoned by the officials of Utah. These acts committed by the citizenry of Utah on the passing emigrants must have disturbed the freighters and other outsiders as they came near to Utah. Conditions were such that Brigham Young felt constrained to offer the following advice to the emigrants who were on their way to Utah and to California and other places beyond the Territory:

> . . . to prevent being misunderstood, and to carry out our present design plainly, we shall call them "Land Sharks", and confine ourselves to the land sharks of Utah; both those professing to be "Mormons," and those who make no profession but to serve themselves.
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> While the emigration is passing, these characters line the road from the Sweet Water to the summit of the Nevada; and like the wreckers of the sea board, lie in wait to prey upon the misfortunes, carelessness, and ignorance of the traveler--having no eye to pity, and unless at the utmost rates of extortion, no disposition to save. . . . Like their namesakes of the deep, and like the turkey buzzards and prairie wolves upon lands they note the victims afar off, and hand upon their course with a perserverance worthy of a better cause. The main outfitstock in trade is raw whiskey, and vile beer, varied ocassionaly by a little money, one or more animals, and now and then a few pounds of butter. Thus equipped they bivouac along the line of travel, constantly on the alert to ply their vocation by driving hard bargains for such animals as have become a little jaded, foot sore or otherwise temporarily unserviceable.
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> Successful in the first move, they are on the high road of gain,

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[26] Ibid., May 15, 1852

[27] Hosea Stout, op. cit., p. 314.

which they endeavor to aggragate like the rolling snow ball, by recruiting in a few days, many of the animals first secured, and exchanging them for others as good, or better, except for immediate use, at the rate of one for three, four or half a dozen; or one for two or more with the fair price still further multiplied by cash, groceries, or clothing as boot. When slightly unsuccessful in their cut throat trade, or when their inordinate thirst for gain with little labor is not fully gratified, many turn stock drivers and herdsmen, with this peculiarity that the animals they take such good care of are not their own.

As the emigrants reaches the settlements they fall into the hands of the hay, grain, butter, cheese and flour sharks, each of whom has secured, and hoarded larger or smaller quantities with which to bite and devour and in most cases with the extra characteristic of having withheld their stock in trade from its necessary and proper channels--thus retarding our public works, weakening the hands of the righteous, and sorely opressing the honest poor.

One branch of this class practice what they deem a slyer dodge, and one requiring less travel, and labor. These buy articles of the emigrants at very fair rates, and then extort on the necessities of their brethren. And still another branch, when they have nothing to buy or sell, advise others, who are selling high enough for the hardest conscience, to sell still higher . . .[28]

Many controversies arose which did not have a direct bearing upon the freighting enterprise as such but which in some cases had an influence upon the facilities which were being established for the assistance of the freighting and emigrating community. A case in point is described by Hosea Stout in some detail:

> Mr. Elisha Ryan with some seven shoshonee Indians arrived here. There is several lodges of Shoshonee's been encamped here several days. In the afternoon we had a regular talk with Ryan, as chief, and his braves He said he was sent by the Head Chief to learn what our intentions were. Whether we intended to take their land & if so whether peaceabley or not what was the feelings of the General Government & also Governor Young and the Mormons, towards them. That they did not want their timber cut or have houses built on their land nor have settlements established. That if we did not and were friendly all was well for they desired to live in peace with all men but at the same time they would not allow any infringement on their lands. That they had given Green River to him and said Ryan and those mountaineers who had married shoshonee wives. They complained bitterly about the general government neglecting them in never making a treaty with them and not sending men to trade for their skins and furs &c. Ryan said he had been robbed of his last bottom dollar (referring to the suit against him last year). That he considered this land his own and no one had a right to keep a ferry here but himself and those who had married shoshonee wives. He said he had nothing against

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[28] Deseret News, July 13, 1854.

the mormons as a people but had had against those individuals who robbed him last year, and many such things spake he. The rope broke yesterday but done no damage. A pack train from California and could not be ferried.

June 16, 1854. Another talk with Ryan and his braves He claims all the ferrys on Green River in the most positive terms, denying the right of the Legislature of Utah to grant a legal charter without the consent of the shoshonees who own the land. He does not quite threaten hostitities but at the same time says he will have it and seems to want us to understand that he has the power to redress his own grieviences, and offers to arbitrate his claims by referring his right & the right of the ferry company to the Chief of the Indian bureau at Washington which Hawley agrees to do on the part of the company. The conditions of this I will not relate. He agrees to have another meeting and grand talk in about fifteen days. The rope being fixed the ferrying has commenced again.

June 17, 1854. Ryan on the part of those who claim Green River on the one part & Jones, Russels, and Hawley on the part of the company entered into bonds of 50,000 dollars to abide by the result of the arbitration and Ryan gives bond to the same amount to keep the Indians peaceable in the mean time.

Sun. June 18, 1854. Mr. Jones train of goods arrived some ten wagons bound for Salt Lake. The plot thickens and a considerable excitement Mr. F. M. Russell came this morning complaining that Ryan had broke his treaty or arbitration and had attempted to take forcible possession of the ferry at Kinney and had made an attempt to cut the rope Judge Appleby issued a writ for him but while this was going on Mr. Shockley came express reporting that Ryan being joined by eight other mountaineers had actually taken possession of the ferry and was crossing emigrants and taking their money. The writ was however given to Mr. Hickman the sheriff who with a possee of six men besides Russell & Shockley started after Ryan. The excitement quite well got up now. When the sheriff arrived at Kinney's he found Ryan in a sound drunken sleep. Ryan was drunk when he took the ferry so after occupying until the sober second thought returned he gave up the ferry & money he had taken & fell quietly asleep. Circumstances being thus & Ryan agreeing to behave in future those on the partof the ferry concluded to drop the matter and the excitement ended without smoke and thus ended the Sabbath day on Green River.[29]

Besides the many problems which faced the freighter and grew out of his own business, there were many factors which arose over which he had no control but which exerted an influence upon his business. Some of these influences were to the benefit of the freighter and some were to his hindrance. The discussion in this chapter has been to present some of the more evident and more important factors. There were likely many others which

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[29]Hosea Stout, op. cit., p. 112.

served to influence the freighter to a greater or lesser degree but which were associated with other influences and which were not so evident as factors in and of themselves.

The freighters life was beset by many things which made his life a precarious one. For many he was responsible but for others he had no responsibility because he could not exert an influence upon the factors which produced them.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

After a comprehensive study of the materials available on the subject of "Freighting Between Utah and the Missouri River from 1847 to 1869", and a careful classification of the materials, the writer has arrived at some conclusions related to this thesis. These are here presented as the facts warrant these conclusions.

The mormon people came to Utah from a series of persecutions and drivings which had deprived them of their homes at least two times in the few years preceding their arrival in the valley. The people were generally a poor people and had little to which they could turn for support. They brought with them enough to provide for themselves for a time, but those supplies were soon depleted. The emigrants who followed brought as much as they could afford and could carry which was freely distributed among their brethren in the valley. As the population increased with the ever increasing migration, the goods, which were being brought in the loads of the emigrants, became progressively less adequate to provide for the needs of the settlers. As the population increased these needs became acute, especially in those commodities which could not be produced in the valley. The agricultural products were nearly adequate to meet the needs of the people, but the manufactured articles and those articles and those articles which did not lend themselves to being produced in the Valley were conspicuously lacking in the supply of goods. The industrial potential had as yet not been

developed to the extent necessary to supply the people of the territory, consequently, the only source of supply was the goods which could be brought to the valley by the freighters. The supplies, which were brought to the valley by the freighters, often spelled the difference between survival and failure of the colonizing effort in Utah. In this near indispensable service to the citizens of Utah, many problems arose which had to be surmounted by the traveler in his bringing of goods across the continent.

Weather was always a threat to the freighter, his outfit, and his cargo. At almost any season of the year, storms of violent proportions might be encountered, lightning and thunder storms accompanied by torrential rains on the plains; while in the mountains snow and cold rains might be expected at almost any season. These storms were particularly likely to occur early and late in the season. During the seasons when the weather was fair, the intense heat on the plains was likely to give rise to suffering to men and animals alike. During periods of dry weather, water courses and springs were likely to dry up. In the areas around the Sweet Water the alkali ponds, which were found there, would become so concentrated with salt that they proved dangerous to animals and man as well. In periods of storm and wet weather, the roads were likely to become filled with mud holes and deep ruts which made progress slow and difficult. In case of extreme wet weather, or in the case of violent storms, streams often became swollen and nearly impassable.

Certain of the larger streams posed a problem in and of themselves in that they were constantly dangerous to cross. On the plains, these streams were particularly dangerous during the periods of high water, but they were treacherous at any season of the year because of the quicksand bottoms which presented a constant challenge to any one who would cross

especially with a loaded wagon. Regardless of which route was to be followed, streams had to be crossed. Such mountain streams as the Green River were not such a problem from the point of view of the quicksand, but the current was swift and dangerous regardless of how low the water level would sink.

Freighting was primarily an economic venture so that every pound of supplies which could be dispensed with would bring that much more pay load. The economy of the operation depended upon the success which the freighter had in providing food for both man and animal on his way West. The forage which grew along the trails was depended upon almost entirely for the sustenance of the animals which were used in pulling the wagons. Not only was the forage depended upon for the support of the animals but the animals were especially selected with reference to the forage supplies which could be expected along the trail. Food for the men in a train, was partly carried with them in the form of grain or grain products, cured or dried meat etc. Any fresh meat which the freighter could hope to get was to be secured from the game animals which might be encountered along the way. Water was to be procured for both men and animals from the streams and the springs which they encountered. The problem arose, in that certain conditions, often rendered the forage insufficient to the needs of the animals. Such factors as prairie fires, drought, cold weather, overgrazing by animals either of other trains or of the buffalo, often rendered the forage to be in short supply. During such periods the animals were likely to undergo hardships and often had to be supplied with food, even sometimes being fed flour and bread which was meant for the consumption of the men. With a scarcity of forage usually was to be found a shortage of meat as well. The game animals would migrate to areas of greater supply which would often be far from the routes which were traveled by the freighter. Water was often difficult to

find for both man and animals who could be supplied from the same source generally. Drought and the lateness of the season often dried up water courses and springs and rendered other sources unfit for consumption. This problem was not always an acute one because these facilities were usually to be found in sufficient supply to satisfy the needs of the freighter, although he often lacked enough to entirely satisfy his wants.

Disease often made its inroads on the freight trains. The diseases which attacked the men were most dreaded. Cholera was probably the most prevalent disease and at the same time the most dangerous, although other ailments also took their toll of life and efficiency among the freighters themselves. The animals which they used were also subject to various ailments which often took a large enough toll to render travel difficult.

Indians were a constant threat during the entire period of wagon freighting to Utah. The problems became aggravated after the movement of emigrants and freight to the West when the hostilities of the Indians were aroused by the indignities which were perpetrated upon the Indians by the whites. Could Brigham Young's policy have been followed, the problem might not have been so serious. Freighters were often more likely to be attacked by the Indians because of the value which they placed upon their loads. The freighters, recognizing this likelihood, traveled in sufficient numbers to discourage any hostile action by Indians.

The investment of the freighter in his outfit and merchandise which he was carrying was rather large. Because of the constant problems which were always present, the investment was almost in constant danger. If disaster struck in the form of accident, delay, or cold weather which would kill his animals, he stood to lose heavily. He always had to face the possibility that his goods would not be accepted by the people whom he

served when he arrived with his load. His money was invested for a long period of time and might well, therefore, bring lower returns than it would if it could be turned over more regularily. The only return which he could hope to achieve was to collect sufficiently for the service which he was rendering to insure himself of a profit which would make it possible for him to face these dangers successfully. This became the gamble in the freighting business.

Regardless of how much the freighter paid for his outfit, he found certain limitations inherent in it. The wagons could haul only so much and the packaging could be only so big. There were certain freighting projects which were nearly impossible because of the nature of the object to be shipped. If it were too large to be loaded on one wagon and could not be conveniently divided into smaller parts, the freighting of that object was impossible. This case is only hypothetical but it illustrates the limitations which were inherent in the outfits. A certain period of time was necessary to make the trip, usually rather long. If the commodity which was to be shipped would not keep as long as was required to make the journey, it could not be shipped. These limitations were generally not serious, nevertheless the freighter had to take them into consideration.

Major population shifts had their influence on the success of the freighting enterprise. The increase of population in the Salt Lake Valley was to the advantage of the freighter, except when his inability to adequately supply the citizens brought criticism upon him and reduced his income because of the encouragement of others to compete with him. The great Westward movements of large groups of people did place a hardship upon him often, in that it tended to raise the costs of various items of outfit and supply which were being actively competed for by the emigrants.

In freighting to Salt Lake, the freighter had some rather definite sociological problems to face. The Mormons were usually suspicious of any outsider because of the great amount of persecution which they had endured at the hands of those who were not of their faith. The freighter often carried with him some prejudices which he may not even have recognized because of the attitude toward the Mormons in the areas from which he came. All these served to give rise to friction and often to open hostilities between the two groups.

Freight was brought to Utah by a number of individuals who had their own individual reasons for bringing the freight across the plains. These reasons would naturally influence the types of merchandise which were brought and the philosophy of the dealings of these people with the citizens of the territory.

The first freighters in point of time and also very important throughout their entire operation were the incidental freighters who had as their principal reason for coming to Utah some other motive than the bringing of goods. The emigrants did the largest part of such freighting. They had a little space available in their loads and so they would put in some commodities which would be serviceable to the settlers in the Valley. These were brought either out of a sense of service to the cause or for the purpose of giving them whatever economic advantage it might afford. The Gold Seekers who came to Salt Lake in 1849 and 1850 could be so classified. They came not to supply the people of Salt Lake Valley with goods but to seek gold in California. When they found that they could make better time by traveling lighter, they sold their goods at a great sacrifice. The quantity of such goods were sufficient to supply the Mormons well.

Within two years after the first settlers came to Utah, commercial

freighters began to arrive with trains of goods which they had purchased with the particular and peculiar needs of the citizens of Utah in mind. Their goods were sold at the most advantageous prices which the market would provide. When no unforeseen difficulties arose to deprive them of their expected income their earnings were considerable. As the reports of their earnings found their way back to the States, other freighters soon joined the force of the commercial freighters to provide competition, and at the same time a more adequate supply and assortment of goods for the citizens of Utah.

During the whole period covered by this study, the church engaged in freighting goods to the valley. These goods were not calculated to be in competition with the commercial freighters and not even with the incidental freighters. The commodities which were brought in these church freighting wagons and trains were usually in the nature of machinery, equipment, and supplies which were for the general use of the community. These items of equipment often found their way into private industry and public works, but they were not designed as competitive. These freighting activities were seldom carried on as an entire train of goods, but were usually associated with emigrant trains in which a few wagons were loaded with goods and brought in under the conductorship of the emigrant train. Later when the church began to send wagons and teams from Utah to the "River", as they termed it, freight was likely to find a place in every train on their return.

Many government enterprises were carried out in these valleys. Goods and supplies had to be provided for their use and support. The major operation of this kind was to be found in the coming of Johnstons army to Utah in 1858. This operation accounted for more government freighting to Utah than all the other military and government freighting combined. Not only

was the army established here, but vast stores of goods were sent here for their support. This operation accounts for more freight being sent to Utah than any other single operation during the period of this study.

By 1859 a new technique of freighting was being investigated and tried. This provided for the outfitting of a train in the Valley to travel from here to the Missouri River and return in the same year. By this time facilities had been established which would make it possible to cross the streams and negotiate other barriers early in the season without the necessity of the season of high water to pass before they could leave. This type of operation would make it possible for the man who had good equipment and serviceable animals in the valley to enter into the freighting business. The original outlay of capital was not so great as in the case of the freighter who had to go to the Missouri River and there pay for an entire new outfit which cost more than the average small operator could well afford to pay. This type of operation made a closer association of the freighter and the customer than the other. As these men left they knew about what their capacity was to be, they could, therefore, accept orders from the various citizens of the valley for whatever they wanted. This made the operation more economical in that they then had an assurance that their freight would find a ready market and they would realize the maximum returns in that they had their sale before they left. This type of freighting gave rise to the commission merchant and freighter in Utah. Goods were purchased in the East and freighted to the customers in Utah and the freighter in addition to his freight received a commission for his service.

As this round trip freighting became an actuality, the church became interested in the matter and began to organize groups from the valley where animals could be furnished without cash outlay, and sent them to the Missouri

River to bring emigrants and freight to the valley. These men and teams were recruited by a system of conscription from the various settlements. As these men left Utah they had no idea what their load would be on their return trip. Whatever was ready to move at the River was loaded on the wagons and they were sent on their way. Sometimes individuals who went with these caravans from the valley took an extra conveyance from a community and thus brought freight for the community on their return trip.

The export freighting which was engaged in by the citizens of Utah during the period covered by this study was mostly in the nature of help sent to those who were coming to the Territory to settle. As the trains of emigrants neared Utah, they often found that their supplies of goods were running short. To avoid suffering among these people, trains of goods were sent from Salt Lake to assist them. This was particularly true in the case of the handcart companies who were unable to carry much in the way of supplies and who had left their ox teams far behind by the time they had reached the mountains. Ox teams were usually employed to haul whatever heavy provisions and baggage which they had with them. When the trains, which were sent from Utah to assist the poor, set out, they had supplies of grains and other materials which would supply the poor Saints on their way West and thus save the money which might otherwise be necessary to purchase such supplies. These exports were different from the generally accepted concept of exporting in that they brought no income to the exporters but they did take from the Territory, materials which might otherwise have been used for the building up of the community. There was another type of exporting which was a little irregular in that it was not shipped from the Territory but was picked up here by the emigrants who passed through the valley on their way to California and Oregon. They bought

supplies here as the people were able to supply them, paid for them or traded for them and then took them with their trains out of the territory. There were some regularly practiced freighting of goods from the area, however. Products of the farms were taken from Utah to the various communities surrounding the Territory where a need was found to exist. These products were farm products principally.

After the great freighting activity of the Utah War, many of the freighters found themselves in Utah with large inventories of equipment and men who were without employment and little prospect for the future. They set about organizing freighting activities which would in part at least pay the expenses of returning this outfit and personnel to the states. Mining had been very actively carried on in and around Denver and Pikes Peak during this period and there was considerable need of supplies in these mining towns. These freighters organized trains to ship Utah grain to Denver and thus provide themselves with a pay load for part of their return trip. When these huge freight trains began to load with grain and grain products, there was real apprehension in the Valley for the supply of grain for the coming years needs. Efforts were made to curb this export business by setting minimum prices below which grains would not be sold. Regardless of the efforts at preserving these supplies, a large amount of Utah grown products found their way to the Colorado Mines.

The advantages of shipping goods by water were early recognized and some very definite plans and proposals were made toward the development of such a facility. The plan was to use the upper reaches of the Missouri River and then portage with ox teams to the upper reaches of the rivers of the West and thus bring goods many miles nearer to Salt Lake than the conventional point of departure on the Missouri River near its big bend. Even

though the proposal was given serious consideration it never came to fruition because the railroad became a reality before the elaborate preparations could be completed.

Despite the plans for shipping goods West by other means than by wagon, wagons and draught animals were the only practical means of moving the tremendous supplies of goods West. The freighting was a specialized business and, therefore, special equipment was used in its successful prosecution. Many of the freighters preferred a medium sized wagon which was sturdy enough to withstand the rigors of the freighting business, which could successfully haul from one to two tons of goods and was usually drawn by three or four span of animals. These wagons were manufactured in Chicago and St. Louis and were often called by the cities where they were built. These wagons were general utility wagons and found a ready market in the Valley upon the arrival of the freight train.

Others of the freighters preferred larger wagons often called Prairie Schooners which had a much larger capacity, usually from two to four tons of goods. They were drawn by four to eight span of animals depending on the weight of the load. These wagons were too heavy to be of adequate use outside of the freighting business. They were used repeatedly in the hauling of goods and had little economic value for resale in the valley.

There were usually only two types of animals in use in the freighting business, mules and oxen. Horses were seldom used except where special speed was needed. They seldom were able to withstand the rigors of the long and arduous trip. Mules were faster than oxen but they were more costly and were a little less able to forage along the way. Oxen were almost universally used in the transportation of freight. They were very

slow but quite dependable. They were cheaper in first cost and more able to flourish on the type of feed which was available along the route. These animals, whether mules or oxen, were required to pull on an average of five hundred pounds besides the weight of the outfit.

Because of the importance of freighting and the necessity for the trains to get through every season and because these freighters traveled the route from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City so often, facilities were established to assist them to overcome in part, at least, some of the problems which were presented by natural barriers: Rivers, mountains, distance, etc., all served to hinder the progress of the freighter in his business.

The first effort was to conquer the larger rivers. These presented the most immediate problems in that goods and outfit were endangered by the streams which often were strong enough to upset wagons and dampen goods. Ferries were established by the first groups to cross the plains for the purpose of bringing freighters and emigrants safely across the larger streams. These first ferries were generally temporary installations which were used and left to others to use. The economic advantage became evident, however, and soon permanent ferries were established by companies and were operated as a business. In the Territory of Utah these ferries were thought important enough to be chartered by an act of the Legislature and were thereby placed under control and were given the right to collect stipulated tolls which were considered as being sufficient to repay the operators for their effort, investment, and time and yet, were calculated to be fair to the traveling public so that the burden would not be prohibitive. At the best, these ferries were an aid to travel but they had many drawbacks and dangers associated with them.

As soon as feasible, bridges were established across the streams. The first bridges were built across the medium sized streams which were large enough to cause trouble, but were small enough that a bridge could be built and maintained with reasonable ease. As time progressed, the larger streams, where feasible, were bridged. On all of these bridges tolls were collected for the purpose of financing and supporting them. Some of the streams proved too difficult to bridge; as a result the ferries continued to operate on those streams. Later smaller streams were bridged to further assist the traveling public. Ferries and bridges served to make it possible for the freighter and the general public to travel in seasons which would have been entirely unfeasible without these installations.

Routes of travel were important to the freighter because his heavy outfits could be drawn over some routes more easily than over others. If deep sand, mud, steep hills, excessive stream crossings, and many other obstacles could be avoided the work of the freighter would be, thereby, lightened. As a result, everyone was constantly on the lookout for new and better avenues of travel over which the problems would be less acute. As these avenues of travel were found they were adequately publicised so that others might enjoy the advantages which might come through the use of these routes.

Often routes of travel which would be entirely feasible were rendered unusable by some comparatively minor obstacle or by the need of a grade being established along part of its distance or some other difficulty. Where such a condition existed, individuals and companies undertook to correct these drawbacks and thus render the routes serviceable to the freighter. Where such construction was done at a cost to the contracting parties, provisions for the collecting of tolls were granted to reimburse the indi-

viduals concerned. These roads appeared in all parts of the Territory and soon the freighter found himself being served by several roads leading to the Salt Lake Valley.

At the beginning of freighting activity to Utah, the freighter found himself at a disadvantage by being under the necessity of hauling with him; food for himself and his animals, animals to replace those which might die or be otherwise lost, and tools to repair his outfit. As ferries and bridges began to be established and to be operated as a business, such services were often provided by the ferry and bridge companies. Later there grew up along the road, stations which specialized in such services. These services made the life of the freighter easier and his pay load larger by relieving him of the necessity of loading with these extra items.

As the freighting business became established, efforts were made to furnish those particular services which would be necessary to the outfitting of the trains for the plains. The frontier towns began to furnish the services and equipment, and settlements began to spring up which served as points of loading and departure for the trains. These outfitting stations have since grown into the cities along the Missouri River.

The principal reason for the freighting enterprise to Utah was to make money for those who entered into the business. Many economic problems were to be considered by the freighter. How much was it going to cost to buy and ship his goods to Utah and then how much could he expect to receive in return? Considered in this formula were many factors.

In order to haul his goods he had to make an investment in an outfit which cost him a considerable sum of money in the aggregate. The cost of this outfit would vary in relationship with a number of factors including scarcity of the items needed, the quality of the outfit used, the distance

which it was necessary to bring it before it could be put into operation, and many other factors. This investment represented an investment, however, and could either be sold or used again in some other operation.

Besides the outfit, there had to be consideration given to the hiring of personnel. Sometimes the freighters to Utah could hire part or all of their men from the ranks of the emigrating saints. When such arrangements were made the costs were measurably decreased. When, however, it became necessary to hire teamsters, herders, mechanics, etc., as was often done, the costs were proportionately increased. The fact that the men had to winter in Salt Lake City, away from their homes before they could return in the spring, undoubtedly became an economic consideration for the freighter. He had to support himself too long for the winter and often be brought under condemnation in the community for leaving his men on the community to be cared for in one way or another during the slack season when work was hard to get.

Losses were a constant threat and had to be considered in the economic planning of every freighter. A particularly hard winter could destroy many if not all of the cattle and mules which were used in moving the trains. Such a loss could prove disastrous to a contractor. Fortunately such catastrophic conditions came rather infrequently but no one could tell when such a condition would come. Disease, fatigue, starvation, accident, stampedes, Indians, and any number of factors might, and usually did, take a portion of the animals in any train of freight on its way to the Valley. How extensive such loss became depended upon a number of factors, of course. The loss of wagons and goods was also dependent upon a number of factors ranging from spoilage to upset and overturned wagons. These losses had to be figured into the picture of the freighter making a living and a profit

on his venture.

After the facilities for the assistance of the freighter had been established along the trail, some of these losses were minimized but the cost of toll for the use of those facilities often ofset the savings. This was particularly true in the areas which were not under the control of a Territorial government where the operators often charged according to their own whims rather than according to an equitable schedule of prices. As these facilities proved their economic advantage to their owners, many individuals attempted to establish such facilities, especially bridges and ferries, and charged for their use until sometimes the charging became prohibitive. Probably the main saving to the freighter was in the time saved rather than in the money saved.

These costs represented the major items of expense which would therefore pretty generally establish the rates charged for the services of the freighter. Some other costs undoubtedly were assessed to the freighter and merchant in the Valley but they were comparatively inconsequential. From the earliest freighting efforts to and from the Valley, the general price structure was established at fifteen to twenty cents per pound depending upon the nature of the commodity hauled and other conditions. These rates prevailed until the distance began to be shortened by the approach of the railroad when the tendency was to lower the prices accordingly. These rates were often criticized but in comparison to other freighting activity at a relatively recent date they seemed to be about equal comparatively speaking. The distance from the Missouri River is about twelve hundred miles. With a cost of from fifteen to twenty dollars per hundred pounds, the cost was comparative to freight rates of around one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars for hauling freight by wagon from the railroad termi-

nal to the store one hundred and twenty miles away.[1] With one tenth of the distance and one tenth of the cost, the rates seem to have been quite comparable.

Even though prices were criticized for the hauling of freight to the Valley, the principal complaint was on account of the high prices charged for goods sold in the valley. These goods were sold, of course, for the prices which the patrons would pay. These prices were usually more advantageous to the merchant than original cost plus freight. As a result, it was the usual thing to have the freighter engage in the merchandizing business as well as ship goods. Any profit on the freight which was realized could then be added to the profit realized from the sale of the goods above "cost and carriage" as it was referred to. This usually gave the freighter merchant a comfortable margin of profit. Considering the risks which had to be taken plus the costs associated with the freighting itself, and the long time which capital had to be tied up in the stock and outfit, it seems reasonable to allow the freighter a comfortable margin on his investment.

As the merchants opened their business establishments in the city, they were naturally required to buy licenses to sell. These licenses were rather insignificant by comparison to the entire operation and probably did not make much difference in the prices charged or in the total costs to the freighter. Certain discriminatory taxes were levied against certain commodities which were imported, such as liquor. These were not levied with any idea of getting monitary returns as much as they were to discourage the importation and sale of certain unwanted commodities being sold.

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[1]The writer recalls when freight was brought from the railroad terminal at Price to stores in Roosevelt and Vernal at rates quite comparable to those charged by pioneer freighters.

Some efforts are in evidence that prices were influenced from the point of view of control. This is particularly true in the case of goods which were being exported with the freighters rather than to control the prices which were charged for goods imported. The control of supply and demand seems to have been most active in this matter, which provided for rather high prices during all of the period of this study.

Everything in a business way was done on a cash basis. It took but a short time to render cash in short supply. In order to protect their own interests some of the freighters made arrangements to issue extended credit on banking houses. They undertook also the responsibility of collecting credit claims against the government, whatever the claim might be. They often took the claims at face value in exchange for goods, or they offered to take the claims to Washington and represent the claiment in collecting it. For this service they were to receive a commission.

If there is one condition which is more noticeable than another it is the conflicts which existed between the freighters and the citizens of Utah. At the very beginning of the relationship there existed a general state of suspicion. The Mormon people had been driven from their homes in the States by the citizens of that area, they had suffered untold indignities and atrocities in the process. It is little wonder that they should be suspicious of any one who came from that area or who represented to them the people of that area. The freighters in turn had heard many of the stories which were circulating in the area from which they came. They were used as an excuse for the terrible persecution which had been heaped upon the Saints. It made little difference if these stories were true or false they had left their imprint upon the minds of the freighter and his personnel. During the first years these differences did not come into sharp evidence

because of the minority of the freighters and their realization that their success or failure depended upon how well they got along with the Mormon people, but during the second decade the situation changed to give rise to much friction.

Brigham Young had as his one aim in the establishment of the Saints in this isolated and unwanted section of the country, the making of these people independent in every respect. In order to do this he encouraged the people by every means at his disposal to provide everything which they needed for their own good and supply. The movement which was inaugurated for this purpose was called Home Industry. This movement was given unlimited encouragement from the official circles of the church. The main thing which interferred with the full realization of this goal of self sufficiency was that the supply of goods which had been brought to the Valley by the freighters were being bought by the citizens rather than produce their own. Because of this condition the freighters came in for some rather scathing criticism and were branded often as enemies of the establishment of the ideal society which was envisioned for this people. The freighters naturally were not very well pleased with such a condition. This was not leveled at the Gentile merchants and freighters alone but at the Mormon freighter-merchants as well.

There were two social philosophies represented in the freighters and the citizens of the valley which were bound to clash more or less violently. This clash came to the front during the occupation of the army and shortly thereafter rather than during the early years of freighting to the valley. The freighter was a hard working, hard drinking, outdoors man who had a sense of moral values quite different from the religious philosophy of the Mormon people. The freighter, in turn, interpreted the practice of plural

marriage among the Mormons as being laxness on their part in moral matters. Each then had a reason, from their own point of view, to be critical of the other and to avail themselves of the opportunity to show that attitude. This clash caused much trouble between these two groups.

These different attitudes found expression in the matter of immorality, among others. A great number of the teamsters who came here with the freight trains were often required to stay in the valley all winter because of the lateness of the season. During the long absence from home and spending his time in comparative inactivity, he was guilty of some gross immorality, not only toward the women of the settlements but also toward the Indian women who were to be found in this area. This conduct was resisted and punished by the Mormon people in no uncertain terms. With the coming of the freight trains which were attached to the army and those who followed, there arose in Salt Lake a crime wave which was the concern of the Mormons and Gentiles alike. Murder was a common thing, a person's property was never quite safe from robbery and pilfering, and even ones home was not secure.

After the army had left, there had developed in Utah a rather strong Gentile community. The foundation for this community was to be found in those of the merchants and freighters who had settled here in the hopes of again reaping the lush harvest of army contracts. Associated with these people were many of the Territorial Officials and the army which was sent to Utah during the Civil War also added to this non-Mormon and even Anti-Mormon community in Utah. These people were accused by the Saints of attempting to stir up trouble between the United States and the Church, again in the hopes that the golden days of the padded army contract would again return to the state. Many of this colony were transient and the make up of

the gentile community changed from time to time. The Gentile freighter-merchant formed a nucleus around which this colony would build when they came to the Valley, whatever their reason was for coming. Among those who came were the land jumpers who attempted to challenge the claims of the Saints to their rightful property which they had developed from the desert.

Because the merchants and their freighting friends formed the center of this opposing movement in Utah, the church organized a Boycott which was aimed at taking business support from these firms until such a time as they were willing to support the community as a whole. For a time the distinction was made between those who were unfriendly to the Saints among the Gentile merchants and those who were friendly. Business intercourse was discouraged only with those who were unfriendly. The line of demarcation became less and less well defined until it disappeared entirely and anyone who was not a member of the church was to be boycotted. This condition extended beyond the completion of the railroad, but with the completion of the railroad the freighting activity came to an end in Utah and the freighter ceased to be a factor in the dispute.

There were many factors which influenced the freighter and his success in Utah besides the interaction of the freighter himself and the people of the Territory. When the freighter came here, first he found that the supply of money was a great hindrance. He was under the necessity of selling for cash in as much as there had been no provisions made for credit in Utah up to that time. The supply of gold brought in by the members of the Mormon Battalion did much to furnish the needed money with which to buy goods from the freighters. This gold was partly, at least, under the control of the church which restricted its use by the individuals to some extent. When the emigrants began coming through the valley, they were supplied with goods

the fields and barns of the Saints which provided them with the necessary cash to purchase from the stocks of imported goods brought in by the freighters. They were advised against the selling of their grain to the emigrants but it provided them with a means of providing the money with which to pay their bills to the merchants.

When the Gold Rush emigrants began coming through the valley, they brought large stocks of goods which were disposed of at unheard low price in Salt Lake. On the surface it would seem that this great supply would overstock the market and be a hindrance to the freighter-merchant. In as much as these goods sold at such low prices while the services and goods of the Valley brought such inordinately high prices, the people were able to buy the goods offered by the emigrants and still have money in their pockets with which to buy from the merchants. On the whole then, considering the great need for States Goods in the valley, the merchants were indirectly benefited by the surplus money which was left here by the emigrants.

The greatest factor outside the freighting business which came to influence the freighting picture to Utah was the Utah War. When it was established that the army was on the way to Utah with hostile intention, the freighters who had been established in Utah for many years, disposed of their goods and left. They did not know, of course, how long the conflict would last nor how serious it would be. Mormon freighters were assured that General Johnston would not permit any supplies to pass on their way to Utah so they too discountinued their operations. This left the Territory with no imports for an entire season. When the difficulties were settled with the army, the whole train came into the valley; soldiers, freight, and all. They established themselves at Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley. The army was well supplies but it was a time before these goods found their way into the homes of the Saints.

Some of them eventually did partly through the efforts of the sutlers who were attached to the army and partly through the efforts of certain local men who opened negotiations with the freighters and the army to secure goods. By the time the fall shipments of the freighters were in, the valley was rather well supplied again with goods. Huge trains of supplies continued to pour into the valley, mostly consigned to the army. Stories of the fortunes which were being made by the suppliers of the army, were reaching the States and a great number of independent speculating freighters began to arrive in Utah during the second year. These found the army well supplied and discovered that their best market was among the civilian citizens of the Territory, consequently their large stores of supplies found their way into the regular mercantile channels. When the army left in 1860, large stocks of goods were sold at auction at give away prices. Most of these were purchased by the citizens of the valley, but the merchants and freighters managed to get their share of these goods. This prodigious supply of goods gave a halt to the freighting business for a time, just long enough for the speculating merchants to move out of the Territory, many of them having lost heavily on their venture. During the time that the army was here, there were many services and commodities which had to be provided by the citizens of the Valley. Considering the circumstances under which the army came here, it is little wonder that the citizens collected as much as they could for their contribution to the army and paid as little as they had to for that which the army provided for them. As a result, money was again plentiful in the valley, and although prices went down for a short time, they were soon up again, the freighters were again carrying on their business and the economy had been but little influenced by the coming of the troops to Utah.

During the Civil War, the national currency was devaluated and for a

time was very unstable. During this time, gold was at a premium and currency was taken, often at a discount because no one knew how much the currency would be worth upon its arrival at the Missouri River in the purchase of goods. This condition caused many of the freighters to be a little cautious in their business dealings and held prices at a relatively high level.

A number of less well defined and less important factors came in to exert their influence on the freighting business. The emigration continued their journeyings through the valley, and although there were a few points of friction between them, the general conditon was to provide the Saints with the money which they needed to purchase the goods from the freighters. Supplying them with the needed products was a constant supply of cash.

There arose many disputes between the Indians and the whites, and between other settlers and the Saints which indirectly influenced the freighting business and related activity. In Green River, the Shoshone Indians tried to close the ferry because they claimed rights to all the land upon which the ferries were being operated and wanted the ferries turned over to them. The dispute proved not to be very serious and was soon settled to the acceptance of all concerned.

From the above summary, it can be seen that a few generalities might well be drawn to explain some of the success and failures of the freighting business.

The Mormon people came to Utah with a set of ideas which indicated that the solution to their problems was to be found in living alone where they would neither bother nor be bothered by others, at least, until they could become sufficiently strong to adequately assert themselves in competition with others. The way in which this was to be achieved was to establish a society around the concept of the "Kingdom of God" and then bend every

effort toward its achievement. The leadership of the church visualized this Kingdom as being synonymous with the church. So intent upon this goal did the leadership of the church become that they imbued the membership with this same idea to such an extent that almost every act or thought which they had, was centered in this goal. Because of this devotion, they were able to accomplish many things which are remarkable, especially in matters of community spirit, cooperation, and sacrifice for the general good of the movement. The achievement of this ideal was dependent upon the absolute independence of the church with an absolute freedom to make decisions and to provide the support for these decisions without consideration for any one or anything else. If the physical means for the achievement of these goals were not forthcoming, the church would be under the obligation, through its members, to provide them or if they could not be immediately provided, they were to be dispensed with until such a time as they could be provided by the church. In this way the entire potential of the community, economic, civic, social, and religious, would be concentrated in the development of the community which seemed so necessary if the ideal society was to be established.

If this goal could have been achieved in its entirely as it was proposed by the leadership of the church at the time they came to Utah, it would undoubtedly given rise to a society which would have been of such quality as to have been a worthy representative of the Kingdom of God upon the earth. This ideal as almost all ideals, no matter how praiseworthy its goals might have been, was still an ideal and in some particulars did not count on some practical considerations which had to be taken into account. Those articles which could be successfully produced in the valley, were provided in quantities sufficient for the population. For a time, while the population was small, the goods which were brought to the valley by the

emigrants and other incidental freighters were sufficient to partly satisfy the needs of the people, but as the population increased in the valley, the needs for these imported goods outstripped the supply and the people soon began to feel the pinch of want. When the emigrant-freighter was not able to adequately supply the citizens of the Valley with their needs, it can be readily seen that to attempt to survive in the Valleys of the mountains without any support from freighters and freighted goods would be decidedly difficult if not entirely impossible. Had the industrial potential been sufficient to provide for all the needs of the citizens, such an attempt might have been made but the means of production were slow in being built up in the Utah Territory, in fact, that potential has never been adequate to the needs of the citizens of this area, even today it is not. The machinery which would give to Utah her industrial potential had to be brought in by freighters. A few of the members of the church had sufficient devotion to the cause of establishing the "Kingdom" to bring many goods to the Valley, but the expense and the difficulties associated with the freighting enterprise, was so high as to make such efforts a one time project. No one could afford to repeat this service without a considerable amount of remuneration. Not only was freighting a necessity to the settlers of the Valley, but the Commercial Freighter was a necessity to the consistent and adequate supply of the vital needs of the citizens.

In the commercial freighter, Brigham Young and his associates, saw the direct challenge to the economic independence of his visualized society. He missed no opportunity to remind the church of their duty to shun the freighter and his supply of goods and to produce what they needed or do without. The money which was paid to the freighter for his goods, he saw as the economic life blood of the community ebbing out into the pockets of

these freighters to be carried out of the community with little or no value coming to the people directly in the building up of their society. He seems to have taken no consideration for the fact that the supplying of the needs and wants of the citizens of Utah was a service which added some strength to the community generally.

There was virtue in the effort for the independent society but the fact still remains that the people of Utah patronized the freighter and his supply of goods and provided him with means to continue to carry on his business. Many of the Saints entered into the freighting business themselves in the face of official opposition. If the people generally were being unwise is not the purpose of this study, but it is to show that they did patronize the freighter, right or wrong. His services found a place in the establishment of this great intermountain empire and it must be concluded that he did fill a need which the people were glad and anxious to take advantage of. As we look at our commonwealth today, it must be recognized that the freighter had a great part in helping to establish this inland empire. He must be given credit not only for helping to establish it, but he nurtured it with the goods necessary to its growth and development and gave security to the effort of expanding into the community which we know today.

APPENDIX

This section of the work will present a number of photographs and photographic representations of landmarks, maps, and other materials related to the thesis. All photographs were made by the writer except as otherwise stated.

Plate I

Figure 1. A map of the pioneer trails as drawn by W. H. Jackson, one of the pioneer artists who made several trips across the plains in the freight companies.

Figure 2. Buffalo contributed much to the great western movement including the freighters. They served for meat, robes, leather, etc. Their dung served for fuel along much of the trail where wood was scarce and even absent. In case of doubt, it was usually a safe procedure to follow the trails of these animals which they made in their annual migrations. These trails often led to good grades and easier passes and were always good indications of direction in seeking water.

Plate II

Figure 1. Courthouse and Jailhouse Rock. These were the first two landmarks which indicated the approach to the great Rocky Mountains. They are mentioned by many freighters either as landmarks or as places of meeting along the Oregon Trail.

Figure 2. Scottsbluff as seen from across the Platte River. This place served as a point for a rest of a few days and a place to repair outfits. The presence of a fresh water spring made this spot ideal for camping.

Plate III

Figure 1. A copy of a painting in the Scottsbluff Museum depicting the crossing of the Platte River near Scottsbluff. It graphically illustrates some of the problems which they may have had to face.

Figure 2. The pioneer road along the Oregon Trail, which was followed at this point by both routes (Mormon and Oregon). At this place the many wagons which passed over this route have worn the solid rock to a depth of six feet.

Plate IV

Figure 1. Red Buttes near which the pioneer trail left the Platte River which it had followed for nearly six hundred and eighty miles, and began to follow the Sweetwater River which led directly to the South Pass.

Figure 2. Independence Rock and Devils Gate or Gap which can be seen at the extreme right of the picture. These two landmarks were universally known and watched for by all travelers to the West. Independence Rock was so universally known that many people carved their names and other information on it to the estent that it has been named the Register of the Desert.

Plate V

Figure 1. Devils Gate where the Sweetwater River has cut through the mountains.

Figure 2. The Sweetwater Valley through which the great caravans of freight were brought on its way to the South Pass.

Plate VI

Figure 1. The approaches to South Pass. The crossing of the continental divide is so gradual as to be nearly imperceptible. It was across this great pass that the freight routes were established.

Figure 2. Mr. Robinson from an original photograph in the Fort Bridger Museum, Fort Bridger, Wyoming. Mr. Robinson maintained a ferry across the Green River for many years.

Plate VII

Figure 1. A photograph of Main Street, Salt Lake City, showing a train of freight which has just arrived for William Jennings. The business establishments of many of the freighter merchants are distinguishable. This photo is reproduced through the courtesy of the L. D. S. Church Historians Office.

Figure 2. Another view of Main Street with freight wagons crowded together and showing other of the mercantile establishments along Main Street. This photo is also reproduced with the permission of the L. D. S. Church Historians Office.

PLATE I

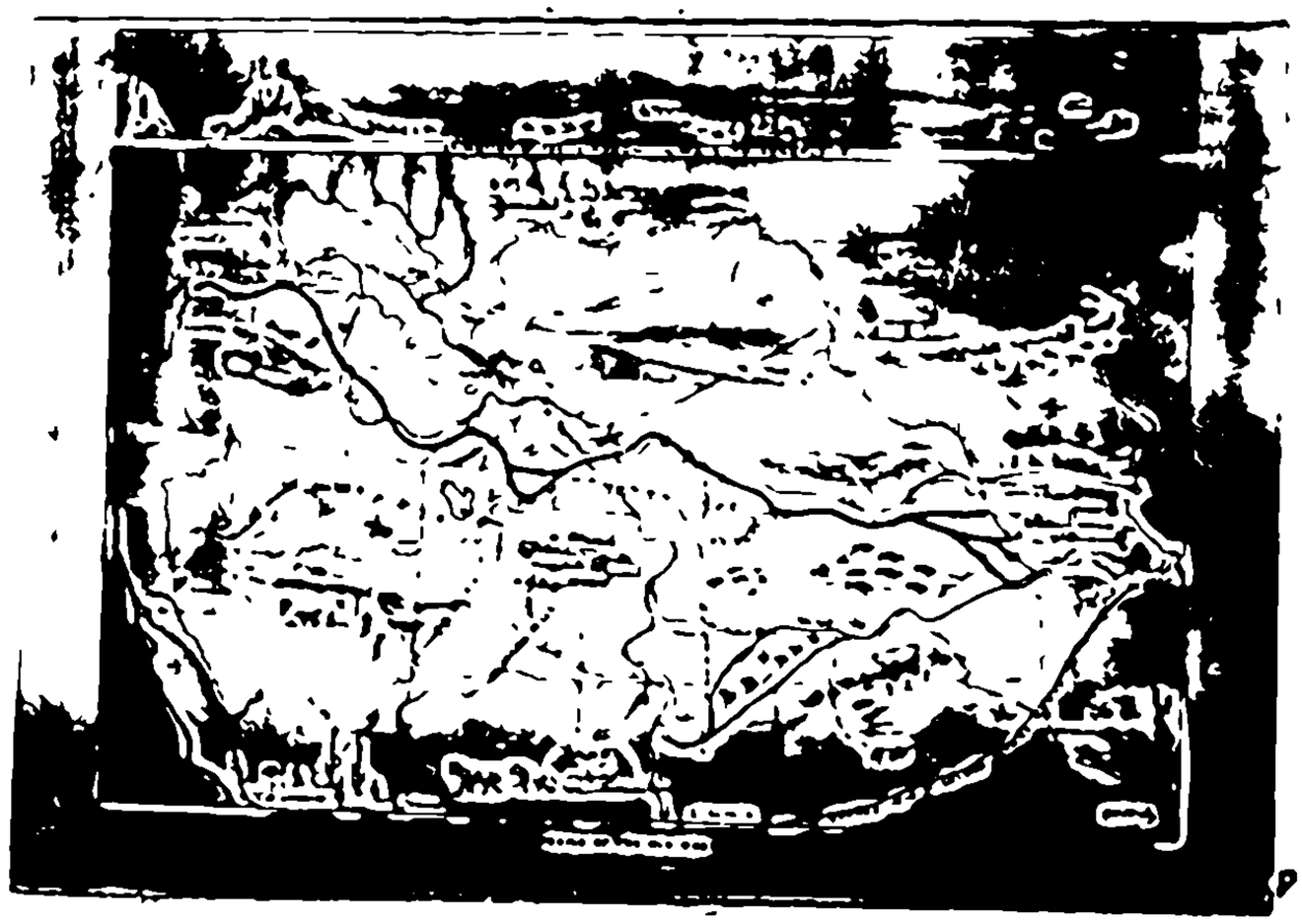

Figure 1

Figure 2

PLATE II

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PLATE III

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PLATE IV

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PLATE V

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Figure 2

PLATE VI

Figure 1

Figure 2

PLATE VII

Figure 1

Figure 2

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FREIGHTING BETWEEN THE MISSOURI RIVER AND SALT LAKE CITY 1847-1869

The Mormon people had been so unjustly and bitterly persecuted that they had to seek refuge in some place where they could rebuild their society along the lines which they desired according to the beliefs of their religion. In their search for such refuge, they came to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. In this valley and the surrounding areas they began to build communities which were supplied with settlers from the great number of emigrants who came here as members of the church. The people came, often destitute of the very necessities of life. Many had lost all their property during the persecutions, some were poor when they joined the church, particularly is this true of those who accepted the gospel in Europe. Many of these people were unable to supply themselves anything beyond the actual necessities for crossing the plains. When they came to Salt Lake they had to depend upon the community for support. This support, especially in those commodities which could not be produced in the Valley, was twelve hundred miles distant. The only way in which these goods could be brought to the Salt Lake Valley was by freight teams.

There were two distinct groups who undertook this freighting. Considered from the point of view of why they came, these two groups were as follows; Incidental and commercial freighters.

The incidental freighter brought goods as a secondary function to some other principal reason. The major portion of these freighters were emigrants who brought goods with them to Utah. Because of the distance from a market and the difficulties which were anticipated, every person was

encouraged to bring every pound of goods which they could possibly carry, sometimes even at the expense of other important functions. The poorer members of the group brought only a few pounds tucked away among their goods. The wealthier members brought proportionately larger amounts of the precious supplies. In the case of a few who had sufficient means, they often brought several wagons loaded with goods which would be needed in their new homes. After 1861 when the church began to send wagons from Salt Lake to the Missouri River to bring the poor saints to Utah, much freight was hauled either in association with the emigrant trains or in freight trains alone. Every emigrant train which crossed the plains had some freight, more or less, which would help to satisfy the growing needs in the Valley. When the population in the Valley was small and the emigrant trains brought relatively large numbers of people to the valley with their supply of goods, the incidental freighter did much to supply the needs of the citizens. When the population in the valley increased so that the number of people who came with their supply of goods became progressively a smaller minority, the supply of goods which they brought became thereby progressively less adequate to the needs of the community.

Early in the history of the Utah Territory, individuals began a movement of commercial freighting. This type of freighting became progressively more important as the population increased and the society became more complex. Commercial freighting is divided into two nearly equal periods each of which were characterized by their own relationships and service. Before the Utah War, the freighter came to Utah with the idea of serving the people of the Territory, and as a result he identified himself with the community and did all he could to cooperate with the citizens. He was more or less the servant of the people. After the Utah War, the freighter be-

came less of a servant and more of an aggressor of the people. With the Utah War, the government freighter came with the army and had the common purpose of putting down a supposed rebellion in Utah. The rebellion never materialized but the feeling which they brought with them continued to characterize the relationships of the freighter to a greater or lesser degree until the railroad brought wagon freighting to an end. The freighters regardless of their attitude toward the citizens of the Territory brought vast supplies to the Valley which served a great purpose in supporting the citizens in their various wants.

All the freighting to Utah was carried in wagons although other methods were investigated. None of these materialized until the railroad was completed. The vast amounts of goods which were needed to supply the Saints were brought without exception in wagons. There were two general types of wagons used in the freighting enterprise. One was a medium wagon which was drawn by six oxen or mules and was loaded with about one and a half tons of freight. The other was the "Prairie Schooner" which was a much larger and heavier wagon, which was drawn by twelve to fourteen animals and was freighted with about three to three and a half tons of freight. The smaller of the two wagons was readily saleable in the valley because of their adaptability to the average tasks which were found to be done on the farms and the industry of the valley. The larger wagons were adaptable only to the hauling of freight generally speaking. These wagons were drawn by mules or oxen. Because of the higher cost of mules and the general adaptability of oxen to the work of freighting, oxen were employed almost entirely in the freighting enterprise. Mules were used only in the movements of express shipments where speed was a major factor. Horses were used very infrequently, and then mainly on short hauls.

Many natural problems confronted the freighter in his work and danger was his constant companion. Dangerous streams had to be crossed, mountains had to be negotiated, inclement weather had to be endured, long distances were ever present, and many other problems presented themselves every day. In an effort to meet and solve some of these problems, certain facilities were established which were designed to be of assistance. Some of the streams which had to be crossed were impossible to cross unaided for most of the season. Ferries were either built by the traveler himself or supplied by others who entered into the enterprise as a supporting business to the freighting and emigration movements. Some of these ferries were later replaced by bridges, especially on the smaller streams where such bridges could be held against the high water and other dangers. Routes of travel had to be found over which the traveler could pass without the benefit of extensive road building. The best routes were none too good at the best so the freighter was constantly on the alert to find ever new and better routes of travel. These were publicized among other travelers in order to make them aware of the advantages of these routes. Many of these routes were found to be excellent with the exception of some minor obstacle which rendered them impassable. This was particularly true in the mountains. When such obstacles were not too difficult to remedy, certain individuals undertook on their own or upon the suggestion of others to build roads and thus remove the difficulty and make them passable to the traveling public. All of these facilities which required an outlay of labor or capital were provided the privilege of collecting toll in order to finance and support them. The Territory was so sparcely settled as to make this the only feasible way of financing such construction. Later as the Territory became able financially, these facilities were taken over by the Territory and

were maintained as public utilities.

In the Territory of Utah, these tolls were established and controlled by the Legislative Assembly. These controls were obviously intended to meet some middle ground at which the operator of the facility could be reimbursed for his expense in establishing and maintaining it and at the same time not make the charges too burdensome to the traveling public. Outside the Territory and in some few cases of unchartered facilities within the boundaries of the Territory, charges were made partly on the whim of the operator and partly on the ability of the traveler to pay as judged by the proprietor. The tolls as set by the Legislative Assembly were high enough but the wild cat installations often made the costs nearly prohibitive in some seasons of the year.

Costs to the freighter are represented in many factors. First of these is in the outfit which he must have. Each unit with the light wagon cost between three and four hundred dollars while the large wagons represented an investment of between six and seven hundred dollars. This outfit was generally rather insecure in that it might be lost in several ways on the journey west. The cost of freight had to be invested by the contractor and he had to assume the risk for loss or damage on the way which would bring him less than anticipated upon arrival. All these factors, coupled with the expense of tolls, taxes and other incidental costs, to say nothing of the wages of the men whom he must hire, rendered the freighting business extremely precarious and expensive economically.

Many conflicts arose between the Mormons and the freighters. The very fact that the freighters came from outfitting points along the Missouri River from which the Saints had been driven, established a basis for conflict. Brigham Young saw in the freighter a challenge to the entire inde-

pendence of the people in these valleys. He taught "Home Industry" in opposition to the freight merchant, which caused friction. With the coming of the Army to Utah in 1858, with their changed attitudes, other causes of friction made their appearance. In the years prior to the building of the railroad, when many questionable individuals began to come into the Valley, the freighter and his merchant outlet formed the center of a non-Mormon community in Utah which gave many opportunities for criticism, and the freighter was linked with these differences of opinion. These differences eventually resulted in open hostility and a boycott against the freighters and the merchants.

There were a few influences which came to affect the freighter over which he had no control. Among these were the arrival of the forty-niners and their cheap goods and their desire to purchase goods in the Valley at high prices. These were followed by the Army during the Utah War which brought fabulous amounts of goods which were eventually sold cheap to the citizens. Although the Civil War did not come to Utah, the influence was felt through the freighter, who found that the devaluated government currency made it impossible to judge the value of the money which they received for their goods in the valley. The unreliability of the elements and the seasons were constant problems and threats to the freighter. All these and many more problems made freighting a matter of questionable security.

The freighter after meeting all the above problems and gathering all the advantages, was able to make considerable money and a fair profit on his investment and at the same time render an invaluable service to the citizens of the Territory of Utah.